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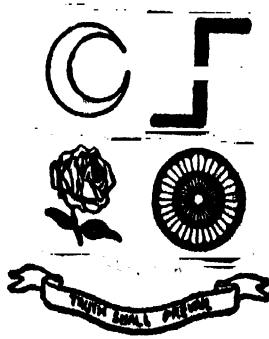
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No. I

MAETERLINCK'S DRAMATIC METHOD

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The cult of dramatic naturalism which manifested itself in the seventies of the last century in some of the social plays of Björnson and which became triumphant in the eighties in those of Ibsen and Strindberg, continued with unabated strength for about four decades till the outbreak of the War. Even during the War and after, it did not completely cease to function, so that for nearly half a century it had great exponents both on the Continent and in England; and, if one considers how effectively it tackled the problems of social and individual life during this period, one may even look forward to a renewed vogue of the cult when post-war experimentation in such fields as politics and war-experiences has had its day. But whatever glory naturalism may have achieved in the past or may still achieve in the future, idealism or the spirit of romance is never to be killed. It makes itself felt in unexpected quarters, slackening the rigour of scientific observation with the touch of mystery. Sometimes the same author who usually revels in intellectual analysis of the life of society and the individual is found yielding to the imaginative vision; sometimes a mystic

idealist weaves his dreams side by side with a hard realist who cares for nothing beyond what he sees. The creator of *A Doll's House* and *Ghosts* also created *Rosmersholm* and *The Master-Builder* : naturalistic dissection and exposition made room for suggestion through symbolism. Similarly, the savage realist of *The Father* and *The Dance of Death* turned into an almost unintelligible mystic in *The Spook Sonata* and *The Dream Play*. Uncompromising naturalism (as in *Before Dawn*, *The Weavers*, *The Beaver Coat*, *The Conflagration*), dream-symbolism (as in *Hannele*) and spiritual allegory (as in *The Sunken Bell*) emanated from Hauptmann's pen within a few years of each other. While Shaw in England and Brieux in France searched out social foibles with the glare of their intellect, Celtic twilight cast its gloom over Yeats's *Deirdre* and *Cathleen ni Houlihan* and Synge's *Riders to the Sea* ; and simultaneously with some of Ibsen's and Strindberg's greatest triumphs in naturalism, Villiers de L'Isle-Adam spurned at social life and evoked the romance of mediæval castle and convent to preach that the ideal is the real (1). Maeterlinck turned his romantic vision to the mysteries of subconscious life about the year 1889 (the year of Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler*, Strindberg's *Creditors*, and Hauptmann's *Before Dawn*), and carried on his mystic work through the heyday of naturalism into the twenties of the present century.

The romanticism of Maeterlinck's dramas has a close affinity with that of Villier's *Axël* : it is a kind of spiritual romanticism springing from an atmosphere of isolation from the matter-of-fact world and a spiritual ferment in the *dramatis personæ*. This isolation and this ferment, again, are a direct consequence of Maeterlinck's aim in dramatic creation, *viz.*, to show 'some act of life, traced back to its sources and to its mystery by connecting links' (2). His conviction is that life in modern times reveals its truth not through violence and noise but through peace and silence. The ferment that takes place within the soul of his characters is not without the element of conflict,—conflict between love and friendship, as in *Selysette* and

1. According to Dr. D. Knowles, the first part of *Axël* was published in 1872 and the entire drama in 1885 ; but according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition) the date of publication of the entire drama is 1890, the year after Villiers's death.

2. *The Treasure of the Humble*, P. 104.

Tatiana ; between love and religion, as in Sister Beatrice ; between chastity and religion, as in Mary Magdalene ; between chastity and love, as in Joyzelle ; between duty to self and duty to the state, as in Monna Vanna ; but these conflicts very rarely lead to any external bitterness ; there is never any thought of revenge ; the aggrieved party pardons and becomes reconciled to fate or retires from the field to court self-immolation ; and despite these conflicts there is as much calm and silence in the world of his *dramatis personæ* as it is possible to have on the stage. Some might even hold that there is more calm and silence on Maeterlinck's stage than is compatible with the vitality of the drama and that his theory of a 'static theatre' is nothing but a piece of heresy. It might be noted here that though some of his characteristic but earlier plays are plays almost without any movement, he does not speak of a literally static theatre. He very cautiously says, "I do not know whether it be true that a static theatre is impossible. Indeed, to me it seems to exist already" (3). What he means is that in such masterpieces of classical drama as *Prometheus*, *Suppliants*, *Choephoræ*, *The Eumenides*, *Antigone*, *Electra*, *Oedipus at Colonos*, *Ajax*, and *Philoctetes*, physical or material action has been reduced almost to a nullity, and in most of them even psychological action 'has been suppressed, or at least vastly diminished, in a truly marvellous fashion, with the result that the interest centres solely and entirely in the individual, face to face with the universe' (4). One need not have much difficulty in accepting the first half of his position, that life presented in these masterpieces is almost motionless ; but it is hard to agree with him when he says that even psychological action, in most of them, has been suppressed or vastly diminished. He has taken care to exclude the dramas of Euripides where passions have a free play ; but even the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles which he has mentioned are generally full of tumultuous passions. Prometheus himself is calm amidst his afflictions, but the daughters of Ocean who bemoan his fate shed bitter tears, and Io, in the 'agony of frenzied brain' (5), craves for death rather than suffer misery through all her days. Softness of

3. *The Treasure of the Humble*, pp. 106, 107. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

5. A. S. Way's translation in *Aeschylus in English Verse*, Part II (1907), p. 30.

feeling would be incompatible with Prometheus's adamant resolve to suffer and not to yield, but the wailings of the Oceanides and the agonies of Io create a fine passionate contrast with the hero's invincible calm. In *Choephoræ* Electra's and Orestes's prayers for vengeance, appealing to Earth and Zeus and the spirit of their deceased father, are charged with deep feelings while, after the murder of the mother, Orestes becomes like one 'whose horses whirl his car without the course, swept helpless in the tumult of his brain' (6). In *Eumenides*, the sole business of the characters being a dispensation of justice, there is little room for outburst of passion, but still the ghost of Clytemnestra exhibits a remorse and anger that kindle wrath in the fatal sisters. Antigone's "lamentations as she is dragged along to the fateful cavern are the most touching thing in the drama named after her. Anguish, grief and joy are shown following one another in rapid succession in *Electra*. The crisis in the life of Oedipus Tyrannus is reached amidst frenzied passion and, after the crisis, the profound anguish of soul of the hapless king comes out in a hundred exclamations. At Colonus, Oedipus's indignation is as vehement as Antigone's sorrow is deep. The entire background of *Ajax* is one of mad fury, the drama itself, as Maeterlinck himself acknowledges, dealing with nothing but the hero's regret for that fury. And lastly, the depths of Philoctetes' soul, so far as they are revealed, are revealed in his indignation and sorrow. Of all the classical plays that Maeterlinck has cited to support his position, perhaps *Suppliants* is the poorest in passion; but even that play is not completely free from it. The daughters of Danaus, on the point of being overtaken by their pursuers, 'fettered as one in a nightmare' (7) shriek, cursing and praying in the same breath. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how a drama would be possible without both physical and psychological action. Maeterlinck describes psychological action as one 'that seems indispensable' ('qui semble indispensable') (8); we would call it 'indispensable' without any reservation. Sounding the depths of the human soul has always been the noblest

6. Prof. G. C. W. Warr's translation in *The Athenian Drama*, Vol I (1900), p. 80.

7. A. S. Way's translation in *Aeschylus in English Verse*, Part II (1907), p. 96.

8. *Le Trésor des Humbles* (1904), p. 190.

part of the function of drama. That function itself is largely psychological in character. Examining *Philoctetes* in some detail, Maeterlinck holds that 'the chief interest of the tragedy does not lie in the struggle we witness between cunning and loyalty, between love of country, rancour, and headstrong pride. There is more beyond : for 'it is man's loftier existence that is laid bare to us' (9). It is beyond doubt that man's loftier existence is laid bare to us in *Philoctetes* more than in Neoptolemus or Ulysses. But how is this existence revealed ? *Philoctetes* does absolutely nothing ; he only feels, and expresses those feelings in words, as far as feelings may be thus expressed ; there is not much even of thinking. Maeterlinck rather mystically says that a poet adds to ordinary life an unknown something, which is the poet's secret, and thereby reveals life in its stupendous grandeur, even as a chemist adds a few mysterious drops to a vessel of pure water and thereby raises masses of crystals to the surface. The feelings of *Philoctetes* undoubtedly suggest an inexpressible tumult that passes within the depths of his being, but these feelings are the crystals that may be detected rising to the surface of life. Maeterlinck describes *King Lear* as 'the mightiest, the vastest, the most stirring, the most intense dramatic poem that has ever been written' (10), 'the synthetic and representative play, the archetypal play of the human stage' (10). And yet in this play what crystals has Shakspeare brought to the surface, except the crystals of passion ? In this play, says Maeterlinck, "fatality itself is quite inward, is no more than passion run mad" (11) ; the summit on which the play unfolds itself "is formed solely of enormous human strata, of gigantic blocks of passion, of reason, of general and almost familiar sentiments, overthrown, heaped up, superimposed by an awful tempest" (12) ; "the lyricism of the play is more continuous, more overflowing and more illusive and yet more natural, nearer to the realities of everyday life, more familiarly stirring than the lyricism of *Hamlet*, because it springs not from thought, but from passion" (13). Crystals of thoughts also may come up to the surface as they do in *Hamlet* and,

9. *The Treasure of the Humble*, pp. 109, 110.

10. *Life and Flowers*, p. 192.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 195.

sometimes, in *Macbeth*; but when life passes through an intensely critical moment, thoughts almost merge into feelings. The classical masterpieces in which Maeterlinck holds that even psychological action has been suppressed are rich in passion, certainly richer in passion than in thought. It would not have mattered if they were richer in thought than in passion. Psychological action would have been there, as in fact it is already there in plenty. Maeterlinck's phrase 'psychological action', therefore, seems rather obscure. Can he mean by it only the action that consists in the processes of 'elementary passions' like vengeance and lust? With reference to these masterpieces he says: "Here we are no longer with the barbarians, nor is man now fretting himself in the midst of elementary passions, as though, forsooth, these were the only things worthy of note: he is at rest, and we have time to observe him" (14). Orestes and Electra are not barbarians, nor are Aegisthus and Clytemnestra; but, all the same, they are victims of the passions of vengeance and lust. Maeterlinck has gone too far in asserting that even psychological action has been suppressed in these classical plays. Deprived of physical action, the dramatist is left only with psychological action wherethrough to present and interpret life. This is the action that the classical tragedians predominantly used and this is the action that Maeterlinck himself has predominantly used in most of his plays to reveal the spiritual ferment in his *dramatis personæ* of which we have spoken above.

Physical action, in some of Maeterlinck's plays, is even less than that in many classical tragedies; in others it is perhaps as much or a little more. *The Intruder*, for example, presents a stage whose static condition is unrivalled even by the stage of *Philoctetes* or *Prometheus Bound*. Like all tragedians he has not been able to avoid death; but if his imitations of Elizabethan drama and the two realistic dramas of the War are left out, death never enters his plays amidst blood and thunder. It enters with the cry of a child, the rustle of a wind, a flicker of the lamp, a tap on the door, amidst avowal of love and confession of sin. Its approaching form is occasionally veiled by the beauty of the night, occasionally by the beauty of passing flocks and singing birds and opening flowers.

Bodily movements that may be found indispensable are sometimes enchanted by the creation of a dream-world. Physical action being thus virtually banished or reduced to a position of only minor importance, the characters express themselves mostly through dialogues and sometimes even through silence. As a means of communication between soul and soul, silence occupies a very peculiar position in Maeterlinck's philosophy and dramatic art. "Speech", according to him, "is of Time, Silence is of Eternity" (15). "The true life, the only life that leaves a trace behind, is made of silence alone" (16). Silence is "the angel of the supreme truth, the messenger that brings to the heart the tidings of the unknown" (17). "It is the sun of love, and it ripens the fruit of the soul, as the sun of heaven ripens the fruit of the earth" (18). His characters are never eloquent; they never deliver oratorical speeches. As in normal life we rarely utter a dozen sentences without a pause or two, so too his characters never speak a dozen sentences at a stretch: pauses, however slight, occur at intervals. From *Princess Maleine* to *The Power of the Dead*, the pages of his dramas are bestrewn with dots and dashes, expressive of the natural breaths his characters take while talking. Similarly, silence, as a dramatic device, is used in the majority of his plays, though with far less frequency in the later than in the earlier ones. Always longer than a mere pause, it varies in duration and serves to help on in different ways the development of atmosphere and character and consequently of plot. In the half-dozen early plays which are of a decidedly static character, namely, *The Intruder*, *The Slightless*, *The Seven Princesses*, *Alladine and Palomides*, *Interior*, and *The Death of Tintagiles*, and also in *Pelleas and Melisanda* and *Aglavaine and Selysette*, it has sometimes been used to suggest sullen reproof, gloomy discontent, languor, helpless resignation to fate, the coming on of an unknown calamity, anxious waiting, an inexplicable uneasiness of heart, the presence of a mystery, and terror; sometimes it suggests the birth of jealousy and hatred and sometimes the birth of love. Among the later plays, a brief silence in *Monna Vanna* seems to betoken a tumult within the depths

15. *The Treasure of the Humble*, p. 4.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 14. •

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

of the soul at a critical moment in the lives of the central figures, and in *Mary Magdalene* a profound silence reveals a deep spiritual crisis in the life of the heroine. In *Joyxelle*¹⁹ and *The Cloud that Lifted* silence has no new function but indicates the operation of love and hatred as in some of the earlier plays. It is not possible to define exactly the significance of silence in any situation that is psychologically important ; but still, silence is found to be the only means of intercourse between one soul and another at the most critical moments of their existence. When the atmosphere is charged with the presence of dark, inscrutable forces of destiny, and the soul stands face to face with the mysterious unknown, speech automatically fails ; the soul scarcely knows its own upheavals below the surface of consciousness. Even the commoner forces of love, jealousy and hatred bring about repercussions that may leave no external trace except in a look of the eye. Not only this ; apart from the significance that silence may have in itself, it adds to the weight of the words actually uttered. Silence creates an atmosphere in which words put on a new colouring. Accordingly, the real value of words may be appraised only if they are taken along with the silence that accompanies them. "As gold and silver are weighed in pure water, so does the soul test its weight in silence, and the words that we let fall have no meaning apart from the silence that wraps them round" (19).

The extraordinary emphasis that Maeterlinck lays on the value of silence has led him to divide dialogues under two categories, 'outer' and 'inner' or dialogues of the 'first degree' and dialogues of the 'second degree' (20). He holds that the dialogues that fill the pages of an ordinary drama generally touch the mere surface of life ; in a drama that is really beautiful and great such superficial dialogues, if any, count for little, as an 'atmosphere of the soul' (21) is produced there by words which at first sight appear unnecessary, but which at bottom are the whisperings through which the soul will reveal itself in the presence of a mystery. They are akin to silence and assist silence in the establishment of a spiritual communion between characters on whom the language of ordinary

19. *The Treasure of the Humble*, p. 19.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 119.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

conversation falls flat. Maeterlinck detects an extremely attenuated and variable echo of this type of spiritual dialogue in some of the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles and in modern times, for example, in Ibsen's *Master-BUILDER*. Hilda and Solness, in his opinion, are the first characters who feel themselves living for an instant in an atmosphere of the soul, and their conversation resembles nothing we have ever heard. The two types of dialogues, he tells us, are found in great dramas side by side; but with reference to the conversation of Hilda and Solness he says that there the inner and the outer dialogue have been blended in one expression. The point is very subtle and may be regarded as constituting a kind of esoterism in dramatic art. None should be so rash as to dogmatise on the character of a particular dialogue, whether it is purely an 'inner' dialogue or 'outer' or a blending of the two; but one might be pardoned an attempt to find out an instance or two of such a blending from Maeterlinck's own dramas. As silence plays a more prominent part in the earlier 'static' plays, this blending of inner and outer dialogues also seems to be more in evidence in them. Much of the conversation between the Grandfather and the other characters in *The Intruder* may illustrate it. In *Alladine and Palomides* the conversation (Act V) carried on in subdued tones by Alladine, Palomides, Astolaine and the Sisters of Palomides seems to suggest something over and above the meaning of the actual words. Outside the static plays, Vanna's talk with Prinzivalle in *Monna Vanna* (Act II, Sc. iii) does not spring merely from the intellect and reason; and in *Mary Magdalene* the words coming out of the mouths of Mary and Lazarus (Act II, Sc. iii) have perhaps a significance of the 'second degree.'

The predominance of psychological action and the exclusion of oratory have jointly imparted a lyrical tone to the majority of Maeterlinck's plays. The plays beginning with *The Intruder* and ending with *Ardiane and Barbe Bleue* are steeped in lyricism. In the remaining plays, from *Monna Vanna* to *The Power of the Dead*, the characters reveal themselves through narration or description rather than through emotional outbursts, but occasional lyric passages are not rare in some of them. Of the earlier plays which are throughout lyrical in tone, it may be generally said that the characters therein are essentially subjective in temperament, each of them having

a world of his or her own. They have little to do with the world of humanity at large, with its ceaseless toil and trouble. Far from the madding crowd of the matter-of-fact world, they face their destinies in silence. Their passions flow on smoothly and calmly, never rising to the tumultuous glow of classical or the feverous heat of Elizabethan tragedies. Accordingly, the lyrical note of these plays is akin to the soft piping of a shepherd ; it never attains the symphonic grandeur of a classical chorus or the pitch and volume of a Macbeth's anguished cry. The emotional fervour of the characters sometimes finds expression in songs which have a mystic, haunting appeal. These songs do not seem to have any direct connection with the action of the plays ; but they beautifully suggest the emotional condition of the persons who sing them, almost as an echo suggests the character of a far-off sound. King Ablamore sings of unhappiness that had three keys of gold ; Melisanda sings (22) of a thirty years' fruitless search for the object of the heart's desire ; in Selysette's song of the lover the door is heard to close, the lamp to burn, and the soul to moan ; and a fairy dies in the song of Orlamonde's five daughters sung by the imprisoned wives of Blue Beard. What were those three keys of old ? Who was the sad lady addressing her sisters after a fruitless search for thirty years ? Who heard the door close, the lamp burn, and the soul moan ? And who was the fairy that died and why should a fairy die ? None can give a definite reply to any one of these questions. The songs are vague and suggest old, bygone days of sadness and magic ; but the impressions they leave on the mind very faithfully indicate the peculiar moods of the singers. The songs, however, do not exhaust the lyricism of the plays. The emotional nature of the *dramatis personæ* often tends to invest even the prose they talk with a rhythm, not unlike the rhythm of free verse. The exact character of this rhythm can hardly be clear to the uncertain ear of a foreigner, but an attempt may be made to find out some of the conditions that have combined to produce the result. The first thing that attracts one's notice in this connection is the brevity of the sentences spoken. Generally they do not

22. The song in the English translation of the play, 'Thirty years I've sought, my sisters', suits the context better than the song in the original, 'Les trois soeurs aveugles'.

require more breath for the utterance than does an English verse of eight, ten or, at most, twelve syllables. Next, these brief sentences are sometimes divided into two parts at the middle and sometimes into three parts at approximately equal intervals (23). Thus the following lines from the beginning of *The Intruder* are divided into two halves by a distinct pause at the middle :

Venez ici, grand-père, asseyez-vous sous la lampe.

Allons-nous sur la terrasse, ou restons-nous dans cette
chambre ? (24)

So also the following from *The Seven Princesses* :

Je ne la vois pas bien : il y a une ombre sur elle...

Oui ; il y a une ombre sur elle ; je ne sais ce que c'est...(25)

The following sentences from *Alladine and Palomides* seem to break up each into three approximately equal parts :

Il y eut des soirs où je vous quittais sans rien dire,
et où j'allais pleurer d'admiration dans un coin du palais,
parceque vous aviez simplement levé les yeux,
fait un petit geste inconscient ou souri sans raison apparente, (26)

In the third place, silence and pause, taken with a smaller number of syllables, often produce the harmony of symmetrical expressions, as in the following from *The Death of Tintagiles* :

Mais tu ne me comprends pas !...Soeur Ygraine !...Il n'y a pas
de temps !...Elle n'a pas pu me retenir...Je l'ai frappée,
frappée...J'ai couru...Vite, vite, elle arrive !.....(27)

23. With reference to the prose of the first eight or nine plays it has been said, 'Les rythmes s'adaptent à chaque instant à la mesure de l'octosyllabe et de l'alexandrin classique, ou plutôt des douze temps et des divisions en six, quatre et trois temps que ces vers étaient sensés grouper et redoubler. Le seule différence qui sépare cette prose du "vers libre" est dans le manque d'intention.' *La Poesie Populaire et le Lyrisme Sentimental* by Robert de Souza (1899), p. 131.

24. *L'Intruse* (1892), p. 11.

25. *Les Sept Princesses* (1891), pp. 22, 23.

26. *Alladine et Palomides* (1894), p. 38.

27. *La Mort de Tintagiles* (1894), p. 187.

Lastly, a very noticeable feature of these lyrical expressions is repetition,—repetition of single words, phrases, and sometimes even of short sentences. This is illustrated in the second and the fourth extract given here. Illustrations might be multiplied from some of the later plays as well.

The subsidence of the lyric note from *Monna Vanna* onwards is not a mere accident of Maeterlinck's dramatic method. It indicates a significant change that had already come over the poet's outlook on life. It shows that the poet had come out of the world of dreams into the world of reality, not the reality of the naturalists, to be found out by a dissection of social life, but the reality of the romanticists, revealed by an imaginative contact of the soul with the life of mankind in general. The change is to be detected faintly in *Sister Beatrice* and then, with comparative clarity, in *Ardiane and Barbe Bleue* which, from the viewpoint of form, still continues the lyric vein. From *The Intruder* to *Aglavaine and Selysette* (with the exception of *Pelleas and Melisanda*), Maeterlinck's characters are little more than puppets that form almost a part of the atmosphere in which they are placed. If they have any personality, that personality is shadowy, like the personality of figures from ancient legends (28). They are dreamers within their own selves or, at most, hypnotised beings within the bounds of an enchanted world. The eternal heart-beats of struggling humanity die away too far in the distance to reach their ears. *Sister Beatrice* is the first to hear them.

28. That these lyrical plays have something legendary about them was acknowledged by Maeterlinck himself in an interview to one M. Adolphe Brisson described in *Le Temps*, 25 juillet, 1896, as follows :

"Les paysans de chez nous, dit M. Maeterlinck, dont l'intelligence est paresseuse ont coutume de prononcer plusieurs fois les mêmes épithètes ou les mêmes verbes. Cette habitude donne à leur discours un caractère de gravité tout à la fois puéril et sentencieux. Je m'en suis inspiré, jugeant qu'un personnage de légende avait quelque affinité avec un homme des champs et pouvait parler la même langue....."

(Quoted by Robert de Souza in *La Poesie Populaire et le Lyrisme Sentimental*, p 133.)

Robert de Souza attributes the lyricism of these plays and also the fatalism of their characters to the indebtedness of these plays to some legends which, however, he cannot identify. (*Ibid.*, pp. 124-26).

O, you live here and do your penances,
And say your prayers, and seek to expiate sin,
But look you, it is I, and all my kind,
Who live beyond the pale and have no rest,
That ſo the bitterest penance to the end ! (Act III, p. 81).

Selysette. Ardiane, Ardiane !
Where are you going ?
Ardiane. Far away from here,
Down yonder, where I am awaited still.....
(Act III, p. 184).

The broadening of the horizon beyond one's own little life, which is thus first noticed in *Sister Beatrice* and *Ardiane and Barbe Bleue*, is maintained more or less in all the later plays. Monna Vanna offers to sacrifice herself to save the starving citizens of Pisa ; Tytyl goes out in search of a secret that will bring happiness to mankind ; Mary Magdalene's is a career of revolution ; the Burgo-master, deeply attached to life as he is, boldly faces death as the civic head of his town ; even Tatiana has known privations outside Sonia's boudoir, and Jean d'Ypermonde has been humanised by the contact of a bigger world outside his ancestral château. *Joyxelle* is, perhaps, the only exception among these plays, but it is, after all, an imitation. The men and women in these plays also, characteristically of Maeterlinck, are never violent ; they *do* little ; their personality develops almost entirely through words ; but contact with the outer world and taste of suffering have given them more thought than sentiment, so

that their language is much less emotional and much less lyrical than the language of characters in the earlier 'static' plays. The net result is that they are never shadowy, puppet-like figures. They are fool-blooded, living individuals having their own shares of the sweets and bitters of life.

From *The Intruder* to *Aglavaine and Selysette*, it has been said above, the characters form almost a part of the atmosphere in which they are placed. This is to say that the main artistic interest, sometimes the only artistic interest, of these plays lies in the creation of an atmosphere. Generally speaking, it is an atmosphere of isolation, pervaded by a brooding sense of fatality. The eternal forces of nature run their wonted course: the sea roars, the wind moans, withered leaves flutter, trees stand in silence, their green leaves silvered over with the rays of the moon; the sun sets through the branches of weeping willows; tall cliffs beetle over solitary sea-coasts where mother-birds feed their young ones. It is a world which fate seems to have marked as her own. Here appear a few human beings resigned to fate without any struggle, without any help or sympathy from any fellow-creatures. Indeed, at moments it seems doubtful whether these fated beings belong to the human race that we know. Tall ships silently sail by and sometimes cast anchor off the shore, but none can say from what land they come and whither they are bound; we are not told anything of their passengers. These passive victims of fate end their brief careers, thus cut off from the rest of the world. Their abode is generally an ancient building with a tower and dark underground vaults; sometimes it may be a walled asylum or a single room with long glass-windows and a burning lamp, perfectly silent except, perhaps, for the ticking of a clock. Outside these rooms or buildings there is scarcely any sign of life. Occasionally an unseen shepherd takes his flock home, an unseen gardener plants flowers, or a number of unseen sailors sing in the distance a song of departure; but these only add to the eeriness of the atmosphere. In *Interior* we see a crowd, but that crowd only accompanies a dead body in silence.

The shadowy characters of these lyrical, fatalistic plays cannot be expected to develop anything like a complicated plot. Maeterlinck's plots, whether in the early plays or in the later,

are never complicated. In a piece or two of the early period there is really no story at all ; the creation of an atmosphere serves the purpose. The others have a very brief and simple story developed alongside of the atmosphere, and the two together either reveal the operation of some human passions or suggest the mystery of an unseen world. In the later plays the stories have clearer outlines and are less ethereal in character, but they never attain a complexity worth mentioning beside the story of *King Lear* or *Twelfth Night*. The important figures even in these plays hardly exceed the number three, so that the situation they develop is easily comprehended within a story developing, so to speak, along a single straight line. There is never a story within a story to serve as a parallel or a contrast or in any other way to create a situation subsidiary to the situation in the main story. There is little or nothing of those recognitions and reversals of situation which Aristotle deemed necessary for intensifying the tragic emotions. The interest of the story is sometimes heightened by the introduction of a dilemma and sometimes by the use of irony. The device of a dream has been more than once used to produce a mild shock of surprise ; but placing the spiritual experiences of the central figure within the framework of a dream has its disadvantages as well as advantages. It gives the dramatist perfect liberty to introduce any situation he likes, but it may lead to a lack of logical sequence. Thus in *The Blue Bird* and *The Betrothal* the acts or scenes succeed one another with so little necessary sequence that the plots of these two plays might almost be condemned as what Aristotle calls 'episodic'. The truth about Maeterlinck's plot-making seems to be that he has been more often guided by considerations of evoking a world of beauty through images than of effective storytelling under the conditions of the theatre.

Of the different features of Maeterlinck's dramatic method here detailed, the creation of an atmosphere is a transformation of the dominating feature of the method he employed in his first poetic attempts, *Hot-Houses*. Both in the poems and in the plays the work of this feature is to *suggest*, and suggestion is the essence of symbolism. Symbolism, in some form or other, marks Maeterlinck's creative art in its later as well as earlier stage. In fact, if any one aspect of Maeterlinck's workmanship were to be singled

out as specially characteristic of him, that aspect would be symbolism which will, therefore, be dealt with in a 'separate study.*

* Passages from the English translations of Maeterlinck's works have been quoted with the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs George Allen & Unwin Ltd. and Messrs Methuen & Co., Ltd.

MODERN PROBLEM PLAYS

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Very aptly has Mr. A. C. Ward characterized the modern age as an Age of Interrogation¹. The old certainties are no longer recognized as certainties and there is a restless desire on all sides to probe and to question. Things that used to be taken for granted in the various spheres of life,—religion, politics, literature, social and domestic life,—are being bravely challenged and shaken to their very roots. The result is that life and society which had so long presented a body of accepted creeds and settled conventions now offer a confused mass of puzzling complexities. Even such a social pivot as the marriage-bond is no longer treated as sacrosanct, and it now bristles with speculative complications which are providing food for anxious thought to the people of the age.

The novelists and the dramatists of old found nothing sensational or dramatic in the placid complacencies of real life and they had, therefore, to invent imaginary problems, set against a romantic background, to serve as the situations of their stories. But to-day truth appears in a garb stranger than fiction, and thrilling situations of the most diverse kind are lying all about the literary artist in the realm of fact. The postulates and axioms of real life have now turned into "problems", and all the world over these are being seized upon by the literature of the age as ready-made materials for its theme.

The question as to whether the prosaic facts of real life should be allowed to enter into literature or not has only an academic interest now. Possession is nine points of the law. Critical wisdom would, therefore, consist in accepting the inevitable with good grace without indulging in a vain regret for the old spacious times of glorious themes, gathered from the fairy-land of poetic fancy.

In this paper I shall attempt a rough study of the operation of this new factor in the field of English drama. The adoption of the problems of real life as the theme of modern English plays has necessarily imported into them the thoughts and ideas that are

¹ A. C. Ward—*Twentieth Century Literature*.

engaging the mind of the world in regard to these problems. But it will be no part of my business here to examine the sociological or speculative soundness of those thoughts and ideas. My occupation will be confined to the legitimate sphere of literary criticism and will consist merely in appraising the artistic and aesthetic value of the efforts of English dramatists of recent times to fashion the problem-theme into literary art. In other words, I shall try to find out how far the modern problem plays of England have succeeded in rising above the level of mere "literature of knowledge" and attaining the plane of "literature of power".

I shall, at the outset, take a hurried retrospect of the origin and growth of English Problem-Drama. In the 18th century English Drama, like English Poetry, was at a low ebb. With the honourable exception of the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, who are aptly characterized by a critic as "two palm trees in the desert of 18th century drama", plays of two kinds comprised the entire dramatic output of the century,—light and frivolous farce, burlesque and satire on the one hand, and plays replete with sanctimonious pose and morbid sentimentalism on the other. There were, besides, some heavy and sonorous tragedies, but they too had no contact with life. In short, artificiality and conventionality were all the mode, and these features continued unimpaired all over the first half of the nineteenth century. Here too with the solitary exception of Shelley's *Cenci* we have a mass of unnatural and insignificant plays which a wise posterity has justly cast into the limbo of oblivion. The decadence that thus prevailed over English drama for a period of a century and a half consisted mainly in theatricality and complete divorce from life and nature. This inevitably provoked a reaction towards realism, and a tremendous impetus in this direction was furnished by Ibsen towards the close of the century. But even before the influence of Ibsen came to operate in England, indigenuous efforts in the line had already set in and were paving the way for the new realistic drama of the present day.

The most important name to be recalled in this connexion is that of T. W. Robertson whom Marriott calls "the Fairy Prince who woke the sleeping Princess from her hundred years of coma."¹

1. J. W. Marriott—*Great Modern British Plays* :—Preface.

Whatever may be the intrinsic value of Robertson's plays, they occupy the proud position of pioneers in the field of modern realistic drama in England. They make a real attempt to bring the stage into closer touch with life. The artificial speech and theatrical passion, the melodramatic rant and sentimental outburst of the drama that went before, were completely abjured, and the themes were confined to the incidents and situations of real life. It was here that the new movement had its birth, and the year 1865, the date of Robertson's first comedy, *Society*, is, therefore, looked upon as the starting-point of modern drama in England. Henceforth the dramatist approaches his task in a mood of high seriousness and sets before himself the purpose of offering a criticism of life and society. The play ceases to be an idle pastime, becomes thoughtful and introspective and comes to serious grips with the stern realities of life.

Robertson died in 1871 and for about two decades after his death there was no further advance, till during the 'nineties the movement received a fresh fillip at the hands of Bernard Shaw, Arthur Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones. By that time the influence of Ibsen, which had spread vigorously all over the continent for about twenty years, had begun to be felt in England as well. True to her insular tradition, England had at first set her face against the spell of the Norwegian wizard. A Dutchman, Mr. J. T. Grein, first pressed the new drama on her notice. He, together with William Archer and Bernard Shaw, stoutly championed the policy of de-insularizing the British drama. Grein founded the Independent Theatre in 1891, and the people of England gradually came to realize and appreciate the significance of the new type of drama initiated by Ibsen.

Ibsen dealt courageously with the problems which were stirring the minds and hearts of the people of the age. He handled domestic subjects with perfect candour and in an absolutely unconventional manner. He introduced moral and sociological problems of the most delicate kind into his plays. He showed that the dramatist did not require to stray away from real life in search of situations, but he may find enough situations, and to spare, in the countless practical problems which face the people of the world at every moment and urgently call for

dramatization. He proved that the subtlest workings of the human mind and heart, the sharpest clashes and conflicts of thought and feeling may be vividly presented through the problems of every-day life. He was a poet and his imagination enabled him to intensify and magnify the problems, to diagnose and lay them bare. He made drama 'natural' in every way, dispensed with the use of conventional dramatic tricks like the 'aside' and the 'soliloquy' and employed, as far as possible, the language of real life for his dialogues.

Ibsen's "A Doll's House" was first performed in England in 1899. Pinero and Jones proved ready converts to the new movement. Bernard Shaw needed no conversion, for his temperamental tendency towards iconoclasm found something very akin in Ibsen's radical attack on social conventions. Shaw tried to popularize the Ibsen cult in England through his famous critical work, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*.

The subsequent history of Problem-plays in England is essentially a record of Ibsenism in English drama, and there is hardly a play of this type, produced after this, that does not bear some trace or other of the influence of Ibsen, in theme, treatment and sometimes in the very dialogue and diction.

Among the authors of English problem-play in the last part of the 19th century, the name of Pinero, who died recently at the age of 80, emerges into prominence. His *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is a masterpiece and is a remarkable work of art with a problem-theme. With this play Pinero made a tremendous bid for leadership in the domain of the new drama, but unfortunately for him his other pieces could not keep up the standard. Shaw stole a march upon him and made himself the recognized protagonist of the new school,—a position which he has maintained ever since. Mr. Vernon speaks of "the great might-have-been that Sir Arthur Pinero is." "The ball was at his feet, but Shaw kicked it."¹

In this connexion we have to mention two other dramatists of the period,—Henry Arthur Jones and Sir John Barrie. Henry Arthur Jones, the author of *Saints and Sinners*, *Liars*, etc., had a hearty hatred of hypocrisy in every form, and this naturally attracted

1. Frank Vernon—*Twentieth Century Theatre*, p. 20.

him towards the plays of Ibsen. But he had mastered his craft independently and received only a stimulus from Ibsen. He confessed that his real teacher was Robertson. His plays were well ordered and were based upon observation and sound instinct. But he was too anxious to preach at his audience and his thoughts did not go deep enough. Neither Pinero nor Jones had the courage to penetrate into the roots of civilized society like Ibsen and Shaw. Still they went far enough to flutter the dovescots of convention and give a powerful forward push to the new drama.

Sir John Barrie, of *Peter Pan* fame, contributed a great play of this type, namely, *The Admirable Crichton*, the first social drama of the 20th century. It presents a new pattern of problem-play in the shape of an admirable mingling of fantasy and realism.

The problem-plays of Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy need hardly be recounted in this rapid review. Almost all the dramas of these two great writers are problem-plays. Shaw's *Man and Superman*, *Candida*, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, *The Apple Cart* and Galsworthy's *The Silver Box*, *Strife*, are some of the most striking plays of this class.

The most significant features of the post-war stage of English problem-play are the unflagging freshness and fecundity of Shaw, the emergence of Somerset Maugham and the meteoric conquest of the stage by Noel Coward. Maugham's *Our Betters* and *The Circle* are valuable additions to the list. Noel Coward's *Easy Virtue*, *The Young Idea* are some of the remarkable creations in the line.

Arnold Bennett's *Milestones*, Stanley Houghton's *Hindle Wakes*, Sherriff's *Journey's End*, Masfield's *The Tragedy of Nan* also deserve honourable mention before we close this brief recital of the outstanding productions in modern English problem-drama.

I shall now proceed to measure the artistic value of some of the notable problem-plays. But I would set about it after a short general discussion of the principles of dramatic art that are involved in a critical study of this particular type of play.

If there is one quality more than another that differentiates drama from other forms of literary art, it is objectivity. True drama is perfectly impersonal, and the intrusion of the author's own bias or opinion into the play at once mars its dramatic character. The great distinction of Shakespeare as a dramatist is that he has never

betrayed himself anywhere in his plays. His method was to conceal himself and to reveal life. For three centuries scholars are striving in vain to deduce the moral or political views of William Shakespeare, the man, from his plays. If the personality of the dramatist obtrudes itself upon his play, the author stands between his characters and his audience, and the entire dramatic illusion is lost. Now, the great danger that the use of current problems, as the theme of drama, entails is that it has a strong tendency towards divesting it of this essential virtue of impersonality. Problem-drama, by its very nature, inclines almost irresistibly, towards subjectivity. When a dramatist who, we may presume, is an acute thinker on the problems of the hour, treats of live issues like love and marriage, socialism and individualism, war and peace, capital and labour—it is idle to expect that the writer would always care to conceal his personal bias as though it were a guilty secret or be able to do so even if he tried. Consciously or unconsciously he will identify himself with one side or another. His favourite point of view will invariably receive a passionate emphasis, and there is every likelihood of his shaping his characters and situations in such a way as to attain a most effective and eloquent ventilation of his own views. Macaulay says that as every Englishman has his own party politics, no Englishman can write an impartial history of England. Similarly, as every thinking person has his own individual opinion on the practical problems of the hour, no one can deal with them, in any form, in an entirely dispassionate manner. We should not, therefore, be at all surprised at the frequent spectacle of a problem-play assuming a definitely partisan complexion and even turning into an instrument of propaganda. The proselytizing instinct is inherent in man, and when any opinion strengthens into a conviction in us it strives to convert others into it.

The moment the dramatic author is seized with a passion for converting the world to his own point of view, he “to party gives up what belongs to mankind” and ceases to be an artist. His entire technique is warped by this didactic impulse, his idea gains the upper hand over his story, and his characters turn into illustrative puppets, having no individuality of their own and serving merely as mouthpieces of the author. Problem-plays have become true works of art where the author has approached

his theme in the serene mood of a dispassionate observer, not looking at the question with the narrow vision of a partisan but with an eye "made quiet by the power of harmony and seeing into the life of things."

Our task of examining the problem-plays thus reduces itself to finding out whether the particular specimens which we shall choose for study have succeeded in avoiding the pitfalls of partisanship and propaganda and maintaining that perfect objectivity which is the *sine qua non* of dramatic art.

I would first deal with plays which seem to have failed to attain the character and level of art.

The Apple Cart, the latest of Shavian favourites, is a notable example of the sacrifice of dramatic art to a zeal for propaganda. In the Preface to the play Shaw says that it is "a comedy in which a King defeats an attempt by his popularly elected Prime Minister to reduce him to a cipher." To attain this avowed object Shaw paints the King as an exceptionally shrewd and tactful person and reduces the Prime Minister to a mere cipher. Both are a gross exaggeration and neither produces the impression of flesh-and-blood reality. The members of the Cabinet are shorn of ordinary tact and sagacity and the King, a perfect pattern of good breeding and good sense, is more than a match for all of them put together. What shrewd observations are thrown into the mouth of the King and how trite and commonplace are the words of the Prime Minister! Proteus, the Prime Minister, says,

"I had rather be a dog than the Prime Minister of a country where the only things the inhabitants can be serious about are football and refreshments."

As against this we have from the King a trenchant statement of this kind : —

"I should be very sorry to win, as I cannot carry on without the support of a body of ministers whose existence gives the English people a sensation of self-government."

One naturally suspects that it is Shaw himself speaking here through this King Magnus or King Magnified. It is no wonder that the play has been interpreted by many as a pro-monarchical manifesto. In Dresden, we are told, the staging of it was actually prohibited as a blasphemy against Democracy. Shaw was, of course, greatly

annoyed at this or, shall we say, pretended that he was annoyed and said, "It is never safe to take my plays at their face value." He claimed that "*The Apple Cart* expresses the unreality of both democracy and royalty as our idealists conceive them." But this plea of impartiality is hardly tenable. In order to heap ridicule on the ministers and glorify the King by contrast Shaw creates an absurd scene like this :—

Boanerges, who has just been taken into the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade, has come to interview King Magnus. He tells the King's Private Secretaries :—

"Look here. The King has an appointment with me at a quarter to twelve. How long more am I to be kept waiting ?.....They say that politeness is the punctuality of kings."

Sempronius—The other way about, Mr. Boanerges. Punctuality is the politeness of kings, and King Magnus is a model in that respect. Your arrival cannot have been announced to His Majesty.

Boanerges—A nice lot of young upstarts you have in this palace.

Pamphilus—And what have our young upstarts been doing to you ?

Boanerges—Well, I told one of them to tell the king I was here, and to look sharp about it. He looked at me as if I was a performing elephant, and took himself away after whispering to another flunkey. Then this other chap comes over to me and pretends he doesn't know who I am ! asks me can he have my name ! "My lad" I said : "not to know me argues yourself unknown. You know who I am as well as I do myself. Go and tell the king I'm waiting for him, d'ye see ?" So he took himself off with a flea in his ear. I waited until I was fed up with it, and then opened the nearest door and came in here.

The King appears and says :—

"You are very welcome to my little palace, Mr. Boanerges. Wont you sit down ?"

Boanerges—I *am* sitting down.

Magnus—True, Mr. Boanerges. I had not noticed it. Forgive me : force of habit. You will allow me to be seated ?

Boanerges—Oh, sit down, man, sit down. You are in your own house : ceremony cuts no ice with me.

Magnus—(gratefully) Thank you.

Could anything be more farcical than this ? If kings were so meek and forbearing as King Magnus and if members of the Cabinet

were unmannerly bullies like Boanerges, there would, of course, be no objection whatever to the eternal continuance of absolute monarchy and there would be no case at all for democracy.

It is palpably a thesis-play, the characters are mere caricatures and the situations are grotesque. In order to maintain the thesis the dramatist thinks nothing of making a ruthless sacrifice of naturalness of characterization and plausibility of incident.

The Apple Cart is one of the latest of English Problem-plays and we would now turn back to one of the earliest to illustrate the same phenomenon of the sacrifice of art to propaganda. We would choose Sir Arthur Pinero's *Mid-Channel*. The play dramatizes the situation of dull apathy and boredom, "dog-weariness," that is reached by a married couple in middle life—in "mid-Channel". Theodore and Zoe, husband and wife of 14 years' standing, are the hero and heroine of the piece. Each is sick to death of the other. Zoe complains—

"It's tiff, tiff, wrangle, jangle, outdoors and indoors with us..... He's getting so stodgy and pompous and flat-footed. He drives me mad with his elderly ways. ...As for my gowns or my hats—anything I put on—I might dress in sackcloth ; he'd never observe it."

Peter Mottram, a friendly outsider, steps into the breach and attempts the rôle of the peacemaker. He has no other function in the play than to address long speeches to the husband and the wife on "the crass foolishness of it all." They would not pay any heed to him. The husband told him—

"My dear fellow, if you'd get married, and have thirteen or fourteen years of it, as I've had, your views would be worth more than they are."

Peter—Oh, that won't wash. When a man's sufferin' from gout in the toe, he doesn't stipulate that his M. D. shall be writhin' from the same ailment. No, very frequently, the outsider.....

Theodore asked Peter to say something fresh on the subject, if he could, and not repeat the old, stale, platitudes.

Peter—My dear chap, it's tryin' to say somethin' fresh on the subject of marriage that's responsible for a large share of the domestic unhappiness and discontent existin' at the present day. There's too much of this tryin' to say something fresh on *every* subject, in my opinion.

Do we not catch the master's voice in all this ?

Peter continues—"You take it from me, there are two institutions in the world that are never goin' to alter—men and women and the shape of chickens' eggs. Chickens' eggs are never goin' to be laid square ; and men and women will continue to be mere men and women till the last contaugo."

This wise reasoner then trots out a parable :

"About half-way between Dover and Calais—about half-way between Folkestone and Boulogne—mid-Channel—there's a shoal.I've crossed on some of the finest days of the year. The sun's been shinin', and outside the harbour the water's been as smooth as it's been inside. Everythin's looked as enticin' as could be ; but as we've neared the Ridge—mid-Channel—I've begun to feel fidgety, restless, out o' sorts—hatin' myself and hatin' the man who's been sharin' my cabin with me. But the sensation hasn't lasted long.Gradually the beastly notion has died down, and in a quarter-of-an-hour or so I've found myself pacin' the deck again arm-in-arm with the travellin'-companion I've been positively loathin' a few minutes earlier."

The learned speaker is not content with this. The analogy he is anxious to draw is obvious, but he must rub it in. He continues—

"There's a resemblance between *that* and marriage..., yes, and marriage, mark you, at its best and brightest. The happiest and luckiest of married couples have got to cross that wretched Ridge. However successful the first half of this journey may be, there's the rough-and-tumble of mid-Channel to negotiate. Some arrive there quicker than others, some later ; it depends on wind and tide. But they *get* there, and a bad time it is, and must be a time when travellin'-companions see nothin' but the spots on each other's yellow faces, and when innumerable kind words and innumerable kind acts are clean forgotten. But, as I tell you, it's soon over—*well* over, if only Mr. Jack and Mrs. Jill will understand the situation ; if only they'll say to themselves, "We're on the Ridge ; we're in mid-Channel ; in another quarter-of-an-hour the boat'll be steady again—as steady" as when we stepped on to the gangway."

This is an extremely ingenious and edifying lecture no doubt. But this is not the stuff of which drama is made. It is obvious

that this reasoner has been introduced into the play by Pinero to serve as his own mouthpiece for giving an expression to his personal views on love and marriage. To make a hired talking-puppet like this the central figure of a drama merely for emphasizing the author's point of view is manifestly undramatic and injures the artistic character of the play as a whole.

In the two examples cited above we find that the author's zeal for propaganda destroys the art of the problem-play by leading to a caricature of characters, creation of absurd situations and introduction of a quantity of undramatic talk and exposition, conveyed through a figure who has no integral connexion with the action of the piece and whose only business is to expound the author's thesis in the play.

Let us now turn to the brighter side of the shield. Here again Shaw heads the list. Among the problem-plays that have achieved signal artistic success his *Candida* is decidedly one of the best. It dramatizes in a remarkably original way the threadbare theme of the old triangle and furnishes an excellent reply to Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. In it Shaw has no axe to grind, and it is a true work of art, perfectly objective. How artistically are the characters of the husband, Morell, and the wife, Candida, drawn and developed! The entrance of Eugene, the wife's lover, into their life, stirs up the heart of both husband and wife to its utmost depths, and they discover the strength of the tie that knit them together and of which they were not at all conscious before. Parsor Morell now learns to feel a passionate interest in his wife and even decides to cut a lecturing engagement only to enjoy her company,—a thing he could never have dreamt of doing before. Candida realizes the depth of her husband's affection for her as she had never done and as perhaps she should never have done if the lover had not come in. It is the appearance of the lover on the scene that brings tears to the eyes of Morell for his wife. When Candida asks her husband what he could offer her to win at the contest of love between him and Eugene, Morell said:—

"I have nothing to offer you but my strength for your defence, my honesty for your surety, my ability and industry for your livelihood, and my authority and position for your dignity. That is all it becomes a man to offer to a woman.....What I am you have

made with the labor of your hands and the love of your heart. You are my wife, my mother, my sisters : you are the sum of all loving care to me."

He has an easy win. Candida's heart is deeply touched, as it could not but be, for what husband has ever given a more touching expression to his boundless love, gratitude and admiration for his wife ?

And what a noble response does this passionate overture of the husband inspire in the wife ! Candida says to Eugene :—

"Ask me what it costs to be James's mother and three sisters and wife, and mother to his children all in one...Ask the tradesmen who want to worry James and spoil his beautiful sermons who it is that puts them off. When there is money to give, he gives it : when there is money to refuse, I refuse it. I build a castle of comfort and indulgence and love for him, and stand sentinel always to keep little vulgar cares out. I make him master here, though he does not know it, and could not tell you a moment ago how it came to be so. And when he thought I might go away with you, his only anxiety was—what should become of me !"

Could any dramatist do it better ? It is the real thing. Shaw might be determined usually to convert his plays into a mere medium of expression for giving the widest publicity to his views and inducing the world to accept them. But there are occasions on which the artist in him refuses to be kept down and Shaw stumbles into art in spite of himself.

We have put down a play of Pinero too on the black list, and it is only fair to him to make up for it by mentioning here his masterpiece, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, and citing it as an example of brilliant artistic success, as it undoubtedly is. The problem that forms the theme of the play is as to whether it is possible to rear a life of happiness, of good repute, on a miserable foundation. Aubrey, the hero of the piece, tries the experiment by marrying Paula, a woman with a past. Aubrey launched the project with the notion that he would be all alone in the life that he would live. But a fine dramatic surprise is provided by the unexpected return of Ellean, a daughter of Aubrey By his

deceased first wife, and this leads to endless complications. Aubrey finds it impossible to defy public opinion, he is unable to forget Paula's past and the most disastrous results follow. The moral of the piece emerges through the development of the situation and the reaction of the characters to it as it grows under our eyes. There is, of course, a *confidant*, Cayley, to whom Aubrey explains his plans and motives. One would wish this character away, for he strikes one as a puppet, created to help the dramatist in making his meaning clear. But he is not obtrusive like Peter Mottram of *Mid-Channel*. Barring this figure, the other characters are perfectly alive, the sequence of events is plausible and there is a refreshing absence of any attempt at direct preaching to the audience.

Another fine example of a supreme artistic triumph in the line is furnished by Sir John Barrie's *The Admirable Crichton*. Barrie never forgets that a drama is, after all, a story, and that nothing should be introduced into a play that would impair its story-interest. The problem handled in the piece is the old question of the gradation of ranks, the distinction between master and servant. Lord Loam, a member of the British peerage, professed to be extremely democratic, talked constantly of a return to Nature and even gave monthly tea parties to his servants in his drawing-room, at which his daughters had to serve the servants at the table. By a strange freak of circumstance Lord Loam, with his nephew, daughters and Steward, Crichton, was marooned in a far-off island. There they were thrown perforce into a state of Nature for which Lord Loam used to profess an ardent desire. Crichton now finds an opportunity to show the superior mettle of which he is made. While Lord Loam and his daughters and his nephew are thoroughly nonplussed by the unexpected mishap, Crichton proves himself a man and saves the situation almost single-handed. Unaided he improvises food, clothing and shelter for them all and automatically comes to be looked upon and treated as the most important and powerful person in the party. The tables are completely turned. The Steward becomes the master and the master becomes the servant. His daughters vie with one another for winning Crichton's hand. The eldest succeeds and considers herself supremely lucky.

Events now take a dramatic turn. The party is rescued and brought home. On return to civilization the normal order of things and ranks returns. Crichton again becomes the obedient and dutiful steward and Lord Loam reverts to his birth-right. His eldest daughter marries her former betrothed, the son of a Lord.

No speeches are made by any of the characters. But simply through the development of the situation the meaning that the writer has in view is brought home to us. Although no arguments are advanced the play is a powerful argument for the claims of God's natural noblemen as against the rights of the artificial peerage of civilized society. A curious world of fantasy is created to develop the situation, but the cleavage between the actual and the fanciful does not prevent the play from providing a critical commentary on the great social problem that forms the subject-matter of the piece. And it comes all the more forcibly to us because we imbibe it ourselves from the significance of a story that we thoroughly enjoy as story from beginning to end, and because nowhere does the author thrust himself upon us with direct moralizing.

The author offers no remedy for the problem, he merely points to its existence and leaves it at that. The play is supremely effective at once as a drama and as social criticism.

Fortunately among the English problem-plays direct propaganda is the exception rather than the rule. The majority belong to the class of *The Admirable Crichton* and its lineal descendants like *The Silver Box*, *Strife*, etc., which merely raise questions about social problems and leave audiences to draw their own conclusions.

We are now in a position to attempt a formulation of the principles which the problem-play of the right type has to follow. In this connexion we might recall the famous statement in which the great Irish dramatist of modern times, J. M. Synge, sums up the essence of a true drama. "Drama is made serious not by the degree in which it is taken up with problems that are serious in themselves, but by the degree in which it gives the nourishment, not very easy to define, on which our imaginations live.The drama, like the symphony, does not teach or prove anything."¹

1. J. M. Synge—Preface to *The Tinker's Wedding*.

The problem-play, like all other kinds of play, and, for the matter of that, like all other forms of art, must furnish something permanent and abiding to feed the imagination. It does this only when it portrays facts in such a way as to make them of universal significance, namely, by stressing, instead of the external facts of life, the thoughts and emotions of the characters. The centre of gravity of the play has to be shifted from without to within. The problem is only the raw material of the drama, the presentation of the human reaction is the finished product. The exposition of the problem is only the means, the unfolding of character is the end. Problems may not come into literature for their own sake but only as revelations of the inner workings of the mind and heart. Shakespeare made use of romantic situations for achieving this purpose. Ibsen employed situations of real life for attaining the same object. Between the technique of Shakespeare and that of Ibsen the difference is only in regard to the nature of the raw materials used, the finished product aimed at is the same in either case—and that is Man. As Shaw tells us, "Shakespeare had put ourselves on the stage but not our situations.Ibsen gives us not only ourselves, but ourselves in our own situations."¹ It is 'ourselves' that is given us by both.

In regard to characterization the author of the problem-play should take good care to see that his characters are not mere illustrations of a set of ideas which he is anxious to communicate. The characters should be left to grow and develop along their own lines, often straying away beyond the scope of the play, in the abundance and overflow of their own vitality. They must have the extra line that presents the contour of life and they should not merely talk but act, and things should happen to them. They might, for instance, quite legitimately fall ill and even die unexpectedly, merely, for producing an illusion of reality. The death of the wife of Roberts, the Labour leader, in Galsworthy's *Strife* is simply meant to lend verisimilitude to the story and no deeper meaning need be read into it, such as has been suggested by some ingenious critics. Referring to the character of Martin Leeds, the hero of Wells's *The Secret Places of the Heart*, Ward aptly remarks that it is a relief to find Leeds developing a carbuncle in course

1. B. Shaw—*The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, p. 202.

of the story. He says, "That carbuncle gleams for the reader like a cheerful lamp through a fog of seemingly endless talk. To have ideas is noble ; to have carbuncles human."¹

The ideas underlying the problem-drama should not spread out beyond the story. The play should be tightly woven together, characters and ideas forming the warp and woof and the story appearing on the finished texture. In his recent book, *Experiment in Autobiography*, H. G. Wells confesses that in his novels he could not succeed in covering his ideas with his story. Despite all his efforts to enlarge the novel's scope it "proved a blanket too small for the bed, and when I tried to pull it over to cover my tossing conflict of ideas, I found I had to abandon questions of individuation."² This very frequently happens to Bernard Shaw in his problem-plays. He has such a large number of ideas in his mind, all struggling for expression, that he has to turn almost all his characters into his mouthpieces, dictating Napoleon-like to six Secretaries at the same time.

As for the attitude that the author of the problem-play should adopt towards the point at issue, it should be one of perfect neutrality. But this would be no pose but a sincere expression of the true artist's catholicity of outlook, born of an imaginative insight into the core of things where the seeming discords and differences of outer life merge and coalesce. This judicial impartiality would not be the result of a lukewarm interest in the problem but of an equally passionate feeling for both sides of the question, both being ultimately human. The dramatist will not judge, will not condemn, he will only lay bare, point out and leave the world to pause and ponder. The true artist is never a party man. He is of the centre. A magnificent illustration of such artistic neutrality is furnished by the problem-plays of Galsworthy.

There should not be any direct moralizing. As Diderot says "I don't want clever maxims on our stage, but impressions."³ Direct preaching implies an intellectual arrogance which smacks of mediaevalism and can never be tolerated in the present democratic

1. A. C. Ward—*The Nineteen-Twenties*, p. 32.

2. H. G. Wells—*Experiment in Autobiography*—Vol. II., p. 496.

3. B. H. Clark—*European Theories of the Drama*, p. 289.

age. It is also much less effective than the indirect, insinuating appeal of aesthetic impressions. Ward rightly observes in regard to the problem-novels of Wells—"Wells might have laughed us into his Utopia but he will never fuss us into it."¹ Literature must entertain while it instructs, if it aims at instructing. It must persuade, not harangue. To quote Diderot again, "I agree that a dramatist may introduce points in his play which the spectator may apply to himself; let him ridicule people and predominant vices, and public events; let him instruct and please, provided he does not think about it. If the audience detects his purpose he will fail to achieve it; he ceases to write drama, and only preaches."²

The propagation of ideas, the propounding of theses, is the bane of the problem-play. Many a quack writer, entirely innocent of the artistic vein, has been flocking to the field merely for making a parade of some ill-assimilated knowledge and learning. Henry Arthur Jones is not at all too severe on this class of writers when he makes the following bitterly sardonic attack on them:—

"What about the other eminent critics and dramatists who have discovered that it is the first business of the play-wright not to have a story or a plot, but to have "ideas" and a "mission," to sweep up social abuses, to debate endlessly upon social questions and disputed points in sociology... The successful dramatists of the past were lamentably ignorant of psychology, sociology and heredity. They were obliged to construct their plays on the vicious principle of telling the interesting story in a well-framed concrete scheme; and by this means their plays have secured a permanent popularity,—which is a reprehensible thing to lovers of "ideas". But what modern playwright will take infinite trouble to learn the difficult task of constructing a play, when he can gain the reputation of being not only a great dramatist, but also a profound thinker by the easy expedient of tossing a few psychological or sociological "ideas" about the stage with the careless freedom of a happy hay-maker? It is very hard to obey laws; it is very easy to have "ideas". "Ideas" enforce no restrictions; they need not be even pursued; they need only be dangled and aired, and left to float away."³

1. A. C. Ward—*The Nineteen-Twenties*, p. 32.

2. B. H. Clark—*European Theories of the Drama*, p. 299.

3. Henry Arthur Jones—Introduction to Brunetière's "Law of the Drama."

In spite of such abuse of the problem-theme, which is consigning a large number of plays of the type to an exceedingly ephemeral existence, there is no reason to apprehend that the genuine plays of this class should fail to attain a permanent interest merely because they deal with current problems. If the problem-play goes down to the bed-rock of human nature it is sure to live. One touch of nature maketh all the ages kin. Problems may vary from age to age but the feelings and sensations of man as a suffering and enjoying human being continue the same through all times. There is a beautiful observation of Mr. Harold Williams in regard to this :—

“Art has no direct concern with passing problems as politics, morals and social economics ; its foundations are fixed upon the unchanging in human nature—emotional reaction to experience. And this emotional reaction is always the same....The triumph of the financier on the Stock Exchange is essentially the savage pleasure of his aboriginal forefather when he slew his prey with a flint-headed spear ; the joy of the aeronaut in swift flight differs in nothing from the ecstasy of the Indian shooting broken rapids in a frail canoe.”¹

I would now conclude with a few general remarks on the place of purpose in literature, so far as the question relates to the present study. Purpose, in itself, is not taboo in literature, and purpose is not necessarily incompatible with art. Literature has infinite powers of annexation and affiliation. Instead of being alarmed at the rapidly increasing use that is being made to-day of the drama and the novel for the rousing of social conscience by a treatment of current problems, we should rather accord it a warm welcome. When Bernard Shaw comes baffled from the press and the platform and turns to drama for capturing the heart of the world we should take it as a tremendous compliment to art. Lovers of literature have only to see that these would-be teachers do not infringe the fundamental laws of art and that things which should have appeared in the form of tracts or treatises do not masquerade in artistic robes and seek to pass off as literature.

Even if literature aims at the attainment of a moral purpose we need not denounce it on that account. So long as it is real art

1. Harold Williams—*Modern English Writers*, p. 295.

it is free to achieve whatever purpose it chooses to set before itself. There is no reason why the literary artist should not be allowed to produce art which is both "good art" and "great art" in Walter Pater's sense of the expressions. What higher purpose could literature seek to achieve than that of serving as an instrument of social and moral good, consistently with the maintenance of its character as art? What earthly objection could there be to an author starting with a purpose and finishing by producing a work of art? What harm to literature could proceed from him even if he came to scoff, provided he remains to pray?

I would end with the inspiring words of Diderot:—

"How mankind would be benefited were all the arts of imitation to seek a common end and came together with laws forcing us to love virtue and despise vice? It is the philosopher's place to invite them; he it is who must turn to the poet, the painter, the musician, and cry aloud, "Men of Genius, why has Heaven endowed you with gifts?" If the artists give heed to him, soon the images of debauchery covering our palace walls will disappear; our voices will no longer be the organs of crime; good taste and good customs and morals will gain inestimably."¹

1. B. H. Clark—*European Theories of the Drama*, p. 289.

ON THE TRANSFER OF THE CAPITAL OF MUGHAL BENGAL FROM RAJ MAHAL TO DACCA (JAHANGIRNAGAR) BY ISLAM KHAN CHISHTI.

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Much misconception and difference of opinion seem to be current regarding the transfer of the capital of the *subah* of Bengal from Raj Mahal to Dacca during the early years of the reign of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Islam Khan Chishti, who ruled as the viceroy in Bengal for five years, from 1608 to 1613, has generally been regarded as the founder of the city of Dacca. He has also been credited to be the builder of a new capital there, which was formally inaugurated and renamed Jahangirnagar in honour of the reigning sovereign.

Different motives have been attributed to Islam Khan in regard to the transfer of the capital. While some historians have laid undue emphasis on the Magh and Feringi raids as the reason of the transfer, others have almost ignored them, and have solely confined their attention to the hostilities of Usman Afghan and Masnad-i-Ala Musa Khan and his associates in explaining that incident.

Opinions differ also regarding the time when the change of capital was made. The most favoured date seems to be 1608 A.D., obviously on the authority of Stewart, but a later date, 1612 A.D., has also been suggested by Gladwin, and accepted by Taylor, Hunter, Wright, and others.

In short, some of the most essential points regarding the transfer—its precise nature, the manner in which it was effected, the real reasons that contributed to it, and the exact moment when it was accomplished—have not so far been attempted to be solved with any approach to finality.

Dr. N. K. Bhattashali, Curator, Dacca Museum, is the last writer on this subject. In a learned paper entitled "The English

Factory at Dacca (Bengal : Past and Present : Vol. XXXIII. January-June, 1927)", he has cleared up some of the prevailing fallacies regarding the transfer of capital, but the limited scope of the article has necessarily led him to deal with some of the points only, and these too rather briefly.

The discovery within recent times of some new material for the history of Bengal during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir renders the present attempt at a more exhaustive and minute study of the nature, manner, circumstances, and the time of the transfer of the provincial capital from Raj Mahal to Dacca quite feasible.

The most important original source is the Persian manuscript *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, written by an imperial officer of the Bengal *subah*, named Mirza Nathan Alau-d din Isfahani, later on created Shitab Khan by the Emperor Jahangir¹. It professes to be a history of Bengal and Orissa under the three *subahdars* Islam Khan (1608-13), Qasim Khan (1613-17), and Ibrahim Khan Fathjang (1617-24), and during the usurpation of the government by the rebel prince Shah Jahan for about a year (part of 1624 and 1625). The work is divided into four books, and the first book deals with the viceroyalty of Islam Khan, and has been entitled by the author the *Islamnamah* (p. 140b).

Though the *Baharistan* does not tell us expressly anything regarding the change of capital by Islam Khan, it offers for the first time a minute account of the Bengal viceroy's activities from the beginning to the end (pp. 1b-140b), and thus provides an excellent background for a critical study of our subject. Further we can glean from the detailed narrative of Mirza Nathan something about the nature of Islam Khan's transfer of the capital, the reasons why he did so, as also the time when it was accomplished. In short, the *Baharistan* well compensates for the paucity of material noticeable in the official chronicles of the period, particularly in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, and is also of great corroborative value.

1. For details of the *Baharistan* and its historical value, see J B O R S. Vol. VII, Part I. March 1921 ; A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy, Introduction, 7-9 ; Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI. Part III. Dec., 1932, Vol. XIII. Part III. December, 1934, and Vol. XIV. Part I, April, 1935 ; Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X.No. 4. Dec., 1934.

In addition to the *Baharistan*, the manuscript diary of Abdul Latif, a follower of Abul Husain who was appointed *diwan* of Bengal in 1608, describing his journey in the train of his master and Islam Khan, the new governor, in Bihar and Bengal up to Ghoraghat, throws some light on Islam Khan's itinerary prior to his advance to Dacca, thus corroborating to some extent the narrative of the *Baharistan*². Another Persian manuscript, the *Continuation* of the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* by Shihabu-d din Talish (Bodleian 589 : Sachau and Etche No. 240),³ giving the history of Bengal from Mir Jumla's death to the conquest of Chittagong by Shaista Khan in 1666 A. D., includes a graphic account of the Magh and Feringi raids into Lower Bengal, particularly in the reign of Jahangir, and this has an important bearing on our subject. For the prevention of these raids formed one of the main motives of Islam Khan in changing the capital to Dacca. An important Portuguese work, Antonio Bocarro's *Decada XIII da Historia da India* (1612-1617), offers the earliest and the most reliable account of the career of the Portuguese adventurer Sebastian Gonzalves, incidentally illuminating the part played by the Portuguese pirates in Bengal politics of Islam Khan's time.

So far for the new material. A more intensive use of the comparatively scanty material handled by previous writers and available in the standard Persian works such as the *Akbarnamah*, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, the *Maasir-ul-Umara*, etc., as also in the accounts of foreigners like Sir Thomas Roe, Herbert, Father Manrique, and Tavernier, has also been made with a view to rendering the present attempt as thorough as possible.

My justification for taking up this subject of very limited scope is that it is historically important, and, what is more, is of especial local interest.

As I have already suggested, the essential points in connection with our subject are three in number :—

2. For details, see J B O R S, Vol. V. 1919, and *Prabashi*, Aswin, B. S. 1326.

3. See J A S B, 1906 and 1907, for an abstract of its contents, and for an English rendering of three long passages bearing on our subject.

(1) The precise nature and manner of the transfer of the provincial capital from Raj Mahal to Dacca.

(2) The causes of the transfer.

(3) The time when it was accomplished.

A critical and detailed survey of the political changes in Bengal from the time of its formal conquest in the last quarter of the sixteenth century till the complete subjection of the independent zamindars there towards the beginning of the second decade of the seventeenth century is necessary at this stage for the elucidation of the three main points indicated above.

Throughout the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Bengal, 'the house of turbulence,' as it was aptly termed by Abul Fazl, was a source of constant trouble to the Mughal government. The defeat and death of Daud Kararani, the last of the independent Afghan rulers, in 1576 A. D., had only nominally transferred the sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa to the Mughal Emperor Akbar. He had yet to fight hard and long to consolidate his authority against the numerous Afghan and Hindu zamindars strongly established in that region. For more than fifteen years, there were repeated risings in Bihar, Orissa, and in North and West Bengal. When these were quelled, the imperial officers turned their attention to South and East Bengal. The most formidable enemies of the Mughal government here were Isa Khan Masnad-i-Ala and the Twelve Bhuiyas, Usman Afghan, and Chand Rai and Kedar Rai.

Isa Khan was the master of a vast territory comprising about a half of the present Dacca District, half of modern Tipperah, the greater part of Mymensingh, and perhaps some portions of Rangpur, Bogra, and Pabna. The centre of Isa's authority was, however, the strategic region south-east of modern Dacca, where the Ganges (Padma), the Lakhya, and the Brahmaputra formerly met. Khizrpur, on the left bank of the Lakhya, about a mile north-east of modern Narayanganj (and near the confluence of the three rivers), was an important fort. Opposite Khizrpur stood Katrabau, and opposite Narayanganj, Kadamrasul, two other fortified posts. About three miles east of Khizrpur, and nine miles south-east of Dacca, was Sonargaon, the capital. The tract east of the Brahmaputra in Mymensingh, extending to the eastern portion of the Sylhet District, was in possession of Usman, whose stronghold was Bokainagar, on

the left bank of the Brahmaputra, about 62 miles due north of Dacca. The *parganah* of Bikrampur, on the left bank of the Ganges, covering the southern portion of Dacca District, formed the dominion of Chand Rai and Kedar Rai. Sripur, on the Kaliganga river, nine miles south of Sonargaon, was their capital.

Such was the disposition of the hostile forces when Raja Man Singh assumed the viceroyalty of Bengal in the spring of 1594. He abandoned the old capital at Tanda, and founded a new one at Raj Mahal on the Ganges (Oct., 1595). He then led a number of campaigns against Isa Khan, Usman Afghan, and Kedar Rai.

It is in connection with these protracted encounters of Raja Man Singh with the rebellious zamindars of south-eastern Bengal that Dacca first comes into prominence in Mughal history. It was already the seat of an imperial *thanah*, as the *Akbarnamah* tells us. But it was too near the domain of Isa Khan and Usman Afghan to be immune from their depredations. In fact, as early as 1584, it appears to have been captured, and its *thanahdar*, Sayyid Husain, imprisoned by Isa Khan. The neighbouring *thanah* of *Bhowal*, about 17 miles north-east of Dacca (Rennell's Map VI), too probably passed into the hands of Isa Khan¹.

So long as Isa Khan lived, these imperial outposts do not seem to have been recovered. It was not till three years had elapsed after the death of Isa Khan (which occurred in the autumn of 1599) that the *thanahs* were reoccupied, and used, as the *Akbarnamah* tells us, by Raja Man Singh, as the base of operations against Daud Khan, son of Isa Khan, Usman Afghan, and Kedar Rai.

Usman now figures as the leader of the Afghan malcontents. He took advantage of Man Singh's temporary absence in Ajmere to inflict a severe defeat on the imperialists. The Raja hastened to Bengal and soon recovered the lost ground. He took up his quarters in Dacca in February, 1602, and began to make earnest preparations for a final contest with the rebels.

Kedar Rai at this time made a show of submission, but Usman did nothing of the kind, and again turned aggressive. He suddenly crossed the Brahmaputra and captured an imperial *thanah* (probably Alapsingh), driving the *thanahdar* to take shelter in Bhowal. Thereupon the Bengal viceroy marched from Dacca towards Bhowal,

1. *Akbarnamah*, III. pp. 657-60 (Beveridge).

whence he moved northwards along the river Lakhya till he came to close quarters with Usman. The Afghan chief was again defeated and driven back with heavy loss. The *thanah* of Bhowal was strengthened, and Raja Man Singh returned to Dacca².

The defeat of Usman put the other zamindars, particularly Daud Khan, son of Isa Khan, and Kedar Rai, on their mettle, and they jointly prepared for a serious encounter on the bank of the Ichhamati, probably at a place named Jatrapur, about 25 miles west of Dacca, where Isa Khan had a strong fort. An imperial force sent against them failed to cross the river Ichhamati and came back discomfited. This made the Bengal viceroy take the field in person. From Dacca, he marched westwards to Shahpur, on the right bank of the Dhalleswari (about 15 miles north-west of Dacca, and 12 miles east of Jatrapur, Rennell's Map VI), whence he moved farther west and reached the bank of the Ichhamati. He crossed the river in face of the strong opposition offered by Daud Khan and Kedar Rai, and ultimately compelled them to evacuate their stronghold and retire to their own capitals, Sonargaon and Sripur. After this vicorty, Man Singh returned to Dacca (c. March, 1602)³.

A new enemy now appears on the scene—the king of Arrakan (the 'Magh Raja' of Abul Fazl). Taking advantage of the internal troubles engaging the sole attention of the Mughal government, the Arrakan king Minpalaung (Sikandar Shah, 1571-1593) steadily stretched his arms northwards till the whole of Chittagong and the greater part of Noakhali and Tipperah came under his sway. His son Minyazagyi (Salim Shah, 1593-1612) followed his father's example, and proved to be a serious menace to the Mughal peace in Bengal.

Another, and probably a more troublesome, element had already made its appearance in Bengal. It was the Portuguese sea-rovers, commonly styled the Feringi pirates. As their name indicates, they were not lawful subjects of the king of Portugal, and owed no allegiance to his representative at Goa. Nor did they submit themselves to the authority of the Arrakan king, though they established colonies in his territories and sometimes faught under

2. *Akbarnamah*, III. pp. 1151, 1174, 1179-80, 1213-14.

3. *Akbarnamah*, III. pp. 1214-15.

his banner. They had two strong settlements in the domain of the Arrakan king, one at Dianga (20 miles south of Chittagong town, and south of the mouth of the Karnafuli river), and the other at Syriam, a noted part in Burma.

The Portuguese free-booters were very often in alliance with the local people of Chittagong, commonly known as the Maghs, who were a race of competent seamen, living a similiar piratical life. They were subject to little control of the Arrakan king, though they often joined him in his military excursions into Mughal Bengal.

Towards the end of the spring of 1603, the Arrakan king invaded Bengal with a large fleet. Kedar Rai, the zamindar of Sripur, smarting under the humiliating defeat sustained at the hands of the Bengal viceroy in March, 1602, now seems to have joined the Arrakan king. The allies marched in the direction of Sonargaon and laid siege to the imperial outpost at Tribeni ('Parmmahani' of Abul Fazl.)* The local *thana*dar somehow succeeded in repelling the invaders, but the latter fell upon the neighbouring outposts and reduced the garrisons to great straits. When the Bengal vicerey heard of the success of the enemy, he promptly left his headquarters at Dacca and came to the scene. A number of skirmishes on land and water followed, in one of which the imperialists captured one hundred boats of the Arrakan king, yet no decisive result ensued.

A few months later (c. Oct.,—Nov., 1603), there was a recurrence of hostilities. The outpost of Srinagar⁵ now formed the target of attack of the combined forces of the Arrakan king and Kedar Rai. A naval battle was faught near Bikrampur, in which Kedar Rai was totally defeated and severely wounded, and many of his followers, including Feringis, were killed. Kedar died of his wounds soon after he was brought before Raja Man Singh. 'With his death,

4. Tribeni, according to Jatindra Nath Roy, *Dhakar Itihash*, I, p. 472, is the place where the Brahmaputra (Meghna), Lakhya, and Dhalleswari have met opposite Narayanganj.

5. Srinagar was situated on a bank of the Kaliganga river, and it was renamed Fathjangpur by Raja Man Singh after his final victory over Kedar Rai — *Vide Dhakar Itihash*, Vol. I. pp. 485-86.

says Abul Fazl, 'the flames of disturbance in Bengal were extinguished,' and the territories of Kedar Rai passed into the possession of the Mughal Emperor⁶.

6. *Akbarnamah*, III. pp. 1231-32, 1235-36 (E. and D. VI. pp. 109); *Iqbalnamah* (Bib. Indica series).

A good deal of confusion prevails regarding this interesting episode. Campos (History of the Portuguese in Bengal, pp. 67-72), relying almost entirely on the evidence of the Portuguese chroniclers, particularly Du Jarric, interprets it primarily as a contest between the Arrakan King and the Portuguese adventurer Carvalho, over the possession of the island of Sandwip, in the early part of which Kedar Rai helped the Arrakan King with 100 *kosahs*. Unable to cope with the Arrakan King, Carvalho subsequently took refuge with Kedar Rai, and fought on his behalf against the Mughal admiral Mandarai, killing him and destroying his fleet.

Mr. Jogendra Gupta, the biographer of Kedar Rai, on the other hand, depending obviously on a mistranslation of Du Jarric's narrative (as also Nikhil Nath Rai in his "Pratapaditya"), makes Kedar Rai help not the Arrakan king but Carvalho in the struggle for the mastery of Sandwip.

Mr. Gupta then gives a graphic account (based partly on Du Jarric and partly on hearsay) of four sanguinary battles fought by his hero, aided mostly by Carvalho and his Portuguese soldiers, against the Mughals. In the first engagement, the Mughal admiral Mandarai was defeated and slain, and his fleet destroyed. In the second and third encounters, Kedar Rai won equal success, but in the fourth, he was defeated and captured, and finally died of wounds.

Mr. Gupta's accounts of the second and third battles are admittedly based on hearsay, and stand entirely uncorroborated. The story of the first engagement is obviously based on Du Jarric and that of the fourth on the *Akbarnamah* as translated (not quite accurately) in Elliot and Dowson's History, VI. p. III.

It seems possible to reconstruct the history of this episode, at least in outline, by a careful and critical analysis of the evidence furnished by Abul Fazl, Mu'tamad Khan (author of the *Iqbalnamah-i-Fahangiri*) and Du Jarric. Making proper allowance for the natural tendency towards exaggeration of the achievements and also extenuation of the discomfitures of their own people, it appears clear that the parties in the contest were the Mughals on one side, and the Arrakan king and Kedar Rai, aided by Carvalho, on the other side, and that there were two different campaigns, in the first of which there was no decisive result, but in the second Kedar Rai was totally defeated and captured.

Raja Man Singh returned to Dacca, but was soon called upon to disarm Usman who had again turned hostile. An expeditionary force was gathered at the *thanah* of Bhowal. Just at that moment, the news of resumption of hostilities on the part of the Arrakan king led the Bengal viceroy to alter his plan. From Bhowal he proceeded against the new enemy, but the Arrakan king voluntarily withdrew from the contest. Usman too changed his attitude and repaired to his own territory (c. spring of 1604).⁷

Thus as the result of strenuous exertions for about two years (1602-1604) on the part of Raja Man Singh, the political situation in Bengal for a time appeared to be satisfactory. The Bengal viceroy made adequate arrangements for keeping his hold firm over the newly acquired domain of Bikrampur and came back to Dacca. He felt so much at ease that he soon left his headquarters for Nazirpur (38 miles east of Maldah town, on the bank of the Atrai), where he spent the rains of 1604, probably in *khedah* work (Islam Khan did the same in 1609, *Baharistan*, 10a).⁸

Man Singh was recalled from Bengal in 1606, and he was followed in quick succession by two viceroys, whose rule was uneventful. The next important ruler was Islam Khan Chishti, who assumed charge of his office at Raj Mahal about the beginning of the rains in 1608.

Islam Khan was young and inexperienced, but exceedingly able and ambitious, and enjoyed the full confidence of the Mughal

Abul Fazl and Mu'tamad Khan do not mention Mandarai and Carvalho, made so much of by Du Jarric. Similarly, Du Jarric does not refer to Kedar Rai's final defeat at the hands of Man Singh, which is vividly narrated by Abul Fazl and Mu'tamad Khan. Mandarai's existence appears to be very doubtful. But Carvalho plays too prominent a part in the history of the times to be relegated to oblivion. Probably Carvalho fought in both the campaigns, along with his old enemy, the Arrakan King, on the side of Kedar Rai. The *Iqbalnamah*, though not specifically mentioning Carvalho, distinctly refers to the Feringis fighting on behalf of Kedar Rai in the final encounter. The necessity of presenting a united front in face of their common enemy, the Mughals, might well have led the Arrakan king and Carvalho to patch up a truce and work for a common end, as they actually did afterwards.

7. *Akbarnamah*, III, p. 1236.

8. *Akbarnamah*, pp. 1240.

Emperor. He resolved to take up the unfinished task of Raja Man Singh and consolidate the imperial authority in south-eastern Bengal.

The political position there had grown worse since the time of Man Singh. The repeated defeats suffered by Usman had not at all cooled his military ardour, and he was still ever ready for a surprise attack on the imperial territories. The death of Kedar Rai was indeed a welcome event. But with the conquest of his extensive territories in Bikrampur, the Mughal government was brought into direct and more bitter conflict with Musa Khan, son of Isa Khan. He and his twelve confederates grew so much alarmed at the rapid extension of *Mughal sway that they began to make vigorous preparations to check it.

One of the earliest acts of Islam Khan was the recovery of the *thanah* of Alapsingh (*parganah* Alapsingh, on the western bank of the Brahmaputra, in Mymensingh District) from the hands of Usman Afghan. Profiting by the change of governors, Usman had suddenly seized the *thanah* and killed the *thanahdar* (c. June, 1608). A strong force was despatched from Raj Mahal, and Usman was compelled to evacuate the *thanah*. The Bengal viceroy then made himself busy in organising his forces so that he might, at the end of the rains, proceed towards *Bhati* (East Bengal) to deal with Musa Khan and his followers. Early in December, 1608, Islam Khan left Raj Mahal and marched down the Ganges towards Lower Bengal. Just before his departure from the capital, emissaries from Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore came tendering submission to the Emperor and offering personal service when necessary. When the Bengal viceroy reached Alaipur (15 miles south-east of Rampur-Boalia, Rajshahi), Usman also offered submission through an envoy (2nd January, 1609). Islam Khan spent two months in camp at Alaipur, and then (c. 2nd March, 1609) proceeded towards Nazirpur for *khedahs*. At Bazrapur (15 miles north of Natore, Dt. Rajshahi), Pratapaditya interviewed Islam Khan and personally acknowledged the imperial suzerainty.*

These professions of loyalty by two of the most powerful and wealthy zamindars of Lower Bengal came as a great relief to the Bengal viceroy. He now felt free to direct all his attention towards

* 9. *Baharistan*, 3b, 5a, 9a : Abdul Latif's Diary in *Prabashi*, Aswin, 1326 B. S., pp. 552-53.

disarming Musa Khan and his associates. But before he could proceed against them, he thought it necessary to safeguard his line of communications by subduing the numerous zamindars whose territories lay on the way. One by one, the zamindars of Bhushnah, Shahzadapur, Sonabaju, Bhaturiabaju, Hijli etc. (roughly covering the territories now included in Pabna, Bogra, Rajshahi, and Jessore Districts) were reduced to vassalage.

The Bengal viceroy suspended military operations on the approach of the rains. He crossed the Karatoya at Shahpur (in Pabna District, 35 miles south-west of Ghoraghat), and then proceeded to Ghoraghat, the seat of a strong imperial outpost, where he encamped for the rains (2nd of June, 1609).¹⁰

On the 15th of October, 1609, Islam Khan resumed his march towards the *Bhati* region. Moving down the Karatoya, he reached Shahzadapur (25 miles north-east of Pabna town), where he halted for sometime. Here the fleet and the artillery joined the land army, and a grand review of the entire force was held after the Id-i-Ramzan festival was over (18th of December, 1609).¹¹

At this stage the Bengal viceroy settled his plan of campaign against Musa Khan, and it is in this connection that Dacca again comes into political prominence. From Balia (six miles south-west of Shahzadapur), Islam Khan sent in advance a strong force of 2,000 matchlockmen, with 20 war-boats, 50 pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition, under Shaikh Kamal, Tukmak Khan, and Mirak Bahadur Jalayer, to Dacca to reinforce the garrison there, and also to create a diversion in favour of the imperialists. He himself, with the main army and the fleet, proceeded very cautiously to confront the Afghan chief.¹²

Musa Khan made vigorous preparations against the Mughals. He gathered all his followers and their war-equipment, and, with seven hundred war-boats, he marched from his capital Sonargaon towards the fort of Jatrapur, which stood at the entrance of the channel where the Padma (Ganges), the Dhalleswari, and the Ichhamati

10. *Baharistan*, 5a-7b, 9a : Abdul Latif's Diary (*Prabashi*, Aswin, 1326 B.S., pp. 552-53).

11. *Baharistan*, 16a-17b.

12. *Baharistan*, 17b-18b.

met (and where Musa Khan's brother Daud Khan had confronted Raja Man Singh in the spring of 1602). It was an almost impregnable fort, and was strongly garrisoned by an Afghan contingent under Mirza Mumin and Darya Khan. A little above Jatrapur, near the mouth of the three main streams, stood Katsgarh, another stronghold of Musa Khan. The garrison here was now reinforced from the headquarters.

Meanwhile Islam Khan encamped at a convenient place on the left bank of the Padma, a little ahead of Katsgarh, and prepared to attack the enemy post. Musa Khan anticipated him, and led an artillery charge on the imperial entrenchments from a mud fort rapidly made at a strategic point named Dhakjera, 3 miles north-west of Jatrapur. The first attack was repulsed, but more assaults followed, and still no decisive result ensued. At last Musa Khan was defeated and compelled to retreat with heavy loss.

Islam Khan captured Katsgarh, and then directed all his efforts to dislodge the enemy from the strongholds of Dhakjera and Jatrapur. First an assault on the fort of Jatrapur was planned in co-operation with Mirak Bahadur Jalayer, who was summoned to the aid of the *subahdar* from Dacca. Shaikh Kamal, the officer in charge there, promptly sent Mirak Bahadur with twenty boats. The latter moved up the Ichhamati to a strategic point down Jatrapur, where a channel from the Dhalleswari met the Ichhamati ("the mouth of the Kutharuiya" of Mirza Nathan), and he was there joined by the *subahdar*. A night attack on the enemy fort followed. The troops were safely transported across the Ichhamati with the help of the boats brought from Dacca, and then they fell upon the unsuspecting garrison in the early hours of the morning. After a feeble resistance, Musa Khan and his men evacuated the fort.

Islam Khan lost no time, and proceeded to attack the second fortified post of Musa Khan at Dhakjera. It proved to be a more formidable task. Though made of mud, this stockade was almost unassailable, for it had quagmire on three sides, and the river Padma on the fourth. Musa Khan too now offered stubborn defence, but was again defeated and compelled to flee, this time to his capital (c. 9th of June, 1610).¹³

13. *Baharistan*, 18b-23b. Mirza Nathan offers details of the conquest of Jatrapur and Dhakjera which have been omitted here as unnecessary.

Thus after a vigorous campaign lasting about six months (January to June, 1910), Islam Khan succeeded in inflicting a series of defeats on Musa Khan and capturing two of his strongest fortifications. He was now within twenty-five miles of Dacca, and his subsequent plan of campaign brought him direct to that place. Sonargaon, the capital of Musa Khan, must now be stormed, and the Afghan chief totally crushed. Dacca, about nine miles north-west of Sonargaon, furnished the most convenient base of operations. So the Bengal viceroy marched thither, taking necessary measures for securing his line of communications as well as for suppressing internal revolts. Moving down the Ichhamati, Islam Khan first came to Balra (about 24 miles west of Dacca), and then to Kalakopa (about 17 miles south-west of Dacca), where he captured an enemy stockade. Thence he proceeded to Dacca on land, while the fleet first halted at Patharghata (near the confluence of the Ichhamati and the Dhalleswari, about six miles south-west of Dacca), and then reached Dacca through the creek of "Guadhari" (Rennell's Map XII shows a creek near Patharghata, navigable during the rainy season, connecting the Dhalleswari and the Buriganga).

The Bengal viceroy spent the rains (c. June-Oct., 1610) at Dacca, and, as soon as the season for campaigning came, sent out some of his competent officers to set up a number of stockades at strategic points around the enemy territory. Though Islam Khan did not actually join fighting, he personally visited the different outposts, and guided the operations at every stage.

Musa Khan fought for the second time with the river Lakhya as his main line of defence. His first task was to thwart the attempt of the Mughals to enmesh him in the net-work of forts, and he fought a number of obstinate engagements in the vicinity of Khizrpur, Kadamrasul, and Katrabau, but lost ground everywhere, and ultimately retired to an island near his capital. One of his prominent officers, at this stage, played the traitor and handed over Sonargaon to the Mughals. Another piece of misfortune was the loss of the important fort of Katrabau, and the fall of its gallant commandant Daud Khan (Musa Khan's brother). The latter was the victim of a night attack made by the imperialists, who appear to have made common cause with the Feringi pirates. Undaunted by the series of misfortunes, Musa Khan made vigorous attempts to seize the

imperial forts of Kadamrasul, and Kodalia (2½ miles south-west of Narayanganj), but failed miserably. At last he thought it prudent to acknowledge the imperial vassalage, and personally submitted to Islam Khan at Dacca (c. June, 1611). The Bengal viceroy, anxious to put down Usman Afghan, pardoned Musa Khan, but kept him at court under strict surveillance.

Before Musa Khan was totally disarmed, Islam Khan received an envoy from a nephew of the Arrakan king Salim Shah, requesting Mughal aid for the recovery of the island of Sandwip from the hands of a Portuguese adventurer named Sebastian Gonzalves. The Arrakan prince proposed to send his sons as hostages to Dacca, and agreed to hold Sandwip as a vassal of the Mughal Emperor.¹⁴

A review of the relations of the Mughals with the Arrakanese and the Portuguese since the days of Raja Man Singh appears to be necessary for realising the significance of the negotiations mentioned above.

The Arrakan king Salim Shah, who had formed an alliance with Kedar Rai, the zamindar of Sripur, and fought against the Mughals under Raja Man Singh in 1602-3, was, soon after that period, involved in quarrels with the Portuguese pirates settled in Syriam and Dianga. These culminated in a general massacre of the colonists at Dianga in 1607.

Sebastian Gonzalves was one of the few Portuguese who escaped from that general massacre, and leaped into fame. He was destined not only to avenge the brutal murder of his countrymen, but also to play a prominent part in the history of Bengal throughout the rule of Islam Khan and even beyond it (1607-16). After living for sometime by plunder on the Arrakan coast, Gonzalves captured the rich island of Sandwip in 1609, and later on, seized two other islands at the head of the Bay of Bengal. He then set himself up as an independent ruler, but did not give up his piratical career. Too much power only added to his natural insolence and brutality. In 1611, he committed an act of great treachery by contriving the death of Anaporan, the governor of Chittagong, who had taken refuge in Sandwip, with his family and treasures, after a quarrel with his brother, the Arrakan king.

14. *Baharistan*, 28b-33a, 36a-37a, 41a-41b.

Anaporan's son solicited aid from Islam Khan to avenge the poisoning of his father by Sebastian Gonzalves.

Fully engrossed with the task of subduing Musa Khan, Islam Khan could not render any help to the Arrakan prince against Gonzalves, or otherwise curb his power. The Portuguese adventurer, consequently, continued his plundering activities with impunity, causing untold misery and destitution to thousands of Mughal subjects. The ruthless depredations of Gonzalves and his fellow pirates had, as we shall see later on, an important bearing on the transfer of the capital of the Bengal *subah* to Dacca by Islam Khan.¹⁵

Though the political complications at home prevented Islam Khan from taking immediate steps against the Feringi pirates, he lost no time in preparing the ground for fighting them. Hardly had the second and the final contest with Musa Khan ended, when the Bengal viceroy despatched a strong force to reduce Ananta Manikya, Raja of Bhulua, to submission. The territory of Bhulua, on the south-eastern frontier of the Bengal *subah*, was of great strategic importance, for it lay along the route of the Feringi pirates when they came to raid Bengal from Chittagong (see *Fathiyah, Continuation*, pp. 122b-125b : J.A.S.B. 1907). Unable to cope with the invaders, Ananta Manikya evacuated his domain, and sought shelter with the neighbouring ruler of Arrakan. Islam Khan made Bhulua, the capital of the Raja, into a strong frontier post and adequately garrisoned it.¹⁶

About the middle of October, 1611, Islam Khan sent a large force against Usman Afghan of Bokainagar. As before, he conducted the campaign from Dacca, moving, when necessary, to Toke, a fortified post on the Brahmaputra (about 42 miles north-east of Dacca, and about 34 miles south of Bokainagar). Usman tried his best to check the advance of the imperialists at every stage, but, after about two months of hard fighting, he was compelled to evacuate Bokainagar and flee across the Laur Hills

15. For the career of Sebastian Gonzalves and his relations with the Arrakan king, see Campos's *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, 81-87, 154-157, and Phayre's *History of Burma*, 173-76.

16. *Baharistan*, 40b-41a.

to Sylhet (c. early December, 1611), hotly pursued by the victors. Bokainagar, the fortified citadel of Usman, and the neighbouring outposts of Hasanpur and Agarasindar, were promptly occupied and strongly garrisoned.¹⁷

Islam Khan for a time gave up his pursuit of Usman, and utilised the respite in sending a punitive expedition against Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore. The Raja had fallen off from faithful vassalage, and broken his promise of personal service and of military aid in regard to Islam Khan's campaign against Musa Khan. The Jessore expedition conducted from the headquarters at Dacca attained rapid and complete success. The Bengal flotilla defeated the Jessore fleet in two successive battles, causing a heavy loss of men and ships, and, Pratapaditya, anxious to save his territories from total ruin, finally submitted to Islam Khan. He was confined at court, and his kingdom annexed to Mughal domain (c. January, 1612).¹⁸

Sometime after the conquest of Jessore, Islam Khan had to face a serious Magh raid, the first and the only raid recorded of his viceroyalty. Taking advantage of the temporary reduction of the garrisons in the *thanahs* of Sripur and Bhulua, owing to the equipment of the Jessore expeditionary force, a gang of Magh pirates with 300 boats raided the *thanahs* with impunity, and did much damage to life and property. The Bengal viceroy sent speedy reinforcements from Dacca, and the raiders hastily dispersed.¹⁹

Islam Khan next took up the unfinished task of subduing Usman, then strongly entrenched in Sylhet with 'Uhar' as his main stronghold. As Usman proved to be the most persistent and formidable foe of the Mughal government, help from the Royal Court was obtained by the Bengal viceroy in this campaign. But he did not conduct it in person. Islam Khan probably thought it unsafe to leave Dacca for fear of a fresh Magh raid. Usman and his Afghan chiefs in Sylhet fought hard to preserve their

17. *Baharistan*, 42a-46a : *Prabashi*, *Agrahayan*, 1328 B. S. 145-47.

18. *Baharistan*, 49a-57b : *Prabashi*, *Kartick*, 1327 B. S., 1-8 ; Satish Mitra's *Jessore-Khulnar Itihash*, II, 363-395.

19. *Baharistan*, pp. 58b-59a.

independence, but Usman's death on the field of battle (battle of Daulambapur, 2nd March, 1612) totally disorganised his forces, and his brothers were ultimately forced to submit to Islam Khan at Dacca (early in April, 1612).²⁰

The last notable act of the Bengal viceroy was the campaign against Raja Parikshit Narayan of Kamrup (c. Nov. 1613), which resulted in the conquest and annexation of Kamrup to the Mughal empire.²¹

Islam Khan did not long survive this victory in Kamrup. He was suddenly taken ill while hunting in the forests of Bhowal, and died before he could be removed to Dacca (21st August, 1613).²²

The death of Islam Khan is a landmark not only in the history of Mughal rule in Bengal, but also in that of the city of Dacca. The process of consolidation of the authority of the Mughal Emperor against the numerous powerful and independent zamindars, particularly of Lower Bengal, which had started with Raja Man Singh (1594-1605), may now (1613), at the end of nearly twenty eventful years, be said to have been completed. Never again was the imperial authority in Bengal effectively challenged, and the province gradually settled down to peace and order, finally developing into one of the most flourishing provinces of the whole empire. It was during this long process of conciliation and consolidation that the small and insignificant Mughal *thanah* of Dacca gradually grew in military and political importance till it became the official capital of the Bengal *subah*.

A detailed study of the topography of the town of Dacca and of its environs will prove useful for appreciating the reasons of the rapid rise in its fortunes.

So far as soil formation is concerned, Dacca is admirably suited for being the site of a town. It occupies the southernmost point of an elevated stretch of stable red *kunkar* soil, generally of low productivity, but much above the highest flood level of the surrounding rivers. Just south of it is an extensive low-lying tract of rich alluvial soil, but more or less submerged during the rains,

20. *Baharistan*, 62a-74a : *Prabashi*, *Agrahayan*, 1328 B.S., 147-53.

21. *Baharistan*, 105b-118b.

22. *Baharistan*, p. 141b.

and so unfit to be the site of any permanent town. The geographical position of Dacca is also eminently favourable for its political and economic prosperity. A glance at Rennell's Map No. XII will show that Dacca stands on a beautiful and very extensive plain bounded practically on three sides by natural watercourses—by the river Buriganga on the south, the Dolai on the east, and the Pandav river (now extinct, "Neri Creek" of Rennell) on the north and partly on the west. So it can easily be formed into a fortified capital, defendable on land and water. Again, the soil of Dacca and its environs being quite fertile, and the river Buriganga on which it stands being not too powerful or destructive like the Padma, and also navigable throughout the year, Dacca possesses natural facilities for developing into a busy centre of trade and commerce, and it actually did so under the Mughal peace. Above all, from the standpoint of strategy, Dacca occupies an enviable position. It is eminently fit to be used as a military base. Lying at the junction of the Dolai and the Buriganga, Dacca fully commands the numerous water routes which are short cuts from the main channels of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra intersecting south-eastern Bengal, and an effective control of these water routes has always been the one essential condition of success in warfare in that riparian tract.

What appealed most strongly to Raja Man Singh when he made Dacca his headquarters during the protracted conflict with Isa Khan, Usman Afghan, and Kedar Rai (the last one being often aided by the Portuguese and the Arrakanese) during the years 1602-04, was the strategic excellence of the place. Near enough for purposes of an attack on the territories of the most formidable enemies of the Mughal Emperor, Dacca lay far enough for an effective counter-attack, particularly, a surprise attack by night. The strategic importance of Dacca was all the more keenly realised by the Bengal viceroy in relation to another, and a growing menace—that of the Feringi and Magh pirates. Khizrpur, by which the pirates used to reach Dacca, lay only about nine miles to the south-east, near the confluence of the Brahmaputra, the Lakhya, and the Buriganga, and a fortified post there, in constant touch with the headquarters at Dacca, would go a long way in meeting the danger.

Very little is known about Man Singh's activities regarding the improvement of Dacca. But it seems clear that as a result of

the long stay (from 1602 onwards) of the Bengal viceroy, a small town sprang up round the imperial outpost, which served as the nucleus of the future capital. Man Singh appears to have taken special care in strengthening the fortifications of the outpost at Dacca, so that it soon came to be recognised as one of the four prominent fortresses of the Bengal *subah*²³.

This was the first step in the rise of Dacca into prominence. The next and the final stage in the political development of the city was reached during the eventful rule of Islam Khan Chishti.

The same exigencies of the military and political situation which had drawn Man Singh to Dacca, attracted Islam Khan as well to the same quarters. According to the definite testimony of the *Baharistan*, the new viceroy put the subjection of Musa Khan, son of Isa Khan, in the forefront of his viceregal programme²⁴, and Dacca certainly offered the most convenient base of operations against that formidable enemy. But Islam Khan's march to Dacca was stubbornly opposed by the Afghan chieftain, and he reached there only after six months of strenuous campaigning, about the middle of June, 1610.

From that time till his death, a little over three years later (August, 1613), political complications compelled Islam Khan to remain at Dacca, and this prolonged stay of the Bengal viceroy had important consequences. The temporary armed camp gradually changed into a permanent civil station. The whole office and the court began to assemble there. Private traders and merchants came in the wake of the viceregal party and settled down at Dacca,

23. *Baharistan*, p, 19b. It is clear from Mirza Nathan's work that long before Islam Khan's entry into Dacca, the place possessed a strong fortrees—in fact one of the four strongest forts in Bengal *subah* (the other three being those of Jajpur, Ghoraghat, and Raj Mahal). F. D. Ascoli, I.C.S., in an article in the Dacca Review, 1914, on the Old Dacca, suggests that Dacca grew to be a place of importance in Raja Man Singh's time.

24. Dr. Bhattashali, relying on Abdul Latif's Diary, suggests that Islam Khan had no definite aim in view even when he reached the vicinity of Murshidabad (early January, 1609). But the *Baharistan* definitely says that while still at Raj Mahal, Islam Khan decided to proceed against Musa Khan at the earliest possible opportunity. In fact, the whole itinerary of the Bengal viceroy from Raj Mahal into the heart of Lower Bengal was, to a great extent, shaped by his desire to subdue Musa Khan.

attracted by the great facilities for trade and commerce which it afforded. Islam Khan himself substantially contributed to the development of Dacca. A new fort was built, no vestiges of which now exist, a new palace was constructed, and new roads were laid down, all skirting the river Buriganga. The Bengal viceroy also appears to have improved the defences of his fortified settlement by means of artificial canals. Thus the small town that had originally sprung up around the imperial outpost in the time of Man Singh steadily developed into a large and wealthy city, soon supplanting Raj Mahal from its proud position of the capital of the Bengal *subah*²⁵.

In the light of the foregoing remarks, much of the fiction that has gathered round the so called foundation of Dacca, and the nature, manner, cause, and time of the transfer of the capital of the Bengal *subah* to that place by Islam Khan may be cleared.

First, with regard to the foundation of Dacca. Dr. Bhattashali has already pointed out that Dacca was never founded by Islam Khan. The town is much older, and can boast of at least a few inscriptions of the pre-Mughal period.

As regards the nature of the transfer of the capital to Dacca, it was in a sense unique. It was not the result of any premeditated scheme, on the part of Islam Khan, complete in itself, and carried into effect all at once, but it was rather a piecemeal act—the result of exigencies of circumstances—in which the hand of destiny was more potent than any human hand. In fact, it was quite unlike Man Singh's deliberate transfer of the seat of government from Tanda to Raj Mahal, or, coming to more modern times, the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi by the British Government in 1911. The gradual transfer of the Mughal provincial capital to Dacca rather finds a parallel in very recent times in the transference first of the governor's residence and court, and of some important offices, and then of the rest of them from Allahabad to Lucknow by the United Provinces Government.

25. *Baharistan*, p. 60b mentions "New Dacca" and "Old Dacca", in connection with the events of January, 1612, obviously distinguishing Islam Khan's new settlement from the old town of Raja Man Singh's time.

The very nature of the transfer determined the manner in which it was to be effected. As the whole thing was piecemeal in character, so it was accomplished by stages. At first owing to military necessities, the viceregal camp and court only moved to Dacca. Then for purposes of political administration, the entire governmental offices and the staff were gradually removed from Raj Mahal to that place. So from a military settlement Dacca became the seat of the civil government, and finally emerged as the official capital of the Bengal *subah*.

As the transfer of the capital was a slow and almost imperceptible process, there was an air of informality about it from start to finish. Nothing is on record to show that there was ever a ceremonial or formal foundation of the new capital, or even any official inauguration of the same when the old capital was finally abandoned.

This explains why there is no particular reference to this important political event in the Persian chronicles of Jahangir's reign. To contemporary historians, it was nothing but the acknowledgment of an accomplished fact—the logical consummation of a process started much earlier—and hence not worthy of any special mention. Even the change in the name of the city (from Dacca to Jahangirnagar), consequent on a change in its political status, is not particularly noted by contemporary writers, not even by Mirza Nathan, who is otherwise so punctilious in his narrative.

Different causes of the change of the capital have been mentioned by different historians. While the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* suggests that Islam Khan came to Dacca to reduce that zamindars of the vicinity, particularly Usman Afghan, to subjection, the *Baharistan* emphasises that the subjugation of Musa Khan was the dominant desire of Islam Khan from the beginning of his viceroyalty, and this, more than anything else, drew him to Dacca.

Stewart and Wise, amongst others, on the other hand, fix upon the suppression of the Magh and Portuguese raids into south-eastern Bengal as the main motive of Islam Khan's removal of the seat of government to Dacca.

A third group of historians, notably Hunter, Sayyid Aulad Husain (Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca, 1880), and Beni Prasad,

have tried to effect a compromise between the two extreme views outlined above, and they have suggested that the necessity of putting down the Afghan zamindars as also the Magh and Feringi pirates combined to induce Islam Khan to abandon Raj Mahal and settle down at Dacca.

Dr. Bhattashali, on his part, totally ignores the Portuguese pirates, and says that it was mainly to subdue Usman and the other powerful zamindars of Bengal that Islam Khan ultimately made Dacca his headquarters.

We may be permitted to state that the transfer of the capital to Dacca was, in a sense, an inevitable occurrence, and it was due to circumstances almost beyond Islam Khan's control. Man Singh's activities had already shaped the future of Dacca, and Islam Khan could not help farther advancing its cause. Dacca soon developed into a city of considerable military and political importance, and a busy centre of trade and industries.

Raj Mahal, the old capital, on the other hand, was at this time fast losing all its attractions. A change in the course of the Ganges, on which the fortified capital city stood, appears to have already set in by which the river finally receded nearly a *kos*, making the city inaccessible to war-boats and unfit for defence on land and water, and also unsuited for trade and commerce.²⁶

It is no wonder, therefore, that Dacca, with its excellent geographical and strategic advantages, should attract Islam Khan, particularly when he was extremely anxious to subdue the powerful rebellious zamindars in its neighbourhood as early as practicable. The evidence of the *Tuxuk* and the *Baharistan* taken together leads to the irresistible conclusion that the subjection of Musa Khan, the head of the so-called "Baro-Bhuiyas" of that time, and of

26. *Baharistan*, p. 293a states in connection with the rebel prince Shah Jahan's engagement with the Bengal viceroy Ibrahim Khan Fathjang, c. April, 1624, at Raj Mahal, that the Ganges had receded nearly a *kos* from the fortified citadel. Tavernier (Crook's edition, Vol. 1. p. 102) definitely suggests (1666) that that the change in the course of the river, involving a loss of trade facilities, was a prominent cause of Islam Khan's removal to Dacca. The process of change which appears to have been completed by the year 1624 must have started much earlier.

Usman Afghan of Bokainagar, formed the main plank of Islam Khan's military programme, and, for the successful completion of that ambitious programme, Raj Mahal was totally unsuitable, while Dacca was most favourably situated. The Afghan menace in general may thus be held to have been a powerful factor in bringing about the change of capital.

Another important motive of Islam Khan's removal to Dacca appears to have been the suppression of the Magh and Feringi pirates. The collective testimony of the *Akbarnamah*, the *Baharistan*, and the *Fathiyah, Continuation*, leaves no room for doubt that the Magh and Feringi raids into south-eastern Bengal, extending as far as Dacca, began at least as early as the days of Raja Man Singh. The *Akbarnamah* refers to the 'Magh' king's incursions into Bengal in the year 1603, and the *Baharistan* (p. 36 b) probably alludes to the same incident by locating a ruined fort near Khizrpur as built by the 'Maghs' during the time of Man Singh. The *Fathiyah, Continuation*, gives minute details of the Magh and Feringi raiders, and, particularly, of their routes of attack, in Jahangir's reign. We learn that the Mughal governors used to encamp at Khizrpur every winter to prevent Magh raids on Dacca, and that the pirates coming from Chittagong passed by Bhulua. The *Baharistan* offers useful information regarding the activities of the Magh and Feringi pirates, particularly those of Sebastian Gonzalves, during the time of Islam Khan, incidentally throwing light on the way in which they influenced the choice of a new capital. Though the depredations of Gonzalves had reached their climax, political complications at home prevented the Bengal viceroy from utilising an opportunity of subduing him which came by his way early in 1611. He, however, lost no time in securing a base of operations against him and his associates by taking possession of the territory of Bhulua on the south-eastern frontier (c. autumn of 1611). The conquest of Bhulua brought Islam Khan into direct and more deadly conflict with the 'Maghs,' and a serious raid on the *thanahs* of Sripur and Bhulua soon followed (c. Jan., 1612). The testimony of the *Baharistan* regarding these raids may be said to be corroborated by the Portuguese historian Bocarro. He refers particularly to the piratical career of Gonzalves, adding that in 1610, he made an alliance with his habitual enemy, the

Arrakan king, against the Mughals, and launched a daring raid on the frontier tract of Bhulua and Luckipur.²⁷

These piratical inroads, frequent in their sequence and fierce in their intensity, considerably influenced Islam Khan's choice of a new capital. The Bengal viceroy must find out a place from which a close watch on the routes usually taken by the pirates could be kept, and fortified outposts at strategic points conveniently set up and efficiently maintained. Dacca appeared to be admirably suited for all these purposes. Khizrpur, Sripur, Sangramgarh ("18 kos from Dacca and 21 kos from Sripur," near the confluence of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra), and Bhulua, all of which lay along the routes of the pirates, could be effectively watched only from Dacca, and from this place alone could the strategic posts set up at those points be easily reached, and speedy reinforcement in the case of a sudden attack conveniently despatched.

Thus it seems clear that a quite a number of factors operated in regard to the change of capital from Raj Mahal to Dacca during the rule of Islam Khan. The personal factors were supplied by Raja Man Singh and Islam Khan. The former really set the stage for the drama of Dacca's rise into fame, and Islam Khan filled the leading role. Nature also aided Dacca. A change in the course of the Ganges, leading to the loss of the strategic and commercial importance of Raj Mahal, the existing capital, weighted the scale in favour of Dacca, endowed by nature with considerable geographical and strategic advantages.²⁸

27. There is some confusion regarding the date of this event. According to Bocarro, the earliest Portuguese chronicler regarding the history of this period, it occurred in 1610, and, following him, Faria Y Souza, and, after him again, Stewart, Hunter, Phyre, and others all suggest that this combined attack took place during the rule of Islam Khan in 1610. Stewart goes on further to say that this raid primarily induced Islam Khan to change the seat of the government to Dacca. The *Baharistan*, on the other hand, places this event definitely in 1614, during the viceroyalty of Qasim Khan, and it seems to be more accurate. Whatever may have been the date of this occurrence, the existence of the danger of the Magh and Feringi raids throughout the viceroyalty of Islam Khan cannot be doubted, and Stewart's theory, taken generally, appears to be a reasonable one.

28. Bowrey (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-79*, H. S. Publications, p. 14) says in relation to Mir Jumla's times that Dacca is a stronger and fairer city than Raj Mahal, the ancient metropolis.

The immediate factors which made the transfer of the capital inevitable were, however, the ambitious object of Islam Khan to finally subdue the rebellious zamindars of south-eastern Bengal, notably Musa Khan and Usman Afghan, as also his earnest desire to combat the ever-increasing inroads of the Arrakan king and the Magh and Feringi pirates of Chittagong.

Now to come to the precise date when the transfer of capital was effected by Islam Khan. Here again we tread on controversial ground. The Persian chroniclers do not expressly suggest any date, and this has apparently given rise to much speculation on the part of modern historians.

According to Stewart, Islam Khan was appointed governor of Bengal in 1606, and 'the first act of Islam Khan's authority was the removal of the seat of government from Raj Mahal to the city of Dacca.' Though the date suggested by Stewart, 1608, has been accepted by a good many writers—Wise, Campos, Bradley Birt, Beni Prasad, Jatindra Roy, and others—it does not at all appear to be a probable one. The contemporary Persian chroniclers as a whole do not at all support Stewart's theory that the transfer of capital was the first official act of Islam Khan. Abdul Latif's *Diary* and the *Baharistan*, on the other hand, definitely suggest that the first act of Islam Khan's viceroyalty was his elaborate preparation for marching from Raj Mahal down the Ganges into Lower Bengal in order to subdue the rebellious zamindars there. Further, the *Baharistan* makes it clear that Islam Khan reached Dacca only early in June, 1610, and this was more than two years after his assumption of office at Raj Mahal.

A second date is 1612 A. D., suggested by Gladwin, and it is four years later than the date advocated by Stewart. According to Gladwin, it was after the victory over Usman Afghan in 1612 that Islam Khan removed the seat of his government to Dacca. Gladwin's views find favour with a number of historians, including Taylor, Hunter, Sayyid Aulad Husain, and Wright (*Indian Museum Catalogue*, Vol. III. Introduction, p. LI).

In the absence of any direct evidence offered either by the original authorities in Persian or by the coins and inscriptions extant, it is indeed difficult to offer any conclusive opinion on this point. But internal evidence mainly furnished by the text of the

Tuzuk, the *Baharistan*, and the *Iqbalnamah*, together with what may be termed 'the circumstantial evidence,' may be said to favour the date suggested by Gladwin as the most probable date of the final transfer of the capital to Dacca, though the initial stage of the transfer appears to have been reached two years earlier.

The *Tuzuk* (R.+B. Vol I. pp. 209, 214 : E. & D. VI. pp. 328, 330) first mentions Dacca as plainly 'Dacca' in connection with the beginning of Islam Khan's viceroyalty in Bengal, and subsequently as 'Jahangirnagar' in regard to the triumphant entry of Shujaat Khan into Dacca after his decisive victory over Usman Afghan in Sylhet (c. April, 1612). The different context in which one and the same place appears under different names seems to be significant, and it lends colour to the view that Dacca was formally acknowledged to be the capital of the Bengal *subah*, in place of Raj Mahal, only after the final defeat of Usman Afghan.

The *Iqbalnamah* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 61-64) and the *Maasir-ul Umara* (Bib. Ind. Series, Vol. II. Islam Khan Chisti, pp. 630-33) do not refer to 'Dacca' at all, but names the place only once as 'Jahangirnagar', after the manner of the *Tuzuk*, in connection with Shujaat Khan's visit there after the final subjugation of Usman.

The *Baharistan*, however, throws new light on this point. The text consistently refers to Dacca simply as 'Dacca' till Islam Khan's march into it after the capture of Musa Khan's strongholds of Jatrapur and Dhakjera early in June, 1610. Immediately after this event, Dacca is named for the first time as 'Jahangirnagar alias Dacca (30b)'. Henceforward the new name is frequently used by Mirza Nathan (the author of the *Baharistan*) to denote the new viceregal capital (31b, 43a, 44a, 56b, 57b, 58a, 62b, 64b etc.), the plain epithet 'Dacca' being only occasionally applied in the same connection (58b, 60b.) This change of name of Dacca into 'Jahangirnagar' immediately after the events of 1610 was apparently informal, yet it was a significant act, and from that time Dacca was marked out to be the future capital of the Bengal *subah*.

So far for the textual evidence. The 'circumstantial evidence' may be gathered from the political history of Bengal during the period of Islam Khan's viceroyalty, and it seems to confirm the evidence deducible from the Persian texts. A survey of the

political history brings forward two definite stages in the viceregal career of Islam Khan, the first stage ending with his victory over Musa Khan at Jatrapur and Dhakjera, followed by his triumphant entry into Dacca (the second fight of Musa Khan being only a desperate attempt to win a cause already lost), and the second one ending with the final defeat and death of Usman Afghan in Sylhet, and the history of the transfer of the viceregal capital appears to have passed through two corresponding stages.

The events of June, 1610, marked the beginning of the process of change of headquarters, which reached its culmination a little less than two years after, *c.* April, 1612. The fall of Usman Afghan, the last redoubtable enemy of the Mughal peace, presented the Bengal viceroy with the most favourable opportunity for taking the final step forward in the inauguration of the new capital. Islam Khan now formally renamed the capital city 'Jahangirnagar' in honour of the reigning sovereign, and this act received official recognition as we find it in the *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbalnamah*.

It is interesting to note the evidence of coins in connection with the date of the transfer of capital. Though Jahangirnagar became the official capital of the Bengal *subah* in the seventh regnal year of Jahangir (1021 A.H.), it was not till the beginning of the twelfth regnal year (1026 A.H.) that coins were minted from the new capital. No coins of any earlier year have yet been discovered, and 'the date on a coin attributed to the second year in London Museum Coin Catalogue (P. 154) is obviously uncertain.'²⁹

The reason of this long delay in the issue of coins seems to have been the sudden death of the Bengal viceroy Islam Khan, which was followed by a period of political squabble and administrative disorder under his brother Qasim Khan. The latter was removed from office in 1617, and an abler and more experienced and tactful person named Ibrahim Khan Fathjang appointed in his place. He restored peace and order in the country, and signalled the advent of better times by issuing coins for the first time from the new capital.

29. Indian Museum Coin Catalogue, Vol. III, 'Introduction, B.L.I., Coin No. 674 : Catalogue of Coins, Punjab Museum, P. LXVIII.

The new name given to Dacca after it had attained the dignity of a capital city does not appear to have received the recognition it deserved. The old name continued to find favour with the common people, and the new name Jahangirnagar was confined only to official annals, just as the name Akbarnagar given to Raj Mahal, the former capital, was not acceptable to the general people, and survived only in the official chronicles of Akbar's reign³⁰.

The establishment of the capital of the Bengal *subah* at Dacca by Islam Khan Chishti was a red-letter day in the annals of this city. For nearly a century, with a short break about the middle, Dacca continued to hold its proud position of the provincial metropolis. During this time there was an all round development of the city. It extended in territory, its trade and industries developed, its commerce flourished, and it also attracted a large foreign population. Sir Thomas Roe, Father Manrique, Tavernier, Bowrey, (Haklyut Society publication, P. 149-50 footnote), Thevenot (Part III, P. 68), and others testify to the wealth and general prosperity of Dacca in the seventeenth century. In short, the history of Dacca of that period forms an important chapter of the history of Mughal Bengal which will form the subject of future investigations.

30. See Abdul Latif's Bihar Diary (J. B. O. R. S. 1909. pp. 601-03) for the naming of Raj Mahal; as regards Dacca, Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-1619 (Foster's Edition, Vol II. p. 538), mentions only 'Dekaka' (Dacca), and Stephen Cacella (Early Jesuit Travellers in C. Asia, pp. 122-123), 1626, refers simply to 'Dacca', and Herbert's Travels, 1638, p. 77, to 'Daeck' (Dacca); Manrique (Bengal, Past and Present, 1916 pp. 2-3) and Tavernier (Crook's edition p. 102) have simply 'Dacca'.

THE DATE OF THE KHAḌGA DYNASTY

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The date of the Khadga kings of Samatāṭa can only be determined by a study of the palaeography of the Āshrafpur plates, but on this matter the opinions of scholars differ very widely. Mr. G. M. Laskar¹ who edited these plates was of opinion that the script looks generally older than that used in those of the Pāla and Sena kings of Bengal, while Mr. R. D. Banerjee² assigned it to the 9th-10th century A. D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar³, Dr. R. G. Basak⁴, and Dr. N. K. Bhattasali⁵ believe that the Khadga inscriptions should not be assigned to a date posterior to the beginning of the 8th century A. D. Mr. R. D. Banerjee promised to discuss the palaeography of the Āshrafpur plates minutely but evidently never actually did it. The subject, therefore, needs a detailed examination and a comparison of the script with that of other inscriptions is inevitably necessary in order to fix approximately the date of the Khadgas.

A comparison with the Khālimpur plate of the 32nd regnal year of the second Pāla emperor Dharmapāla brings out the following points in clear prominence :—

(a) In Āshrafpur the initial *ā* is formed by joining a comma-shaped curve at the lower extremity of the right vertical of *a*. In Khālimpur *ā* is formed by joining an *ākāra*, parallel to the vertical line of *a*, which is undoubtedly a later palaeographical characteristic.

1. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 1, No. 6. p. 85.

2. The Pālas of Bengal, Ibid. Vol. V. No. 3. p. 67 ; Bāṅglāra Itihāsa p. 233.

3. J. A. S. B. 1923, p. 375.

4. History of North-Eastern India, p. 203.

5. J. A. S. B. 1914, p. 85.

(b) The contrast is equally striking in the case of *gha*. This letter in Āshrafpur retains the archaic tripartite form while in Khālimpur there is a strong bipartite tendency, though it is not yet complete. The Āshrafpur form is to be rarely found in the records posterior to the 7th century A. D.

(c) *Ja* of Āshrafpur is less advanced than that of Khālimpur. In the former three horizontal lines are clearly noticeable; the central one is somewhat elongated vertically in some cases and the lower most one is slanting. Mr. R. D. Banerjee⁶ finds no distinction between Khālimpur *ja* and the modern Bengali form of the letter. The uppermost horizontal line has become the serif, the vertical elongation of the central one is complete and the lowermost one consists of two curves.

(d) The contrast is also remarkable in case of *ṭa*. In Āshrafpur *ṭa* retains its circular form. In Khālimpur the right curve has formed a straight line and in the left part of the letter after a short straight downward elongation from the top-stroke a full-fledged semi-circle is attached to it. In all subsequent epigraphs this form is to be found. The right curve of *ṭa* in Āshrafpur has not formed a vertical line.

(e) Two forms of *la* are to be found in Āshrafpur. —(1) in most cases the curve in the left is joined by a short line almost at right angles with the vertical line but (2) this letter in the words *pālanīya* (l. 21, Plate B), *lolam* (Ibid) and *Sālivardhaka* (l. 16 Ibid) consists of the curve and the vertical line only. The second form resembles the Eastern *la* of the Gupta period.

As regards Mr. R. D. Banerjee's opinion that palaeographically the Āshrafpur plates are to be assigned to the 10th century A. D., it may be observed that the main characteristics of the script of that century are conspicuous by absense. In Āshrafpur plates the vanishing tendency of the base line of *ṇa*, elongation of the verticals in the downward direction and the serifs on the upper part of *pa*, *ma* *sa*, and *ṣa* are not to be found.

The script of the Deulbāḍī Sarvāpi Image inscription⁷ of Queen Prabhāvatī of Devakhaḍga is akin to that of the Āshrafpur

6. Origin of the Bengali Script, p. 53.

7. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII. p. 357.

plates. The characters of these records bear close resemblance to those of the Āphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena and Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivitagupta II of the Later Gupta dynasty. *Na*, *sa* and *śa* of Āshrafpur are somewhat different from those of Āphsaḍ. The Āphsaḍ *na* is akin to modern Nāgarī form of the letter and the loop of *sa* in Āshrafpur is angular. *Śa* of Khālimpur and Āphsaḍ is similar and seems to be earlier than that of Āshrafpur. But in the Keśab-praśasti of the 26th year of Dharmapāla one form⁸ is similar to that of Āshrafpur and this form is also to be found in the Deo-Baranark inscription. This form of *śa* is discontinued for a long time but reappears in the 11th century records.

From a general look of the Khālimpur and Āshrafpur plates it is evident that the scribe of the latter was not an expert in his art like that of the former and the letters have not been so finely incised and nicely arranged—a fact which possibly led some scholars to assign them to so late a date as the 10th century. When particular letters of the Āshrafpur plates are compared with those of other plates, it can be confidently said that their date cannot be very much distant from that of the Āphsaḍ and Deo-Baranark inscriptions of the Later Gupta dynasty which are to be placed respectively in the latter half and the beginning of the 8th century A. D.

Lastly, a passing notice may be made of the fact that the characters of the Āphsaḍ and Āshrafpur plates differ considerably from what Bühler called the acute-angled type. Fleet called the characters of the Āphsaḍ inscription the Kuṭila variety of Magadha—a term which Bühler and Kielhorn wanted to avoid in the palaeographic terminology. The scribe of the Āphsaḍ inscription was an inhabitant of Gauḍa and it is the beginning of the variety from which has ensued the Proto-Bengali type of the 11th century. Strictly speaking, this variety should be regarded as the fore-runner of the Proto-Bengali form.

8. Three forms of *śa* have been used in this inscription.

THE DEATH OF HĪMŪ

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§ 1. *Importance of the 'Hīmū incident.'*

The precise manner of Hīmū's death is one of the great controversial points of Indian history. The incident by itself would not have been considered a subject of any importance and would not have at all deserved the notice of historians but for the fact that it reveals Akbar as he was during his early years when his liberal and philosophic mind had not yet developed. The deliberate slaughter of a wounded infidel, though condemned by the enlightened opinion of the twentieth century, was sanctioned by the Holy Church and justified by the age and such a jihād was the aspiration of many a pious Muslim. It must be a matter of great significance if Akbar, who was barely fourteen years of age, refused in that age to slay a fallen foe who was an infidel and to gain the title of ghāzī which added glory to his name and majesty to his throne. If he did so, the humane, tolerant and cosmopolitan son of Humāyūn was born, not made. If it was not so, if Akbar killed Hīmū as others would have killed him, without feeling any hesitation, this higher aspect of his character must have developed afterwards due to his maturer judgment, wisdom of years, environment and policy. The 'Hīmū incident' is thus of importance as it places the Akbar of early years in due relation to the Akbar of maturer age.

§ 2. *Mr. Vincent Smith on the subject.*

Until recently the accepted theory has been that Akbar, out of magnanimity to a fallen foe, refused to kill Hīmū even though he was an infidel, and Bairām Khān put an end to his life. From Dow who wrote his 'History of Hindostān' in the latter half of the eighteenth century to Von Noer who wrote at the end of the

nineteenth every author who wrote on the subject accepted this version. Mr. Vincent Smith was the first scholar to raise doubt in this matter and reject the accepted version. Nineteen years back he contributed an article on this subject to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and he concluded in that article "that the current story about Akbar's magnanimity on the occasion of Hēmū's execution is a fiction made up at court to suit the later view of the emperor's character, and that the truth is that the young prince obeyed his guardian and smote off Hēmū's head with a scimitar, thereby securing the title of Ghāzī, which he assumed immediately."¹ His conclusion is based upon the work of Ahmad Yādgār and Fragmentum Historiae Indicae in de Laet, both of which say that Akbar himself struck Hīmū and killed him and do not mention anything as regards his hesitation to execute a fallen foe. As regards the reason why he accepts the account of these two and rejects the statement of Abu-l Fazl, Badāunī and others, Mr. Smith says, "I am of opinion that all probability is in favour of the version of the Hēmū incident as related by Ahmad Yādgār and de Laet." He sums up as follows the argument in his "Akbar the Great Mogul" which he published shortly after: "The official story, that a magnanimous sentiment of unwillingness to strike a helpless prisoner already half-dead compelled him to refuse to obey his guardian's instructions, seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers, and is opposed to the clear statements of Ahmad Yādgār and the Dutch writer, van den Broecke, as well as to the probabilities of the case."²

§ 3. *Mr. Vincent Smith's conclusion based on insufficient evidence.*

As regards 'the probabilities of the case' on which Mr. Smith lays stress, men will differ. Mr. Smith says that Akbar 'had been reared among scenes of violence and bloodshed by Muhammadans who regarded the killing of a Hindu infidel as a highly meritorious

1. J. R. A. S. July, 1916. p. 534.

2. V. A. Smith—Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 39. Second Edition, Oxford, 1919.

act' and, in such a position he would not have felt any scruples. Secondly, it is not probable that 'a boy of 14 would set up his private opinion against that of his guardian and all the by-standers.' As regards the first point, we have not enough evidence to prove that Akbar in his earlier years shared the bigotry and hard-heartedness of his age. On the other hand his subsequent actions might not unprobably lead one to believe that Akbar would hesitate to cut off the head of a dying captive. As regards the second point, it is not quite improbable that Akbar could have differed with his guardian. Though Akbar was only fourteen he was quite conscious of his position and Bairām found in him from the very beginning not a docile ward but a prince who looked on him as a servant. A year after the battle of Panipat Bairām Khān says to Muhammad Khān Ataga : 'His Majesty occasionally treats me with disfavour.'³ The way in which Akbar managed, four years later, to dismiss the great minister makes it quite probable that he could have differed with Bairām when the latter asked him to slay Hīmū and earn the title of ghāzī. In any way 'the probabilities of the case' cannot be regarded as a very weighty argument on either side.

Let us, therefore, examine the two authorities on which Mr. Smith based his conclusion—*Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghana* and *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae*. Ahmad Yādgar, who is the author of the first, wrote at least 58 years after the event for he cites *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi* which was composed in 1614 A. D. (1028 A. H.). In his preface he describes himself 'as an old servant of the Sur kings' and says that he wrote the work by order of Dāūd Shāh. So he was quite at liberty to speak the truth even against Akbar. We have no reason to doubt the statement of Ahmad Yādgar that he served the Sūr Kings but he must have served them in his very early years. If we take him to be an old man of 75 at the time of the composition of his work, he would be 17 at the time of Hīmū's death. Two facts should be noted when we consider the authority of Ahmad Yādgar. First, he wrote his work long after the incident ; secondly, as a servant of the Sūr kings he had not any facility to have a first hand knowledge of the incident which took place at the Mughal camp. So much regarding Ahmad Yādgar.

3. Akbar Nāma, Beveridge, vol. II. p. 94.

As to the *Fragmentum Historiae Indicae*, Pelsart, who is its real author came to India in December 1620 as an officer of the Dutch East India Company and 'was forthwith sent to Agra, where he remained until the end of 1627, rising to the position of senior factor'.⁴ Pieter van den Broecke with whose name the Fragment is associated arrived in Surat towards the end of 1620 as the Director of what was officially called the 'Western Quarters', comprising North and West India, Persia and Arabia.⁵ Therefore neither Pelsart nor Van den Broecke can be regarded as a good authority for the early history of Akbar's reign.

It is on the basis of authorities like Ahmad Yādgār and Pelsart that Mr. Vincent Smith rejected the version of Badāunī, supported by 'the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* and many other histories'. Naturally one cannot but hesitate to accept his views and feel that his conclusion was based on insufficient evidence. Further we may here point out that Mr. Smith did not consult the two really contemporary authorities for the incident—Bāyazīd Biyāt and Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī. The work of Bāyazīd is too well-known to have been neglected but he consulted only the synopsis, published by Mr. Beveridge in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, which unfortunately omits the portion relating to Hīmū's death. The *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī* of 'Ārif Qandahārī is less known but Mr. Beveridge notified its existence at the Rāmpur State Library in the same journal some seven years before Mr. Smith wrote that article. Several other untranslated authorities of the period, which are important for this purpose, were not consulted by Mr. Vincent Smith. So his conclusion about the 'Hīmū incident' cannot be regarded as the final decision of the question.

§ 4. *The authorities for the incident—contemporary and nearly contemporary.*

We may divide the authorities for the 'Hīmū incident' into four groups. To the first group belong those works which were written under the patronage of the Mughal court during the reign

4. Moreland and Geyl's *Jahāngīr's India*, p. ix, xv.

5. Ibid, p. x; Hoyland and Banerjee—De Laet's *Empire of the great Mogol*, p. iv.

of Akbar. These are Tārīkh-i-Akbarī of 'Ārif Qandahārī, Mukhtasar of Bāyazīd Biyāt, Akbar Nāma of Abu-l Fazl, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī of Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh of 'Abd-ul Qādir Badāūnī, Tārīkh-i-Haqqī of Shaikh 'Abd-ul Haq, Tārīkh-i-Alfi of Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, Majāmi'-ul-Akhhār of Muhammad Sharīf-ul-Husainī known as Waqū'i, Rauzat-ut-Tāhīrīn of Tāhīr Muhammad Hasan 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Ahsan-ut-Tawārikh of Hasan bin Muhammad. To the second group belong those works which were composed under the patronage of the Mughal court during the first half of Jahāngīr's reign and which are of some importance for the history of Akbar. They are Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī of 'Abd-ul Bāqī Nahāvandī, Iqbāl Nāma of Mu'tamad Khān, Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh of Nūr-ul-Haq, Tawārikh-i-Akbar Nāma of Shaikh Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī, Makhzan-i-Afghānī of Khwāja Ni'matullah. We may also add the Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī, written by the emperor himself. To the third group belong those works which were composed during the reign of Akbar but written independently of the Mughal court. These are Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī of Shaikh Rizqullah and Haft Iqlīm of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī. To the fourth group belong all those works which were composed during Jahāngīr's reign but written independently of the Mughal court. They are Tārīkh-i-Firishta of Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh known as Firishta, Ma'dan-i-Akhhār-i-Ahmadī of Ahmad bin Bahbal, Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghana of Ahmad Yādgār, Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī of 'Abdullah, Bodleian Ms. No. 101—an anonymous work composed during Jahāngīr's reign. We may add a fifth group consisting of works of later historians from which we obtain the 17th and 18th century view of the incident. These are Mirāt-ul-'Ālam by Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, or more properly, Muhammad Baqā, Lubb-ut-Tawārikh by Rāī Brindāban, Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh by Sujān Rāī Bhandārī, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb by Khāfī Khān, Tazkirat-us-salātīn-i-Chaghata by Muhammad Hādī and Mirāt-i-aftāb-numā by 'Abdur-Rahmān Shāhnawāz Khān.

§ 5. *Five versions of the 'Hīmū incident'.*

From a study of these authorities we find five versions of the death of Hīmū. And these five versions are those of Abu-l

Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn, Firishta, 'Ārif Qandahārī and the 'emperor' Jahāngīr.

We begin with Abu-l Fazl. We might as well call Abu-l Fazl's version the version of Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, but as Abu-l Fazl is more well-known, we prefer to name it so. Abu-l Fazl has the following on the 'Hīmū incident':

"Bairām Khān Khān Khānān begged H. M. the Shāhīnshāh to slay with this own sacred hand this stock of sedition, and to acquire merit by a holy combat. That lord of wisdom and master of sages... replied.....that his lofty spirit did not permit him to slay a captive and that it seemed to him that in the justice-hall of the Only One there was nothing meritorious in such an act. Though simple loyalists importuned and pressed him, the Shāhīnshāh showed himself more and more averse to the proceeding.....At last Bairām Khān Khān Khānān when he perceived that H. M. was not inclined to take his view, withdrew from the attempt, and under the influence of hereditary beliefs which take their place in men from imitation of fathers and teachers, himself became engaged in the acquisition of this fancied merit, and with his sword cleansed the world from the contamination of his existence."⁶

It is to be noticed that Abu-l Fazl who had imbibed the spirit of *sulh-i-kul* was fully conscious of the guilt in slaying a fallen foe even though he were an infidel. He makes the following comment on the death of Hīmū: "Would that H. M. had come out of his veil and given attention to the matter! or that there had been some far-sighted master of wisdom in that court, so that they might have kept Hēmū in prison and made him desirous of serving the threshold of fortune."⁷

A somewhat different version is offered by Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad whose *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* is of great importance for the history of Akbar's reign.

"Shāh Qulī Khān considering this as the most prized of the spoil brought that elephant, along with others which he had carried

6. Akbar Nāma-Beveridge, II., p. 65-66. A. S. B. Text, p. 41-42.

7. Ibid. p. 66-67.

from the battlefield, to the royal camp and presented them before the king. Khān Khānān Bairām Khān [then] killed Hīmū with his own hand."⁸

Nizām-ud-Dīn, unlike Abu-l Fazl, does not refer to Bairām Khān's begging prince Akbar to slay Hīmū with his own hand or anything about Akbar's refusal.

We find the third version in Firishta.

"When Shāh Qulī Khān brought Hīmū to the presence of the emperor who was following [the army] at a distance of 2 or 3 kurohs [4 to 6 miles], Bairām Khān represented to him that if he would slay this infidel, at war with Islam, with sword with the intention of holy war, the higher jihād⁹ would be performed. The emperor touched Hīmū's head with the tip of his sword and acquired the title of ghāzī. Then Bairām Khān with his own hand beheaded him and sent his head to Kābul and his body to Delhi."¹⁰

Though Firishta does not refer to Akbar's refusal, Akbar, according to him, hesitated to kill Hīmū for he merely touched his sword on Hīmū's head. A second point to be noted is that Akbar approved of Bairām Khān's advice to become a ghāzī and he did not differ with his contemporaries in recognizing jihād as a meritorious act.

We find the fourth version in the account of the incident by Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī in the Tārīkh-i-Akbarī. The work is very rare. Sir Henry Elliot could not find any copy of the work in Indian and European libraries. One copy is now extant—that in the Rāmpur state Library.¹¹ 'Ārif's version is of great importance as one of a contemporary writer ; for none of the historians mentioned above and no other writer of Akbar's reign excepting Bāyazīd Biyāt

8. Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, A. S. B. Text, p. 132 and Lucknow Text p. 245.

9. *Jihād-i-Akbar* means war against one's lusts ; *Jihād-i-Asghar* war against infidels. The meaning is Akbar would perform the higher kind of Jihād by killing Hīmū.

10. Firishta, p. 246, Lucknow Text.

11. I have used Sir J. N. Sarkār's copy, made from the Rāmpur Ms.

were contemporary with the event under discussion. We have the following account in 'Ārif's history :

در اثنای دار دگیر تیری بر چشم هیموی لعین آمده بر دست
شاه قلی خان محرم گرفتار آمده..... چون هیمون را بدرگاه
آوردند... خاقان اکبر اول شمشیر باز زدند چون شمشیر باز رسانیدند
ملقب بغازی شدند و از دگ رمقی که مانده بود خانخانان محمد بیروم خان
شمشیری زده او را بدار البوار فرستاد *¹²

"In the midst of the conflict an arrow pierced the eye of the accursed Hīmū and he fell a captive in the hands of Shāh Qulī Mahram.....When they brought Hīmū to the royal presence the emperor Akbar first struck him with sword and when the sword touched him he gained the title of Ghāzī. And for the little breath that remained (in him), Khān Khānān Muhammad Bairām Khān struck him with sword and sent him to hell."

There is this much in common between 'Ārif and Firishta that both of them make Akbar regard jihād as a meritorious act and willing to obtain the title of Ghāzī. Firishta differs with 'Ārif in Akbar's magnanimity which is implied in his version. In 'Ārif Akbar does not object to kill Hīmū but as he is unable to finish him he is helped by Bairām Khān.

We may add a fifth version—that of the emperor Jahāngīr in his Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī.

"A number of men immediately conveyed Hemū as he was to the king (Akbar). Bairām Khān represented that it would be proper if the king with his own hand should strike the infidel with a sword, so that obtaining the reward of a ghāzī (warrior of the Faith) he might use this title on the imperial farmans. The king answered, 'I have cut him in pieces before this' and explained: 'One day, in Kabul, I was copying a picture in presence of Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ Ṣamad Shīrīn Qalam, when a form appeared from my brush, the parts of which were separate and divided from each other. One of those near asked 'Whose picture is this?' It came

to my tongue to say that it was the likeness of Hemū'. Not defiling his hand with his (Hemū's) blood, he told one of his servants to cut off his head."¹³

Jahāngīr's version differs from 'Ārif's in this that Akbar had Hīmū killed by one of his servants while 'Ārif says Akbar himself struck him. In neither do we find that Akbar refused to kill Hīmū out of magnanimity and to earn the title of ghāzī.

The problem before us is to find out what version records the truth. In order to arrive at truth or, I should say, approximation of truth we should examine the five versions in the light of all other available evidences on the subject.

§ 6. *Authorities in favour of Abu-l Fazl.*

Among historians who composed their works during the reign of Akbar Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān and 'Abd-ul-Qādir Badāunī are the only two who agree with Abu-l Fazl about 'the Hīmū incident'. The Tārīkh-i-Alfi was finished in 1588-89 A. D. (997 A. H.), some seven or eight years before the composition of Akbar Nāma which was completed in 1596 A. D. (1004 A. H.). It was written by order of Akbar himself who 'directed its compilation by several learned men.' The fourth volume which records events from 694 A. H. to 997 A. H. was the work of Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, a distinguished officer of Akbar. In it we find what we may call royal or official version of the incident. The Tārīkh-i-Alfi has the following on the death of Hīmū :

شاه قلی خان معہوم از مساعدت بخت خوشحال گشته فیل و فیلبان ہیمورا
از میان معرکہ بکنار آورده عازم اردو شد و دیگر امرا برسم تعاقب روان
شدند و چندان از مخالفان بقتل آوردند و شاه قلی خان ہیمورا
بدرگاہ آورد و آن حضرت بعد از لوازم شکرگذاری در مقام نوازش امرا در
آمد و ہریک فراخور سعی خود نتیجہ یافتہ از اقربان ممتاز گشتند و خان
خانان استدعا نمود کہ قتل ہیمو کہ مسم ثواب دارین است بتحریک

¹³ Tūzūk-i-Jahāngiri. Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. 1. p. 39-40. Lucknow Text, p. 18-19.

شمشیر خاصه اگر بفعل آید خوب است آنحضرت در جواب فرمود که
مباشرت قتل او بحسب ظاهر لایق نمی نماید رفی الحقیقه پیش
ازین بچندین سال او مقتول ماست¹⁴..... اکنون دیگر باره دست
بخون او نمی آلایم..... القصه بپیرام خان خانان بقتل هیمون ا
غازیان شد سر هیمو بکابل و بدنش در دهلی از دروازه آریختند *¹⁵

“Elated at the favour of fortune Shāh Qulī Khān brought Hīmū’s elephant and driver aside from the battlefield and proceeded to the (royal) camp. Other nobles went in pursuit of [the enemy] and killed so many of the enemies.....And Shāh Qulī Khān brought Hīmū to the king. The king after thanksgiving [to God] bestowed favours on his nobles, each of whom obtained reward according to his endeavour and became distinguished among his equals. The Khān Khānān begged that it would be very good if the killing of Hīmū, which would produce reward both in this life and in the next, be performed by the king himself. The king replied, ‘It does not seem proper to undertake to kill him outwardly. In fact before this—some years back—he was killed by me..... Now why should I defile my hand with his blood again?’..... In short Bairām Khān Khān Khānān became a ghāzi by killing Hīmū and had his head hung from the gate at Kābul and his body at Delhi.”

The strength of Abu-l Fazl’s version lies in the fact that it is supported by Badāūnī. Badāūnī’s work is of supreme importance for the history of Akbar’s reign as the account of a royal official who did not bask in the sunshine of royal favour and who saw in the emperor the bitter enemy of his faith. From Badāūnī one can expect facts which the official and court historians will not reveal. Though he

14. Here follows the story of Akbar’s killing Hīmū in picture which has been related also by Abu-l Fazl and Jahāngīr.

15. British Museum Ms. Or. 465. fol. 593 a-b. Also India office Ms. 3293, fol. 433 a-b. The copies differ in a few words which, however, do not affect the sense. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the most correct.

differs occasionally with Abu-l Fazl, he agrees with the latter on the 'Hīmū incident'. His account is as follows :

"So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadā-i Kambōh and the others, said to the Emperor, 'Since this is your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward.' But the Emperor replied : 'Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead ? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so.' Then the Khān Khānān was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadā-i Shaikh and the others, deliberately made an end of him." ¹⁶

In two essential points Badāunī agrees with Abu-l Fazl—Akbar's magnanimity in refusing to slay a dying foe and to obtain the glory of killing an infidel. He differs with Abu-l Fazl in minor details e.g. Shaikh Gadā'i and others followed Bairām and finished Hīmū.

Several works written from the Court circle during the reign of Jahāngīr corroborate Abu-l Fazl's version. The most important of them is Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī of 'Abd-ul Bāqī Nahāvandī. Though primarily a biography of Khān Khānān 'Abd-ur-Rahīm, it gives a summary account of Indian history. The Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī has the following on the death of Hīmū :

"The Khān Khānān begged the emperor to slay Hīmū with his own hand and earn the reward of a war upon infidels. His noble mind refused to kill a prisoner. When the Khān Khānān realised that the emperor would not be inclined to do this, he himself undertook to acquire this fancied reward and cleared the world of the impurity of his existence."¹⁷

Again in the second volume we find :

"When Hīmū was brought to the presence of the emperor, Bairām Khān begged him to punish Hīmū with his own hand. As

16. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh—Lowe., Vol. II. p. 9. Text Vol. II. p 16.

17. Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī. Vol. I. p. 652. A. S. B. Text,

the emperor hesitated a little the Khān Khānān himself undertook to acquire this fancied merit and cleared the world of the contamination of this impure one.”¹⁸

Shaikh Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī, the author of *Tawārīkh-i-Akbar Nāma* and Mu'tamad Khān, the author of *Iqbāl-nama-i-Jahāngīrī* agree with Abu-l Fazl or rather follow him.

Faizī Sirhindī relates the Hīmū incident as follows :

درین دهاده تیرمی برچشم همون ناپکار برگشته روزگار رسید و همچو
بخت از پس سراد گذشت و بر فیلی که سوار بود با فیلان دیگر بدست
شاه قلیخان محرم گرفتار آمد راز نظر اشرف گذرانید خانخان التماس
کرد که آنحضرت بوسیله غذا حصول مراتب ثواب و جزا نموده اول
او را بدست اقدس گذرانند پسندیده همت نفرمودند که او اسیر و مرده
است بمرده چه تیغ آلائیم خانخان بدست خود تیغ انداخت و کار او
تمام کرده بجهنم فرستاد *¹⁹

“From this side an arrow struck the eye of the vile and wretched Hīmū and according to his fate pierced through his head. Mounted on the elephant, Hīmū along with other elephants, was captured by Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram who carried him to the presence of the king. The Khān Khānān begged that, in order to acquire the reward of a war upon infidels, the king should strike him first. The nobility of his mind could not approve of this and [he said] ‘He is a captive and as good as dead. Why should I defile my sword with a dead one?’ The Khān Khānān struck him with his own hand and finished him and sent him to hell.”

The *Iqbāl Nāma* gives the following account :

بیرام خان التماس نمود که بندگان حضرت خود بقصد ثواب شمشیر
بر این مقهور سیاه بخت اندازد آن حضرت را همت رخصت نداد که تیغ

18. Ibid—Vol. II. p. 31-32.

19. *Tawārīkh-i-Akbar Nāma* fol. 9a, Ms. Or. 169. British Museum
Also fol. 6a-b, India Office Ms. No. 289.

جهان ستانرا آن نیم جان ناپاک آرایش بخشد و هر چند در این التماس
مبالغه را غرق بکار رفت اصلاً توجه نفرمودند آخر خانانان خود در
تکصیل این ثواب پیش دستی نموده... بتیغ خرنیز جهانرا از رجود گناه
آلود پاک ساخت *²⁰

"Bairām Khān begged the emperor that in order to obtain reward he should himself strike this wretched vanquished with sword. His noble mind did not allow him to defile his world-conquering sword with that half-dead impure one. Although Bairām Khān insisted on this, the emperor did not show any inclination at all. At last the Khān Khānān himself proceeded to acquire this reward and by his sharp sword cleansed the world from his [Hīmū's] sinful existence."

Of the historical works, written independently of the Mughal court, only the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* agrees with Abu-l Fazl. It was written during Jahāngīr's reign by one 'Abdullah. 'Abdullah says :

مقارن آنحال شاه قلی خان محرم فیل هواى را از میدان به غنیمت
برآورد مهارت فیل مذکورگفت مرا مکش که هیمو بر همین فیل است
شاه قلی خان این را غنیمت دانسته بنظر اکبر پادشاه درآورد بیرم خان
عرض نمود که چون این فتح اداست و با کفار نصرت یافته اند به نیت
غزا این کافر را بدست خود بکشند اکبر پادشاه فرمود که این خود مرده
است بر مرده چه تیغ آلایم غرض هر صورت هیمو کشته شد *²¹

"Just about this time Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram captured the elephant Hawāi from the battlefield by way of spoil. The driver of the afore-said elephant said : 'Do not kill me ; Hīmū is on this very elephant'. Shāh Qulī Khān considering this as a grand opportunity took [Hīmū] to the presence of the emperor Akbar. Bairām Khān begged that as this was his first victory and as he had overcome the infidels, the emperor should kill this infidel with his own hand in order to perform a religious warfare. The emperor Akbar said, 'He

²⁰ Iqbāl Nāma, Vol. II, fol. 9a. Ms. No. 66, Būhār Library.

²¹ Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī—fol. 123b-124a. Ms. Or. 197, British Museum.

is as good as dead ; why should I defile my sword by killing a dead one.' Hīmū was killed in any case."

§ 7. *Authorities in favour of Nizām-ud-Dīn.*

Let us now consider the second version—that of Nizām-ud-Dīn. The Ahsan-ut-Tawārikh of Hasan bin Muhammad is the only work composed in the reign of Akbar which agrees with the version of Nizām-ud-Dīn. Hasan began his work towards the close of Akbar's reign and completed it in the early part of Jahāngīr's. His account is as follows :

بدست شاه قلی خان محرم که در بالای فیل تیری بر چشمش رسیده
بود گرفتار شد در رکاب سعادت انتساب که به پنج کروهی جنگه گاه رسیده
بود آورده بدست بیرام خان به قتل رسید *²²

"Hīmū, whose eye was pierced by an arrow while on his elephant, was captured by Shāh Qulī Mahram and was taken before His Majesty who had reached within ten miles [five kurohs] of the battle-field and was killed by Bairām Khān."

Of the works composed during Jahāngīr's reign, the Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh and Bodleian Ms. No. 101 corroborate Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad. The author of Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh is Shaikh Nūr-ul-Haq who composed it under the patronage of Shaikh Farīd Bokharī, an officer of note in Jahāngīr's government. The other work is anonymous. Nūr-ul-Haq says :

وفیلی که همون بر سرار بود چون فیلبان او کشته شده و همون
بر بالای آن در جوکندی بود بر میگشت اتفاقاً شاه قلی خان محرم
محرمان فیل دیگر که از معرکه غنیمت آورده بود از نظراشرف بگذرانید
و خانخانان بیرام خان آن ناپاک بی باب را بدست خود کشته بجهنم
فرستاد *²³

22. Ahsan-ut Tawārikh, fol. 513b. Ms. Or 1649. British Museum.

23. Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh, fol. 98b. Ms. No. 290. India Office.

"The driver of the elephant, upon which Hīmū was seated in the howdah, having been killed, the elephant was itself wandering. By chance Shāh Qulī Khān, the most intimate with [the emperor], who had carried other elephants as spoil from the battlefield, brought it along with them to the presence of the emperor. Then Khān Khānān Bairām Khān killed that impudent impure one with his own hand and sent him to hell."²⁴

Bodleian Ms. 101 agrees with Ahsan-ut-Tawārikh word by word :

بدست شاه قلی خان محرم که در بالای فیل تیزی برچشمش
رسیده بود گرفتار به رکاب سعادت انتساب که به پنجم گروهی جنگ گاه
رسیده بود آورده بدست بیرام خان بقتل رسید * ²⁵

"Hīmū, who was lying on the elephant, wounded in his eye by an arrow, was captured by Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram and presented to His Majesty who had reached within ten miles [five kurohs] of the battlefield and was then put to death by Bairām Khān."

§ 8. *The third and fifth versions and the views of later historians.*

The third version, that of Firishta, is Firishta's own and is not corroborated by any other historian. Similarly, the fifth version, that of the emperor Jahāngīr, is also unsupported by any other

24. Nūr-ul-Haq seems to be contradictory when he relates Hīmū's death under the reign of 'Adli on fol. 95a.

'در پانی پت بدست بندگان حضرت شاهنشاهی کشته گردید'

unless we translate the sentence as—'Hīmū was put to death at Panipat by the servants of the king.' The phrase بندگان حضرت usually means the king or His Majesty and Nūr-ul-Haq uses it in the next page to mean 'the king' in connection with Akbar's enthronement (Vide Ms. fol. 95b). It is also quite probable that if he had meant 'servants of the court,' he would have inserted some such words like یکی از or بعضی از before بندگان حضرت as Dr. Shāhāni of the Department of Persian, suggests.

25. fol. 323a.

historian (though the story of Hīmū's picture we find related in the Akbar Nāma and Tārīkh-i-Alfī).²⁶

Before we discuss the fourth version, we would refer to the views of later historians on the 'Hīmū incident'. The Mirāt-ul-'Ālam, which was composed in 1683 A.D. (1094 A.H.) by Muhammad Baqā, follows Abu-l Fazl and states that Akbar refused to slay Hīmū who was almost dead and Bairām Khān killed him.²⁷

The Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh which was composed in 1696 (1107 A.H.) by Sujān Rāi Bhandārī also supports the version of Abu-l Fazl. Sujān Rāi says that as Akbar refused 'to strike Hīmū who was a captive Bairām Khān put him to death.

بعضی امرا التماس نمود که آنحضرت از دست مبارک بقصد غزا
حصول ثواب شمشیر بر این مقهور اندازند فرمودند که تیغ خود بخون
اسیری آلوده کردن نه از این مردی است..... در آن وقت پیرم خان
نظر بر مرضی مقدس داشته بعرض رسانید..... و پیش دستی
نموده بضمیمه خون اشام تن او را از بارسبک ساخت و عرصه هندوستان را
از خس و خاشاک وجود عصیان آلودش پاک گردانید سر او را بکابل و تن
او را در دلهی فرستاد *²⁸

The Tazkirat-us-salātin-i-Chaghata, written by Muhammad Hādī, sometime after 1724 A.D. also accepts Abu-l Fazl's version and states that Akbar out of nobility and loftiness of soul refused to slay Hīmū whereupon Bairām Khān killed him.

بجناب حضرت التماس نمود که بطریق شگون حضرت بدست
مبارک آن کافر بدکیش را بیاسارسانند آن حضرت از رلامنشی و
بزرگنهادی قبول این معنی نکردند هر چند مقربان بساط حضرت

26. Akbar Nāma—Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 67; Tārīkh-i-Alfī. British Museum Ms. Or. 465. fol. 593a-b. India Office Ms. 3293. fol. 433a-b.

27. Mirāt-ul-'Ālam. fol. 158a. Ms. No. 11. Būhār Library.

28. Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh. fol. 265a-b. Ms. No. 32. A. S. B. Nazon Collection.

باری عزم مکالمه کردند زبان بجواب نکشاد خانخانان بشمشیر آبدار
سر آن فتنه انگیز را بخاک هلاک انداخته و عالم را از شور و شر او
نجات داد * ۳۰

The famous historian Khāfi Khān whose *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb* was written about 1732-33 A.D. (1145 A.H.) also virtually agrees with Abu-l Fazl, though he does not directly mention Akbar's refusal and magnanimity.²⁹

We thus find that the later historians of note accepted the view of Abu-l Fazl or more properly the official version.

It may be noted here that the *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* of Shaikh 'Abd-ul Haq which was composed during Akbar's reign, does not mention anything about Hīmū's death. It does not record the events of Akbar's reign but stops at his accession. The continuation in the Bodleian Ms. Ousely 59. is most probably by a different and later author. The *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī* which was composed during the reign of Akbar by Shaikh Rizqullah who was not connected with the Court, avoids the question of Hīmū's death by stating merely that "the bastard, vanquished Hīmū was captured and killed" :

”وهمون مزند مقهورا سیر و گرفتار گردید و بقتل رسید“ ۳۱

§ 9. *Importance of the version of Ārif Qandahārī.*

Let us now examine the fourth version, that of 'Ārif Qandahārī. We may estimate the importance of 'Ārif Qandahārī if we consider the following points. First, 'Ārif Qandahārī was a contemporary authority. Secondly, written as it was before the standard histories of Akbar's reign, it presents an independent version of the history of that illustrious monarch. Thirdly, while we can ascribe motives in the case of many historians for making false statement about the 'Hīmū incident' we cannot reasonably ascribe similar motive in his case.

29. *Tazkirat-us-salātīn-i-Chagta*. A. S. B. Ms. No. 168. fol. 106a.

30. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*. Vol. 1. A. S. B. Text. p. 134.

31. *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushtāqī*. British Museum Ms. 11633, fol. 78b-79a.

None of the authorities, mentioned above, can be called contemporary. Even Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, Abu-l Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn and Badāunī were not contemporary with the event. They joined the service of Akbar a considerable time after the death of Hīmū.³² Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī may be said to have been contemporary with the event. He was the steward of Bairām Khān and we find him present in the royal camp when Kāmraṇ was blinded.³³ 'Ārif was with Bairām Khān in Gujarāt at the time of the latter's assassination. That he followed his master in his retirement proves his great attachment to Bairām Khān and it is quite reasonable to think that 'Ārif had been in Bairām's service while the Mughals were fighting with Hīmū. Even if he had not been present in the field, it cannot be doubted he had excellent means to gather accurate information about the death of Hīmū. This makes 'Ārif Qandahārī the best authority for the incident.

Secondly, 'Ārif's history was written before the standard histories of the reign—those of Abu-l Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn and Badāunī—were composed. It will not be too much to say that almost all histories written in Persian during the Mughal period follow them at least for Akbar's reign. 'Ārif's is the only history that is independent of Nizām-ud-Dīn and Abu-l Fazl and his account of Akbar's reign, though rather brief, shows a marked originality and a refreshing contrast to other works which inevitably follow the track of the Akbar Nāma and the Tabaqāt.

Thirdly, in the case of Abu-l Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn, and Āsaf Khān we can reasonably ascribe motive for making false statement. Abu-l Fazl fully recognises the futility of killing an infidel prisoner and no one who has perused his Akbar Nāma can doubt that he is ever anxious to hide the dark spot in his emperor's reputation.

32. Ja'far Beg came to India in 1577. Abu-l Fazl was born in 1551 and was introduced at court in his seventeenth year. In the twenty-ninth year of Akbar's reign Nizām-ud-Dīn was appointed to the office of bakhshi of Gujarāt. Badāunī, though he joined Akbar's service early in life, did not associate himself with court from the first year of his reign.

33. Mukhtasar—fol. 64b. Ms. No. 223, India office. Also Akbar Nāma, Beveridge, Vol. I., p. 607.

The *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* of Ja'far Beg, which was written under royal supervision, calls for no remark. As regards Nizām-ud-Dīn it may be said that, though he was himself an orthodox Mussalman and would have recognized the merit of a jihād, he fully knew as a courtier that Akbar himself would very much dislike to do such an act at the time when he began to compose his history. But Badāunī is not open to this explanation. He is not a servile courtier but shows the other side of the medal. As a bigoted Sunni Badāunī would have very much liked the emperor to kill an infidel and earn the title of ghāzī. It is said his work was kept secret; if so he would not have been afraid of giving the true account, however much it might have been to the displeasure of Akbar. We have therefore to regard Badāunī as a reliable authority for the 'Hīmū incident.'

As regards 'Ārif Qandahārī, it may be said that in order to relieve his master, Bairām Khān, of the responsibility for the execution, he shifted it to prince Akbar. 'Ārif wrote the work as a servant of Akbar and he gave the title of his work after the name of the Emperor.³⁴ We cannot say whether 'Ārif was a bigoted Mussalman like Badāunī or a liberal Mulsim like Abu-l Fazl. But it is sure that when 'Ārif wrote his history, Akbar could not have thought of obtaining heavenly reward by slaying an infidel.

The reasons for which we reject the authority of Abu-l Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn and 'Āsaf Khān are also applicable to almost all those historians who support them. That none of them were contemporary authorities need not be repeated. Of the histories, supporting Abu-l Fazl, the *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* is a work of great importance, written under the patronage of Khān Khānān 'Abd-ur Rahīm and Faizī. It may be argued that its author would not have intentionally put the guilt of Hīmū's execution on the shoulder of his patron's father for 'Abd-ul-Bāqī is like Abu-l Fazl conscious of the uselessness of acquiring merit by slaying infidel. It is true that the *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* shows bias in favour of Bairām Khān but not at the cost of the emperor Akbar. It was written under the patronage of Faizī and 'Abd-ur-Rahīm who were loyal servants of

34. Vide *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*. Vol. II., p. 1.

the court. The other supporters of Abu-l Fazl are Shaikh Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī and Mu'tamad Khān. Both were written under the patronage of the court—Sirhindī's patron was Shaikh Farīd Bokharī, a distinguished officer of Akbar and Jahāngīr; both of them confess that they based their work on Abu-l Fazl; none of them had the facilities to obtain accurate knowledge of the incident. The *Tārīkh-i-Dandī* is the only work, written independently of the Mughal court, that agrees with Abu-l Fazl. The fact that it was written from outside court-influence is important, but as we know nothing of the author beyond his name, we cannot say what opportunities and equipments he had to write the early history of Akbar's reign. We know, however, that his work must have been composed after the accession of the emperor Jahāngīr.

The supporters of Nizām-ud-Dīn's version are only three in number: the *Ahsan-ut-Tawārikh*, the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh* and the Bodleian Ms. Ousely. 59. The author of *Ahsan-ut-Tawārikh* came from Persia to India in the reign of Akbar and obtained different offices under the government. It is regarded as an important authority on Eastern history and Briggs quotes from it on many occasions. Though his authorities are many and good, a perusal of the Indian section of his work leads us to believe that he based it on the *Tabaqāt* of Nizām-ud-Dīn whom he exactly follows on this incident, and that he adds very little to the stock of our knowledge of the period. Besides, the reasons for which we cannot accept the version of Nizām-ud-Dīn, are also applicable to him.

The *Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh* is of course a far more valuable authority. Besides his personal knowledge the author obtained much valuable information from his father, 'Abd-ul Haq, who himself is the author of an historical work known as *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* about which we have said before. Nūr-ul Haq wrote his work under the patronage of Shaikh Farīd Bokharī, a distinguished noble of Akbar and Jahāngīr, while his father's appreciation of Akbar towards the end of his work places him in the rank of Abu-l Fazl as a panegyrist. Besides, the perusal of *Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh* dealing with the history of Humāyūn and the early part of Akbar's reign, must convince one that Nūr-ul-Haq owed to Nizām-ud-Dīn more than he acknowledged. His father, 'Abd-ul-Haq who was preparing the history of Akbar's

reign and from whom he must have gathered information, was born in 958 A.H., some five years before the death of Hīmū. For all these reasons Nūr-ul-Haq cannot be regarded as a very good authority for the incident under discussion.

The value of the Bodleian Ms. Ousely. 59. it is difficult to estimate. If it is the same as the Ms. D. 275 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as Mr. Ivanow suggests, it has little value for the latter was composed in 1655 A.D. (1065 A.H.). But even if we accept the opinion of Dr. Sachau that it was written during Jahāngir's reign, we cannot appraise its worth properly for we do not know anything either about the author or of his sources and equipments.

As for Firishta, he agrees with Abu-l Fazl ; for in his account Akbar's magnanimity is implied, though he differs with him in slight detail *e.g.* Akbar's touching the sword on Hīmū's head. The fact that Firishta wrote from outside court-influence is of importance. But he was a southerner residing at Bijāpūr—far removed from northern affairs and he is not at all regarded as an original authority for the history of Akbar. His version, which is unsupported by any other historian, seems to me to be a modified account of 'Ārif Qandahārī whom he cites as one of his authorities—modified so as to suit the truly humane character of Akbar.

The emperor Jahāngir's version is also unsupported by any other authority. Just as Firishta in spirit agrees with Abu-l Fazl, so Jahāngir in spirit agrees with 'Ārif. In his version there is no mention of Akbar's magnanimity ; Akbar did not kill Hīmū as he had already killed him in picture. So he ordered one of his servants to do this for him. The Tārīkh-i-Alfī agrees with Jahāngir in the story of Hīmū's picture but in the former Akbar's magnanimity is implied and Bairām alone is responsible for the execution.

Thus from an examination of all the authorities we find that 'Ārif Qandahārī is the most reliable authority for the 'Hīmū incident'. There is only one among all the historians about whom we have discussed just now—who can be regarded as a trustworthy authority and whose account cannot be dismissed as that of a courtly flatterer. He is Badāunī and even Badāunī also is inferior to 'Ārif in one point—he was not strictly speaking contemporary with the event.

§ 10. *Authorities corroborating 'Ārif Qandahārī's version.*

The problem now may be simplified thus : whether we should accept 'Ārif Qandahārī's version or Badāuni's ? And it can be easily solved for 'Ārif is supported by the only other authority whom we may regard as contemporary. He is Bāyazīd Biyāt whose memoirs cover the reigns of Humāyūn as well as Akbar. When the incident took place Bāyazīd was at Kābul in the service of Mun'im Khān. After the execution of Hīmū, his head was sent to Mun'im Khān at Quruqsai (Afghanistan) and Mun'im Khān sent it on to Bāyazīd at Kābul with instructions to hang it from the Iron Gate.³⁵ Bāyazīd gives a rather long account of the arrival of Hīmū's head at Kābul. Besides, four years later, Bāyazīd returned to India and joined the royal camp during Bairām Khān's rebellion.³⁶ Bāyazīd thus had opportunity and means to know about the 'Hīmū incident' even from eye-witnesses. Bāyazīd says,

و همان زمان او را دست گیر کرده و این خبر را به بندگان حضرت
شاه قلی محرم که در آن زمان ملازم نواب بیرم خان بود رسانید و متعاقب
آن کافر را پدای فیل حضرت رسانیدند و بندگان حضرت فرمودند که اگر
مسلمان می شوی از سرخون تومی گذریم و آن کافر حرام زاده باسلام
در نیامد آخر الامر بندگان حضرت شمشیری برو زدند و از آن تار و پود
جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی می نویسند..... و سر آن
حرام زاده را بکابل فرستادند *³⁷

"Immediately he (Hīmū) was taken captive and this was reported to the king by Shāh Qulī Mahram, who was at that time in the service of Bairām Khān. After this that infidel was taken at the foot of the king's elephant and the king said : 'If you become a Mussalman, I shall spare your life.' But that bastard infidel did not embrace Islam. At last the king struck him with a sword and since that date he has been called Jalāl-ud-Dīn

35. Mukhtasar fol. 89a.

36. Ibid. fol. 93b—94a.

37. Ibid fol. 88b—89a.

Muhammad Akbar Padshāh Ghāzī..... The head of that vile (infidel) was sent to Kābul."

It must be admitted that no other historian, if he is not 'Ārif Qandahārī who was in Bairām Khān's service at that time, had better opportunity to obtain accurate knowledge of the event than Bāyazīd Biyāt. There is no doubt that Bāyazīd was a bigoted Mussalman—the destruction of a temple at Benares and erection of a mosque on its site might be given as a typical example.³⁸ It may be said that in order to add the glory of jihād to his patron-emperor's name, Bāyazīd in his memoirs makes Akbar kill Hīmū with his own hand and gain the title of ghāzī. But it should be marked that Bāyazīd wrote his Mukhtasar in 1590-91 A. D. (999 A. H.) in obedience to royal order—at a time when Akbar would not have at all agreed to do such an act. Bāyazīd would not have dared to write what must have been disliked by the emperor, had it not been the bare truth. Bāyazīd was a Bakāwal Bēgī or steward of the kitchen under Humāyūn. He had not the learning and knowledge of Abu-l Fazl and Nizām-ud-Dīn—his is essentially a plain man's narrative; and it is from plain narratives like those of Jauhar and Bāyazīd rather than those of the learned scholars who colour events after their own fashion, that we are more likely to obtain glimpse of truth. It is significant that Abu-l Fazl who largely draws upon Bāyazīd differs with him on this incident. On the whole we do not see why Bāyazīd should have written a false version of the death of Hīmū and even if he would have liked to do it, he could not have done so as a royal servant. Besides, as Bāyazīd informs us, out of the nine copies of his work, two went into Abu-l Fazl's and one into the Imperial Library.

The joint testimony of Bāyazīd and 'Ārif Qandahārī is sufficient to overthrow the versions of Abu-l Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn and all other historians who support them, and is certainly more weighty and valuable than that of Badāunī. Even if we had no other authority to support them, we should have accepted the version of 'Ārif and Bāyazīd—but we have several other authorities who corroborate their account and enable us with more certainty to reject the

38. Mukhtasar—fol. 131b.

version of Badāunī. We shall deal with them in chronological order :

(1) The first is Muhammad Sharīf Waqū'ī, the author of Majāmi'-ul-Akhhār. A short account of the author is given in Haft-Iqlīm.³⁹ He first attached himself to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān and after his death (1590-91 A. D., 999 A. H.) to Sipāhsālār 'Abd-ur-Rahīm Khān Khānān. Later on he entered the service of Akbar. Therefore he had some opportunities to gather information about the history of Akbar's reign. Muhammad Sharīf exactly agrees with Bāyazīd and like Bāyazīd does not refer to Bairām Khān's part in the execution of Hīmū :

هیمون در اثنای جنگ بزخم تیری از پای در آمد رسپاه هند
و افغان بطریق دود از آتش گریزان گشتند و از ستیز آوردن روی بر تافته بر
هزیمت و خلق بیشمار کشته شد و هموی بضر ب تیغ المنس فعل حضرت اعلی
بدرک اسفل رفت و بعد ازین لفظ غازی بر القاب همایون افزوده شده *⁴⁰

"In the midst of the conflict Hīmū fell down, being wounded by an arrow and the Hindusthani and the Afghan forces separated from one another like smoke from fire and turned their face from the conflict and fled. Numerous men were killed. And Hīmū went to the lowest pit of hell, being struck by His Majesty's sword which acted like diamond."

(2) The next work that corroborates this view is Rauzat-ut-Tāhīrīn. Its author, Tāhīr Muhammad, began to compose his history in 1602-3 (1011 A. H.) and completed it four years later after the accession of Jahāngīr. He was already more than twenty years at Akbar's court when he began his work, for he says he entered Akbar's service in the year 1579 A.D. (987 A. H.). Tāhīr Muhammad gives the following account :

شاه قلی محرم خود را بهمون که بر عمار می فیل سوار بود رسانیده
او را بدرگاه جهان پناه آورد بیرام خان القماس نمود که بندگان حضرت به

39. Fol. 320b-321a, Ms. No. 283, A. S. B.

40. Majāmi'-ul-Akhhār, fol. 399b, Ms. No. 119, India Office.

نیت غزا شمشیر برو حواله کردند و چون آردو . علی بیک منزل دهلی
رسید مولانا پیر محمد شروانی حسب الحکم بقصبه ریواری رفته
و اموال او را بقید ضبط آورده بدرگاه خلأق پناه باز گشت *⁴¹

"Shāh Qulī Mahram himself approached Hīmū who was seated on the howdah of the elephant and brought him to the presence of the king. In accordance with the request of Bairām Khān the king fleshed his sword on Hīmū by way of religious warfare."

(3) One important work, composed during Akbar's reign but written independently of the Mughal court, supports this view. It is the *Haft-Iqlīm* of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, completed in 1593-94 A.D. (1002 A.H.). It is a geographical as well as biographical encyclopaedia. Amīn Rāzī was a native of Ray. "The author's first cousin, *Khawājā* Gīyas Beg (the father of the famous Nūr Jahān Begam) rose to a position of great influence under Akbar, and was subsequently distinguished as I'timād-ud-Daula, the all powerful wazir of Jahāngīr. Writing of Agra, Amīn showers praises upon Akbar of whom he speaks in the present tense, and various indications point to his having visited India while the great emperor was still on the throne. He seems to have made good use of this opportunity for collecting information about the country of which he gives fairly detailed account from the earliest times down to Akbar."⁴² Amīn Rāzī's account is important as offering an independent view of the affair. For the Indian portion of the history he relies mainly upon the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* but he differs with Nizām-ud-Dīn about the 'Hīmū incident.' Amīn Rāzī writes the following while narrating the career of Hīmū under 'Adli's reign :

41. *Rauzat-ut-Tāhīrīn*. fol. 347a. Ms. No. 8. Būhār Library. There is a gap in the British Museum Ms. Or. 168. concerning the early period of Akbar's reign. So the above paragraph relating Hīmū's death does not occur there.

42. Preface to *Haft Iqlīm*, A. S. B. Text, Fascicle, I, p. iii, by Khān Sāhib Maulavi 'Abd-ul Muqtadir.

و همو در دهلی با تاردی بیگ خان که اونیز در سلک اولیای
دولت قاهره انتظام داشت جنگ کرده غالب آمد و آخر بدست بندگان
حضرت شاهنشاهی بقتل رسید *⁴³

"At Delhi Hīmū fought with Tardī Beg Khān, one of the nobles of the victorious state, and overcame him. In the end he was put to death by the king."

(4) The other works which corroborate this view were composed during the reign of Jahāngīr. One of them is Makhzan-i-Afghānī whose author Ni'matullah held the office of historiographer at the Court of Jahāngīr. His father Khwāja Habībullah of Herat was for thirty-five years in the service of Akbar and from him he could have obtained good information regarding Akbar's reign. Ni'matullah completed his work in 1613 A.D (1021 A.H). He wrote it at the command of Nawāb Khān Jahān Lodī, a high official of Jahāngīr's government, who had served Rājā Mān Singh and prince Salīm during Akbar's reign. Ni'matullah, while dealing with the reign of Shīr Shāh, says that his sources are Nizām-ud-Dīn and Abu-l Fazl but here he does not agree with any of them. His account is as follows :

شاه قلی خان فیل را پیش انداخته بملا ز مت بادشاه آورد و همون
را فرود آورده بنظر اشرف گذرانید و چون همون را بحضور بردند
رمقی چنان درو مانده بود خاص بغیت غزا عرش اشیانی آن کافر را بدست
خود بشمشیر سر از تن ناپاک همون جدا ساختند و بخطاب غازی
مخاطب شدند *⁴⁴

"Shah Qulī Khān led the elephant to Babur [mistake for Akbar]; and, dismounting Hemoon, presented him before the monarch.....Hemoon, when carried before Akbar, breathed his last; but the Emperor, with his own hand, severed the head

43. Haft Iqlim, fol. 188b, A. S. B. Ms. No. 283. Also fol. 135b, Ms. No. 706. Curzon collection.

44. Makhzan-i-Afghānī, fol. 110b. Ms. No. 100. A. S. B. ; fol. 122b. Ms. No. 102. A. S. B.

of that infidel from the*body, and assumed from that moment, the title of Akbar Padishah Ghazi.”⁴⁵

(5) The next work—Ma’dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi—was composed independently of the the Mughal court. It was completed about the year 1614 A.D. (1023 A.H.) by Ahmad bin Bahbal. As it is cited as an authority in the Makhjan-i-Afghānī, which was composed in 1613 A.D. (1021 A.H.), it seems to have been written a few years earlier. Its version is as follows :

و در زمانى كه هريكى از بهادران بدولت حضور رسیده کامیاب
میگشتند شاه قلی خان محرم هیمو را بسته بدرگاه آورد هر چند از او
سخن پرسیدند جواب نگفت..... و به نیت غزای و ثواب جهاد بدست
مبارک خود شمشیر برو انداختند بعد از آن بفواب خان خانان و شیخ
گدائی فرمودند که شما یان نیز بفواب غزای برسید ایشان نیز یکان یکان
شمشیر برو زدند و عالم را از لوث هستی او پاک ساختند و سر او را بکابل
فرستادند و تفه را بدار الملک دهلی برده بردار عبرت کردند عالم از شور
و شغب آramیده*⁴⁶

“When everyone of the heroes was approaching the royal presence and obtaining what he desired, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram brought in Hīmū, bound, to the royal camp. He did not speak even after repeated questioning [by the king]..... By way of religious warfare and for the reward of a war upon infidels the king himself struck him with sword and then asked Nawāb Khān Khānān and Shaikh Gadā’i also to gain the reward of religious warfare. They too one by one fleshed their sword on Hīmū and cleansed the world from the impurity of his existence. His head was sent to Kābul and his body was carried to the capital city of Delhi where it was gibbeted by way of warning.”

45. Dorn—History of the Afghans—Vol. II., p. 176. The line that follows in Dorn, ‘The dead body he ordered to be cast on a dunghill’, does not occur in any of the two Mss, at the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I have consulted.

46. Ma’dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi, fol. 155b. Ms. No. 121. India office.

The Ma'dan-i-Akhbārī Ahmadi essentially agrees with 'Ārif in saying that Akbar struck Himū with his sword and he was helped by Bairām Khān in this action. It agrees with Bāyazīd in ascribing the spirit of bigotry in Akbar. In Bāyazīd we find Akbar tempting Himū to accept Islam and in Ma'dan-i-Akhbār we find him asking Bairām and Shaikh Gadā'ī to earn the merit or reward of slaying an infidel. The Ma'dan-i-Akhbār corroborates the evidence of Badāunī as regards the part taken by Shaikh Gadā'ī. I have not found any other work corroborating the statement of Bāyazīd that Akbar induced Himū to embrace Islam and that of Ahmad that Akbar himself asked Bairām Khān to slay Himū to earn the merit of a war upon infidels. The Ma'dan-i-Akhbār offers an independent version of the event and the fact that the authors of both Makhzan-i-Afghānī and Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghana mention it as one of their authorities, shows that it was considered a valuable work. There must have been good reason why the author of Makhzan-i-Afghānī accepted its version while rejecting that of Nizām-ud-Dīn and Abu-l Fazl both of whom he cites among his authorities.

(6) & (7) Two other works also corroborate the fourth version—those two which were quoted by Mr. Vincent Smith and on the strength of which he rejected the 'current story.' They are the Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghana of Ahmad Yādgār and Van den Broeck's Fragmentum in de Laet. It has been already pointed out [in the beginning of this paper] that they were not at all contemporary authorities and they are not at all sufficient to overthrow the statement of Badāunī. But they are of some importance as supplying corroborative evidence.

In Ahmad Yādgār we find the account as follows :

الغرض چون شاه قلی بیگ.....واقعہ اگاہی یافت بدان پیل در
رسید همچنان آن پیل را بحضور بیروم خان آورد بیروم خان سجدات شکر
بجا آورده همون را از فیل فرود آورده دست او بسته بحضور پادشاه
جوان بخت فرخند طالع آورد و عرض نمود کہ چون فتح اول است

پادشاه بدست مبارک خود شمشیر بدان کفر اندازد تا بدست مبارک
شمشیر بر آن انداخته سر از تن ناپاک او جدا ساختند*⁴⁷

"When Shāh Quli Beg was told of what had occurred, he came up to the elephant, and brought it into the presence of Bairām Khān. Bairām Khān, after prostrating himself, and returning thanks, caused Himūn to descend from the elephant; after which he bound his hands, and took him before the young and fortunate Prince, and said, 'As this is our first success, let Your Highness's own august hand smite this infidel with the sword.' The Prince, accordingly struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body."⁴⁸

Pieter van den Broecke gives the following account :

"Hemou was wounded in the eye by an arrow during the fighting, and was forced to fly, but was captured and brought back by Couli-Gan [Kuli Khan Mahram]. He was brought before Achabar, who had hastened up on hearing of the rout of the Pathans; at the request of Coulinghan he cut off the head of the prisoner with his scimitar, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of Delly, a crime unworthy of a prince."⁴⁹

It may be interesting here to note that although the later writers down to the times of Khāfi Khān accepted the official or Abu-l Fazl's version, we find one among them giving a different account. He is Rāi Brindāban, the author of *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind*, composed in 1694-95 A. D. (1106 A. H.). He says,

او را شاه قلی خان نوکر بیروم خان بر آن فیلی که سوار بود زخمی
گرفته کنار جنگ گاه شده بخدمت آن حضرت رسانیده بروایتی آن حضرت
بقصد غزا و بقولی بیروم خان به نیزه چگرو دوز (کار او) ساختند*⁵⁰

47. *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghana*, fol. 115b-116a, A. S. B. Ms. No. 114; fol. 197b, Būhār Ms. No. 62.

48. Elliot and Dowson—*History of India as told by its own historians*—Vol. v. p. 65-66.

49. Hoyland and Banerjee—*De Laet's 'Description of India and Fragment of Indian history,'* p. 141-142.

50. *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh*. A. S. B. Ms. No. 161, fol. 88b.

"Shāh Qulī Khān captured Hīmū lying wounded on the elephant on which he was mounted and brought him before the king. According to one version the king by way of religious warfare, while according to the other, Bairām Khān killed him with his sharp spear."

A later work—*Mirāt-i-āftāb-numā*, which was written between 1801 and 1803 A.D., accepts the version of 'Ārif Qandahārī. It was composed by the prime minister of Shāh 'Ālam, 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Shāhnawāz Khān. He makes Akbar directly responsible for the death of Hīmū.

بعد از چند روز خبر رسید که هیمو بقال خود را بکرماجیت نام
نهادہ جنون جہانبانی در سردار و با ہفتاد ہزار سوار و توپخانہ
بسیار و یکہزار فیل جنگی در فتنہ سازیست با ستماع اینخبر عازم
استیصال او شدند در فواحی پانی پت آنرا بقتل رسانیدہ: مظفر و
منصور در دہلی داخل شد *⁵¹

"A few days after report came that Hīmū the grocer had styled himself Vikramājī and was aspiring to sovereignty and with 70,000 horsemen, huge artillery and 1,000 war elephants was causing disturbance. On hearing this news (Akbar) proceeded to extirpate him. In the environs of Panipat he put Hīmū to death and triumphantly entered Delhi."

§ 11. Conclusion.

To sum up, we reject the story of Akbar's magnanimity and refusal to slay a fallen infidel and accept the version that Akbar struck Hīmū with sword without any hesitation in order to gain the title of ghāzī and the reward of jihād. First, because this version is supported by the contemporary authorities. Secondly, it is supported by others who, if not contemporary, wrote towards the

51. *Mirāt-i-āftāb-numā*, A. S. B. Ms. Curzon Collection, II. 348, fol. 301 a-b.

end of Akbar's and the early part of Jahāngīr's reign. Thirdly, it is corroborated by the evidence of several historians who wrote independently of the Mughal court. Only one historian of this class supports the view of Abu-l Fazl—the author of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*. Fourthly, while we can suspect that Abu-l Fazl, Nizām-ud-Dīn and all their supporters excepting Badāunī and 'Abdullah (about whom we know nothing) were guilty of omission and commission in order to suppress the defects of their patron, we cannot reasonably lay any charge of falsification on the supporters of this version. It may be argued that those historians, who state that Akbar killed Hīmū in order to be ghāzī, do so in order to add glory to his name—glory as they understood it. To this argument it may be pointed out that those who wrote under the patronage of the emperor himself like 'Ārif, Bāyazīd, Muhammad Sharīf and Tāhir Muhammad, knew quite well that their patron would very much dislike to add such glory to his name for all these works were written at a time when Akbar had already shown great leaning towards the Hindus and Hinduism. And those, who wrote independently of the Mughal court like Amīn Rāzī, Ahmad bin Bahbal and others, had no good reason to make false statement in order to add glory to the name of one with whom they had no connection. We do not find in their writings any evidence of hostility against Akbar; so the argument that they wanted to vilify the emperor cannot be maintained.

As regards such minor details—whether Bairām Khān begged Akbar to slay Hīmū with his own hand in order to obtain the title of ghāzī, or whether Akbar induced Hīmū to embrace Islam, as Bāyazīd says, or whether Akbar on his own initiative struck Hīmū and asked Bairām and others to participate in the jihād, as Ahmad bin Bahbal states, we cannot come to a sure conclusion. It was quite natural on the part of Bairām Khān to request the prince to obtain the title of ghāzī by fleshing his sword on the infidel captive; but this fact is mentioned neither by the two contemporary authorities nor by the authors of *Majāmi'-ul-Akhbār*, *Haft Iqlīm*, *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār* and *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*. As regards Bairām's part in the action we are a bit more certain; it is mentioned by the majority of the historians as well as by one of the contemporary authorities—'Ārif Qandahārī. So we may accept that Bairām Khān helped the king in the execution of Hīmū.

In conclusion we may record the 'Himū incident' as follows : Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram brought the wounded Himū before the king. Akbar struck him with sword in order to gain the reward of jihād and the title of ghāzī. Bairām Khān followed him and fleshed his sword on the captive. From this we may safely conclude that Akbar was born an orthodox Mussalman, sharing the bigotry of his contemporaries and that his kind disposition and broad humanity were the development of his maturer years.

The 'Himū incident' illustrates the way in which history is falsified when it becomes the hand-maid of despotism. The story of Akbar's magnanimity was probably invented or at least made current by the emperor himself who in his later life could not justify his action—the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi* is the first work to mention it. It was naturally accepted and exaggerated by Abu-l Fazl who regarded that a jihād would result in 'fancied merit' and had no real efficacy and who was ever anxious to hide the defects of his patron. Nizām-ud-Dīn seems to have avoided the matter and is guilty of omission rather than of commission. The wonder is how Badāunī accepted the story.⁵² The story originated and gained ground because it suited the truly great character of Akbar as it developed in his mature years. The halo that gathered round the personality of the emperor and which distance of years only enhanced helped the development of the story and contributed to its popularity. Later historians of the 17th and 18th centuries excepting Rāi Brindāban and 'Abd-ur-Rahmān, all accepted it without any hesitation or least doubt. The acceptance of the story by modern scholars beginning from Dow is partly accounted for by this fact as well as their failure to consult all the authorities for the incident. To Mr. Vincent Smith belongs the credit of first rejecting the current story. But his conclusion has been accepted or rejected, for reasons already stated, according to the likings and dislikings of authors who have written general

52. One thing we should not fail to notice : behind the bitter sectarian prejudices and forcible censures of Akbar's religious policy that fill his pages, there is the courtier, greedy to seek royal favour and not without veneration for the royal person. Badāunī is hostile to Akbar only where he deviated from orthodox Islam. Scholars have placed too much confidence in his veracity.

histories since the publication of his article and his monograph on Akbar. The present investigation, based on an exhaustive study of all available materials, discredits the current story of Akbar's magnanimity and hardly, I believe, leaves any room for any difference of opinion.⁵⁶

53. In publishing this paper I should express my indebtedness to my Professor Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D. who has kindly procured for me some Mss. on loan from the India Office Library, London, and permission to use the Imperial and Būhār Libraries as well as the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and has kindly revised the Paper ; to Sir J. N. Sarkār, Kt. C. I. E. for the generous loan of his Ms ; to Dr. W. H. A. Shādāni, M. A., Ph. D., for his kindness in helping me in understanding and translating difficult Persian words and phrases and to Shams-ul-'ulamā' M. Hidāyet Husain, Ph. D., Khān Bahādur for kindly offering me facilities at the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I must also acknowledge my debt to Dr. L. D. Barnett, D. Litt., Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books & Mss., British Museum ; to the Librarian, India Office Library ; and to Mr. A. J. Arberry, Assistant Keeper of Oriental Books and Mss. India Office Library for their kindness in helping me in various ways in connection with manuscripts in the British Museum and India Office Library, London.

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AN OLD-JAVANESE INSCRIPTION OF THE SAKA YEAR 841.

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This inscription belongs to the reign of king Tulodang and has been incised on a set of three copper-plates. It is a matter of great regret that the exact find-spot of this record is not known. Dr. Krom¹ remarks, however, that there are some place-names in the inscription which we find earlier in central and then also in Eastern Java and that among the people mentioned we come across a religious functionary (*marhyang*) of Diëng and an inmate of the cloister of Siddhakārya belonging to Diëng. The reference to Diëng is not however of great importance, unless other place-names of this inscription are found in the Diëng-region. For, in the inscription of Kěmbang Arum², whose find-spot is exactly known, the sixth *rāma māgaman* is "the maker of the stone for the free-hold, (named) *Si Śrū*, father of Bukang, hailing from *Ḍihyang*" (pl. II, 13). He thus came to Kěmbang Arum in Jogjakarta from a far-off place. The reputation of Diëng in spiritual matters was such that it was found necessary on many festive occasions to invite people (mainly religious) from that region. For finding out the *locale* of the inscription, it is necessary therefore to make a detailed examination of the geographical names of this inscription and search them in other records of Java. This has led me to the following results. It has been found, for example, that the names of Layang, Lintakan, Wru, Kasugihan, Turumangamwil, Miramirah, Pikatan, Ḍatar, Wungkudu, Srangan, Manggulungi, Mataram, Kabanyāgān, Wuga, Kahuripan, Talaga, Gilikan, Pakalangkyangan and Watuwatu are also found in other inscriptions of Java. Whenever the

1. *Geschiedenis*², p. 194.

2. *OV*, 1925, Bijl. B.

find-spot of these records is known, they refer in most cases to the region of Kědu and in several cases, where the exact find-spot is not known, they have been obtained from Jogjakarta. Thus, *OJO* XXII, ll. 14-15 (823 Śaka, Kědu), *KO* XIV, pl. B. 1 (803 Śaka, Kědu), *KO* XV, pl. B. 9 (804 Śaka, Kědu) have all mentioned the place of Kasugihan.¹ Similarly, in *OJO* II, V°. 3 (731 Śaka, Diēng) a place is found under Pikatan, while *OJO* VI, l. 5 (775 Śaka)² presents a *raka* of Pikatan. A *raka* of Pikatan is also mentioned in *OJO* VIII (786 Śaka), obtained from Kědu. The name reminds us, above all, of the *raka* of Pikatan who has been mentioned in the dynastic list of Matarām-kings, found in the well-known inscription from Kědu.³ A *pamagat* Pikatan is also found in the inscription of Kěmbang Arum, pl. III a 13, found in Jogjakarta. In the map the place Pikatan has been shown to the North-east of Sumbing. The name of the place Kabanyāgān which occurs in the record under review is also noticed in *OJO* VI described above. Similarly in the inscription of Kuburan Caṇḍi, r°.5 (753 Śaka, Kědu)⁴, we find the name of *Pamgět* Wuga. This Wuga appears to be a place about Prāmbānān.⁵ It is perhaps more interesting to note that the place Pakalangkyangan is under Pagar wěsi both in the record under review as also in the inscription of Kěmbang Arum⁶. Similarly, the place called Wungkuḍu

1. A place of this name also occurs in *OJO* CIII, *b*. As several place-names of this inscription are found in the records from Kědu, there is a great possibility that *OJO* CIII refers to that region or its neighbourhood. Mr. Holle remarked in *VBG* XXXIX B p. 2 that this inscription has palaeographical affinity with *KO* XVII, which, as Cohen Stuart has observed (*KO*, p. XII), has the same script as *KO*. I. A place of this name has also been mentioned in the copper-plate of Solo, published in *OV*, 1922, Bijil. L (see r°. 2) with corrections of Goris in *Ibid.*, 1928, pp. 65-66. Its find-spot has not been described.

2. In *TBG*, 47, p. 455, it has been described that the inscription was obtained from Kědu.

3. *TBG*, 67, pp. 172-215, particularly pp. 194-95, 210.

4. *Ibid.*, 70, pp. 157-170.

5. *OV*, 1928, pp. 65-66.

6. It should be remembered that though Kěmbang Arum has been included in the residency of Jogjakarta, it is very near the border-lands of Kědu.

is under Kilipan¹ both in this record as also in the inscription of Kẽbang Arum (Pl. II, 3). Moreover, in the copper-plate of 828 (?) Śaka (*OV*, 1917), obtained from the neighbourhood of Barabudur in Kẽdu, we find the village of Sangan. Several inscriptions, whose find-spots are more or less unknown, mention the names of Layang², Lintakan³, Turumangamwil⁴, Miramiraḥ⁵,

1. The name has evidently been misread by Cohen Stuart while editing *KO* I. Kilipan is also known from other sources. Cf. The Amsterdam inscription of Balitung, (*Inscr. I*, V° 15) published by Dr. Van Naerssen in *Mededeeling no. XXXVI, afd. volk. no. 7, of the Royal Colonial Institute of Amsterdam*.

2. Cf. *OJO*, XXXVI, V°. 12. According to the conjecture of Rouffaer in *Notulen*, 1909, p. LXXXVIII, it was obtained from Taji near Prāmbānān. A place called Layang is also found in *KO* IX, 1 b 4 (808 Śaka). *KO* XVII of the time of Dakṣa mentions this place several times (II, 16, 18, 23, 27). As has been mentioned before this record has palaeographical similarity with the record under notice.

3. Cf. *OJO*, CIII a. It belonged to the collection of Dieduksman at Jogja.

4. In the copper-plate of 800 Śaka (Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya*, p. 75), we find Taru° which is obviously Turu° of our record. In the copper-plate of the Museum at Solo (*OV*, 1928, pp. 66-67), in A. 11, this place has been mentioned. Its find-spot is not, however, known. In *OJO* XXXIII, II, 3-4 (848 (?) Śaka), there is the mutilated name of a village, read as Tu()mangambil. The letters left out are probably *ru* and hence we find Turu°. It has been described that the inscription is from Jẽdung. Dr. Stutterheim has shown however in *TBG*, 67, p. 174 that the self-same record could also be engraved on bronze or copper-plates and even on paper (*lontar*). Can *OJO* XXXIII be one of such records, originally belonging to Central Java? Because, besides Turumangambil, the name of Miramiraḥ of this inscription is also found in Central Java. The copper-plate of 800 Śaka described by Poerbatjaraka in his *Agastya* is dated only 48 years prior to *OJO* XXXIII and handles over institutions of Central Java. So *OJO* XXXIII may also refer to Central Java.

5. As observed in the preceding note, Miramiraḥ is mentioned in *OJO* XXXIII. In the important inscription of Kẽdu published by Dr. Stutterheim we also find the name of this place (*TBG*, 67, p. 207). A place of this name has also been mentioned in a copper-plate of the Museum at Solo, V°. 4 (*OV*, 1922, Bijil. L). Its find-spot has not been described. But on reference to the geographical places of this record, it is possible to prove that the inscription is connected with Central Java.

Datar¹, Mataram², Manggulungi³, Kahuripan⁴, Talaga⁵, Gilikan⁶, Watuwatu⁷ and Wru.⁸ There are reasons to believe that these inscriptions, at least some of them, mentioning these place-names, originally belonged to central Java. To take one instance: the names of Lintakan, Gilikan, Turumangamwil and Kasugihan of our record occur in *OJO CIII a*. Similarity of one or two names may be quite accidental, but when series of indentical geographical names are found in two records, the coincidence cannot be due to mere accident. When we consider with these facts the palaeographical affinity of such records, the question is more or less decided.⁹ But

1. A *patih* datar has been mentioned in *OJO CIV a*. This inscription was obtained from the Regent of Banjarnegara, res. Banjumas. As the find-spot is not known, the reference is practically valueless. A search of the geographical names of this inscription in other records of Java may however indicate its origin. Meanwhile, it may be remarked that the reference to the *guru hyang* of Kelasa in Pl. 1b serves to show that it is possibly connected with the Diëng region or Central Java.

2. This name has been mentioned in the copper-plate of the Museum at Solo (*OV*, 1928, pp. 66-67). pl. A. 11. Along with Turumangamwil several names of this inscription are found in records from Central Java.

3. Mulak is under Manggulungi in the copper-plate described in the previous note.

4. The *desa* Kahuripan mentioned in our record and in *Jayapatra II* (*OV*, 1925, pp. 59-60) is perhaps the same as Kuripan, i. e., the plain about Baratengah (inv. no. 1034). See the remarks of Dr. Goris on this name in his edition of the inscription of Kuburan Caṇḍi in *TBG*, 70, pp. 157-170.

5. It has been described as a place in *KO X*, 1 a 5 (802 Śaka). The find-spot of this record is not known but from several place-names it appears to refer to the heart of Middle-Java.

6. This place is mentioned in *OJO CII a* 5, 12 and *OJO CIII a*. Both these records belonged to the collection of Dieduksman at Jogja. In the copper-plate of the Museum at Solo (*OV*, 1928, pp. 66-67), the place has been mentioned again.

7. In another copper-plate of the Museum at Solo (*OV*, 1922, Bijl. L) r°. 3 a place of this name has been mentioned.

8. A place has been described under Wru in the copper-plate of Solo mentioned in note 6 above.

9. Judging from this point of view, *KO XVII*, copper-plates of Solo (*OV*, 1922, Bijl. L; *OV*, 1928, pp. 66-67) should provisionally be regarded to belong to Central Java, perhaps the region of Kedu.

to return to our point. We have probably succeeded in showing above that most of the geographical names of our inscription, so far as they can be identified, occur in the border-districts of Southern Kědu and Northern Jogjakarta. We may therefore provisionally conclude that the inscription originally belonged to this region. It may also be noted in this connexion that the officers or class of people called *rāma māgaman*, *rāma marata*, *tunggu durung*, *rakryān mawanua*, etc., do not appear in inscriptions from the eleventh century A. D. onwards and that they do not usually appear in records of Eastern Java. As some of these persons are noticed in our inscription, they may offer some indication regarding its source, which, as we have seen from other evidence, is probably the border-region between Kědu and Jogjakarta.

The record was in the possession of the *pangeran ngabehi* of Jogjakarta who presented¹ it to the Batavian Society in 1865/66. It is a very lengthy inscription and measures 56×25 c. m. approximately. It is engraved on one side alone of each of the three plates which appear to be made up of copper-alloy. The true import of this record was not realised for a long time owing to the doubtful arrangement of letters by Cohen Stuart in a particularly important line, but the ingenuity of Dr. Poerbatjaraka² has cleared the mystery and we now know that king Tulodang of Central Java, whose known dates range between 919-921 A. D., created free-holds at Kasugihan and other places for *caru*-offering to his father cremated at Turumangambil. Like the inscription of Kěmbang Arum, the record under review presents an imposing array of officers³ and other persons who received gifts of various kinds. Most of the names and titles of this record are purely Indonesian and very few are Sanskritic names. Even in the case of the latter it is difficult to say if we are to regard them as Indians or Hinduised Javans. These difficulties must always occur in our study of Old-Javanese records. Similar is the case with

1. *Notuten* IV, p. 140; *KO*, p. V.

2. *Agastya*, p. 77.

3. An alphabetical list of these officers has been given in the Appendix.

names of persons, titles and places, which are only worse confounded in Java and can be distinguished, if at all, after great difficulty. Such as has happened in many inscriptions, titles of persons and place-names are identical in many cases.

Though the inscription does not throw ample light on the administration of villages, we can still glean some data for historical purposes. Many village-officers are mentioned in the inscription, but we are quite in the dark regarding the function of the majority of them. The village-people are divided into various classes. Reference may be made to the terms like *anak banua*, *tuha banua*, etc., which frequently occur in the record under review. The headman of the village had certain amount of control over property. This becomes evident when we consider that the king marked out forests at Lintakan and Tunah (pl. 1,) without reference to anybody, but in founding free-holds on the *sawah*-fields at Kasugihan, he had to purchase the lands by money (pl. 1, ll. 11, 13, 16). The record also gives us a glimpse of the festivities of Central Java towards the beginning of the tenth century A.D. On the occasion of founding free-holds, there was a general feast in which men and women, old and young,—all participated.¹ Eating, drinking and dancing have been mentioned in this connexion. They also painted themselves and made toilette with flowers. Dancing was indeed very much liked throughout Java, for this has not only been referred to here, but also in a large number of inscriptions, and sometimes princesses have been described as "*nrĕtta racanādi guṇa kośali*."² The wines called *tuak* and *ciñca* were drunk on these festive occasions and there was the music of *gamĕlan*, *tuwung*, *rĕgang*, *gaṇḍi*, and *rāwanahasta*. The classification of iron-implements in connexion with *saji*-offerings clearly indicates an advanced

1. Regarding the allocation of seats of these people, see the elaborate description in the inscription of Kĕmbang Arum in *OV*, 1925, Bijl. B, pl. III a, 13-14 and the remarks of Dr. Bosch in *Ibid.*, p. 47f. A somewhat original arrangements of seats is described in an inscription of the time of Balitung, published by Dr. Van Naerssen in the *Mededeeling, op. cit.*, inscr. II, r°. 13f.

2. Inscription of Trawulan, pl. 1, r° 6 in *OV*, 1918, Bijl. K; also cf. *OJO*, LXXXIV, r°. 6-7.

stage in craftsmanship. About trade, internal or external, we have no direct reference, but mention is made of several types of coins. Various kinds of clothes have been mentioned and of them, great importance attaches to the *pilih magëng*-cloth, *kalyāga*-cloth, *ambay-ambay*-cloth and *sulasih*-cloth. In contemporary inscriptions we find reference to another pattern of very valuable cloth, *vix.*, *gañjar pātra sisi*¹, but it has not been mentioned in our inscription. It, however, refers to under-cloth for women. That the position of women was not low appears from the fact that the wives of officers received gifts along with their husbands.

Various religious functionaries have also been mentioned, such as, *marhyang*, *wahuta hyang kudur*, etc. In pl. I,₁ we find reference to a cloister at Siddhakārya and this name seems to smack of Tāntric influence. Among the temples, those at Dīhyang, Jamwu, Samadi and Putar have been explicitly mentioned in pl. 2,₁₄. The invocation to deities in the stereotyped imprecatory formulae in the concluding portion of this record is highly interesting and is of special value on account of the explanation offered for smashing eggs and cutting the neck of hens. The same explanation has been given in some other records.

I re-edit this inscription which was first transcribed by Cohen Stuart from his facsimile in *Kawi Oorkonden*, No. I, adding an English translation.

TEXT

1, 1. swasti śakawarṣatita 841 śrāvaṇa-māsa tithi dwādaśi śukla-pakṣa^a, mawulu, umanis, somawāra, mūla nakṣatra, nenṛti dewatā

1. *cf.* inscription of *Kēmbang Arum*, op. cit., pl. 1 : 9 ; the inscription of Kēdu published by Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, p. 206. In *OJO* XXII, 1. 8 we find a kind of cloth called *kagañja haji pātra sisi*.

2. FS. has **kṣang*. [FS. = facsimile].

2. waidhṛti yoga, nairiti-deśa, irikā diwasa śrī ma | hārāja rakai layang dyah tlodong śrī sajjana-sanmatanuraga¹ tanggadewa² sumusuk. ikana alas. i lintakan. watak. malintaki, muang alas. i tunaḥ (ku° ?) watak. sinapan (pi° ?). muang

3. hanata sūkan. | i wru watak. magaṣjar. i marhyang, parṇahanya umuayana ikanang sima, hanata sawaḥ i kasugihan. tampaḥ 1 wetan nikanang lmaḥ i tunaḥ muang i lintakan, yata winli.

4. mahārāja irikanang rāma i kasugihan. | pirak³ kā 1 dhā 13 mā 6 yata matēhēr. milu sinīma paknānya (?) carua i caitya ni yayah⁴ śrī mahārāja i tuṣamangambil, ikeng lmaḥ.

5. sinusuk lmaḥ kidul ni turus ike, kmitan i mamrāti tilimpi | k ike, kunang matangyan-nilu⁵ taṇḍa rakryān kabeh kinannān pasak pasak mua(ng) parujar nira, yathānyan pari-pūrṇa kasusukan ikanang sima mapagēha tkā i (ng ?) dlāha ning dlāha

6. yata matangyan mangke uninikeng | prasasti inangsēan taṇḍa rakryān kabaih pagē-pagēh sa-byawastha ning manusuk sima, hino rikang kāla pu ketudhara maṇimantaprabhā prabhu śakti triwikrama, wḍihan pilih magēng yu 1 mas su 1 mā 4 rakai halu.

7. | pu siṇḍok, rakai sirikan pu hawang, rakai wka pu kirāṇa inangsēan wḍihan katyāga yu 1 mas mā 1, ing sowang sowang, mamrāti pu ḍapit, tilimpik pu paṇḍamunn, inangsēan¹ wḍihan.

8. āmbay-ambay yu 1 | mas mā 4 ing sowang, sowang, sangat momahumah pikatan pu kambaladhara, inangsēan wḍihan sulasih yu 1 mas mā 8 tiruan (°nu° ?) pu cakra inasēan wḍihan ambay

9. ambay yu 1 mas mā 5 halaran pu wihikan pala | rhyang pu balandung, dalinan pu parbwata, manghūri pu teja, pangkur pu jayanta, tawān pu sena, tirip pu hariwangsa, wadihati pu nanggala, makudur pu dhanuka, kapua inangsēan wḍihan ambay

1. C. Stuart put two doubtful queries here, viz., °Santatanu° and °tānu°, though he accepted the reading of *sannatanuraga*. For the reading of Dr. Brandes, See *OJO.*, p. 266.

2. Read tu°.

3. FS. has wi°.

4. This statement is according to the emendation of Dr. Poerbatjaraka in *Agastya*, p. 77.

5. For the reading of Brandes, see *op. cit.* C. Stuart puts the query (°n milu ?).

10. ambay yu 1 mas mā 4 ing so | wang sowang, sang (si ?) sinapan (pi° ?) maka wanua ikanang ri tunah sang pangganuan (°ru° ?), inangsēan wḍihan ambay-ambay yu 1 mas mā 8 manglintaki pu sawitra, inangsēan ken wlah 1 mas mā 8 tuhān i wadihati,

11. 2 miramirah pu sudanta anak ba | nua i miramirah, mangrangkapi sang lbur poh pu¹ wikasita anak banua i ḍatar watak ḍatar, tuhān i makudur 2 lingo sang manghandul anak banua i kinaling kabinihajyan, mangrangkapi sang manglage anak banua

12. i pulung wata | k makudur wahuta hyang kudur lumaku manusuk, i wadihati sang² wada, anak banua i ṣumbhāgi watak panghrēmban (?) i makudur sang³ mangantus anak banua i jurungan watak pagar wsi winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas

13. mā | 4 ing sowang sowang, parujar i hino kaṇḍamuhi sang kasura (?), anak banua i wungkuḍu watak kilisan⁴, parujar i halu wisāga sawidyānidhi⁵, anak banua i hilyan watak.

14. padlagan, anurat i hino ing pangujaran wu | ngkal waraṇi sang śuddha anak banua ing kabikuan ing kamyang ing jantur parujar i (ng ?) sirikan hujung galuh sang tatwa, anak banua i srāngan watak srāngan, parujar i wka wiridih sang kirtadhara.

15. anak wanua i huntu watēk pu (hu ?) | taddhaṇu, parujar i tiruan (°nu° ?) sumuḍan sang prājñā anak wanua ing kabikuan ing siddhakāryya mangasē i ḍihyang, pradeśa ni wungaṇḍaṇu paru

16. jar i halaran sang adigama anak banua i jahayan watē | k halu parujar i palar hyang sang mañca anak banua i sumuḍa watak-ēḍengan (°ētē° ?) parujar⁵ i dalīnan sang trisarapa anak banua i muntang watak upit parujar i pangkur didēlan (dēdē° ?)

17. sang aplik anak i rakadut watak rannyā (?), parujar i habāngan (?) aluk sang nirmmala anak banua i manggulungi watak manggulungi parujar i tirip sang ṣtanggil (?) anak banua

2, 1. i | mataram i kamaṇikan watak kahulunan parujar i mamrati turuhan hawang ananta anak banua i kabanyāgān ing galuh

1. FS. has *su*.

2. FS. has *si*.

3. Or : Kilipan.

4. FS. has °*dyānigi*.

5. FS. has °*jarā*.

2. parujar i tilimpik wkawka si pawana anak banua i | wuga watak pëar winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 1 ing sowang sowang anurat i mamrati kṛp sang ludra anak banua i mandahi watak mandahi anurat i tilimpik patilaman sang ladwāngga (khaṭwā° ?)

3. | anak banua i kahuripan watak pagar wsi winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 1 ing sowang sowang wahuta i mamrati prih si godhā anak banua i talaga watak mamrati wahuta i tilim.

4. pik jukuter | si dewa anak banua i wërěhnya watak tilimpik winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 2 ing sowang sowang pihujung i pangkur si manda anak banua i lua watak lua pihu.

5. jung i tawān lua sukun anak banua i lua | watak tañjung, pihujung i tirip panawungan anak banua i panawungan watak tirip winehan wḍihan rangga hle mas mā 1 i sowang sowang, wahuta kahulunan dumling turuy si bikṛma anak banua i skar

6. amway pu | npunan i tangar patih gilikan si muṇḍi rama ni wagad patih tigang sugih si cakěr ramani ratha patih panggil si balikuh winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 1 ing sowang sowang.

7. anakbinya kapua winehan ken | wlah 1 ing sowang sowang parujar ning patih gilikan sawahu¹ rama-ni dungis², parujarni tigang sugih (gu° ?) si knoh ramani wanayI parujar ning patih panggil is wërě (?) ramani taśah (?) winehan wḍihan rangga hle 1 mas³ ku 2 ing sowang sowang rāma māg

8. man (?) ing | kaśugihan kalang si walawo (?) ramani rawi tuha wanua si jalung (?) ramani gunu (°ru?), gusti 6 (?) padma ramani wrěl si ranggěl ramani bukat syanggirā ramani lalati si rěši ramani pahing si jambhala ramani gayuk winkas si kpu

9. ramani gyak winehan wḍi | han rangga yu 1 mas mā 1 i sowang sowang anakbinya kapua winehan ken wlah 1 ing sowang sowang wariga si paraši ramani wugěl parujar 2 si bamapa ramani nek si bkyah ramani pacang (?) winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1

1. FS. has °gahu.

2. FS. has °bis.

3. FS. has map.

10. mas ku 6 ing | sowang sowang anakbinya kapua winehan ken wlah 1 ing sowang sowang rama maratā si tanggul ramani ḍulang si narā ramani gawul winehan mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang

11. kalang i lintakan si kuñjar ramani subhi gusti 6 si ka | yuara rama ni kpu si wgil ramani warangan si dewa si bayatu rama ni cabur (°ngur ?) tuha banua si mahi ramani baśri winkas si guwinda ramani jo winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 1 ing

12. sowang sowang anakbinya kapua | winehan ken wlah 1 ing sowang sowang parujar 2 si śanti ramani mangiring si lakṣaṇa ramani kaunwing (ta° ?) winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang anakbinya kapua winehan ken wlah 1 ing

13. sowang sowang wariga si samwi¹ | ramani ti winehan wḍihan rangga hle 1 mas ku 2 muwah wariga ramani ksil huler si jawa ramani bari tuha wirēh (wē° ?) 6 (?) si gomanta ramani pahēhan si wahu rama ni waluh si janggi rēgik rama ni buddhi

14. marhyang i ḍihyang sang biru | t rama ni wajang marhyang ing jamwu si candra rama ni waḍi marhyang i samāḍi punta unes (?) marhyang ing putar (°kar ?) si wawuat rama ni mañcing tañjēning (°jō° ?) kalang si tguh ramani ṇḍikan raṇḇ apantil si pu

15. lakas rama ni baddha (bandha ?) rāma matuha si ma | hi rama ni limwang rāma maratā sang kalyāna rama ni tapa kapua winehan mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang kalang i tunah si mwohok rama ni krānta gusti 3 si añjing rama ni ndurukan si lēga rama ni nandaka

16. | si pañjol rama ni baśu tuha banua si sarwwa rama ni prahana winkas si gujil rama ni yowana winehan wḍihan rangga^a yu 1 mas mā 1 ing sowang sowang anakbinya kapua winehan ken

17. wlah 1 ing sowang sowang parujar | 2 si tarah (?) rama n mḍang rama ni ayī winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang anakbinya kapua winehan ken wlah 1 ing sowang sowang wariga si buru rama ni mundiki winehan wḍihan rangga hle 1

18. mas ku 2 pa | wah wariga si bāma ra (ma) ni uḍuh huler si mukmuk rama ni ṇḍokoh tuha wērēh 2 si mangalap si hunur rama maratā si wada kakiwangi si mběyēng (mwē° ?) rama ni kupu wi

1. FS. has *pa°*.

2. FS. has *ranga*.

19. nehan mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang, kalang i wra si ges | rama ni bining gusti 6 si kwah rama ni kpu si wangah, si garjita, si pañjol rama ni cangkak tuha banua si lakwan rama ni kucyak winkas si palaku winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 1

20. ing sowang sowang, anakwi (bi ?) | -nya kapu (a) winehan ken wlah 1 ing sowang sowang, parujar 2 si lëwě rama ni bari si lutung rama ni puṇḍuk winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang, anakbinya kapua winehan ken wlah 1

3. 1. ing so | wang sowang wariga si garu rama ni samwi winehan hle 1 mas ku 2 hufer si luka rama ni ḍaha winehan mas ku 2 sāma tpi siring umilu pinaka sākṣi rikanang suśukan

2. sīma rāma i sawyan (°tya° ?) gusti si anggu rama ni gi | lëh kalang si nek rama ni dalihan parujar si luting rama ni ḍṇḡil rāma i luītan kalang si hiri rama ni datti parujar 2 si kaṭu (?) rama ni kuśala si dagū rama ni blyah kalang i tigang sugih si sungkul

3. rama ni koḍo gusti¹ | si kuring rama ni balam parujar si kḍangan kalang i parang si btah rama ni tarima tuha banua si kanti kaki bhawita parujar si ḍatang rama ni barubuh, tuha banua i gilikan si kalamwuay parujar 2 si hṇḡ rama ni

4. dungas si knoh | rama ni wanayī kalang i kalawukan si gaṇa rama ni darā gusti si tarkha rama ni godhi parujar si glo ikanang kalang gusti tuha banua kabaih ing tpi siring winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang, ikanang pa

5. rujar ka | baih kapua winehan wḍihan rangga hle 1 mas ku 2 ing sowa (ng) sowang rāma i turumangamwil milu pinakasākṣi si waraṇa rama ni bhukti (°i ?) kalang si arta rama ni dhyāna winehan wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas ku 2 ing sowang sowang anakbinya

6. winaiha | n ken wla(h) 1 ing sowang sowang parujar si padma winehan wḍihan rangga hle 1 mas ku 2 samangkana ikanang rarai lakilaki waduan dinūman pirak anātak anakupang wi

7. nehan wsi kāyānurūpa atapukan milu rikanang suśukan | sīma si rahulu rama ni mariṣa (°ripa ?) anak banua i paglutan watak tiru ranu si marūm rama ni tarima anak wanua i kahutanan watak mataram si piñjungan¹ rama ni namwi anak banua i

1. FS. has *gusi*.

2. FS. has *pi°*.

8. mangēwēl watak anggul (?) si patanghuran anak banu | a i wēngkal watak dalinan si balilu anak banua i paniruan watak panggil hyang si bisama anak banua i pakalangkyangan watak pagar wsi si lamayung anak banua i watuwatu watak watuwatu piṇḍa

9. atapukan | prāṇa 3 hop (hopā ?) rarai winehan pirak dhā 1 kinabaihanya tarimwanya winehan pirak mā 1 kinabaihanya, pininang mawuaya i marēbung muang ri wulung winehan pirak mā 8 ing sawanua sawanua, muwah sang wirēh (wē° ?) i kaśugihan

10. | milu mawuay winehan pirak mā 2 tlas sangsipta ikanang pasik pasak muang saji masamakṣa sira kabaih° irikanang lmah i kunah (tu° ?) wāhu sinīma umunggu i taratag mamangan manginum maparimwangi mapangalih majnu maskar krama nikanang ka

11. | ngan¹ haḍangan prāṇa 4 mamulya pirak dhā 5 mā 8 ing sawiji tikṣukat (tītsu° ?) prāṇa 3 anung kinon mahārāja humarēpa ikanang kangan sang pakuwangi pu bañjua anak banua i kaṇ

12. ḍang watak pangkuwangi muang sira tangkil pu wu | āji anak banua i tērēnēh watak tangkil, lūr nikanang ininum tuak siddhu, ciñca samangkanang paḍahi tuwung rēgang brēkuk gaṇḍi rāwaṇahasta sapaṛiskāra ikanang pangan inum paripūrṇa irikanang sorai ping nam tabih (°bēh ?) mangḍi

13. | ri sa(ng) wahuta hyang kudur makalambi masinghēl² wḍihan yu 1 sumangāṣkāra sang hyang watu sima umunggu i sor ning witāna humarēp baitan (wai° ?) umasē sang prākwitaka (°gwi° ?) kabaih umunggu lor ning witāna ikanang patih muang ikanang

14. rā | ma rarai matuha laki-laki waduan umunggu kidul ning witāna, saji sang hyang watu sima wḍihan rangga yu 5 mas mā 5 sang hyang brahmā wḍihan rangga yu 1 mas mā 1 bras ring tamwakur sadāngan mas mā 6 wsi urā 5 wsi-wsi

15. prakāra | wadung patuk rimwas lukai tēwēk punukan kulurmi kurumbhāgi³ kris laṇḍuk sawiji sowang linggis 5 wangkyul 1 tamwaga prakāra⁴ padyusan tahas saragi paganganan (?)

1. This is an improved reading upon Cohen Stuart's. See *O.J.O.*, p. 266.

2. FS. has °i/.

3. Sometimes it is written as *gurum°*.

4. FS. has *sra°*.

16. inuman padamaran¹ sawiji sowang kampil 1 bras pa | da
1 wsi ikat 10 (1?) tandas ning haḍangan 1 kumol 1 caru skul
dinyun papras 2 sali (?) mar tulu(ng ?) paargha paṣilih galuh 2
hayam hirēng 5 hantriṇi 5 pañcopacāra glēpung putih kuning²

17. kamwang gandha dhūpa dīpa jnu, nāhan luir nikanang
saji, winong ta bhaṭāra brahmā pinakadewasākṣi i sang hyang
watu sīma matēhēr mangañjali mamūjā i sang hyang brahmā
manghanākan sāpatha i sang hyang watu sīma ling nira indah
bhaṭāra

18. brahmā sang hyang pṛithiwi āpya teja bā | yu ākāśa³ lor
kidul kuluan wetan i sor i ruhur sang hyang rahina wngi sang
hyang dewa śukṣma sakwaih ta bhaṭāra kita dewa pramāna yāwat
hana wuang umulahulah ikeng watu sīma

19. patyananyu yadeyanyu | i patiya te panoliha i wuntat te
tinghala i likuran tampyal i wirangan uwahi i tēngannan (kē⁴ ?)
tutuh tuṇḍunya blah kapālanya⁵ sbittakan wtangnya rantan
usūs

20. nya wtuakan ḍalammanya duḍuk hatinya pangan daging
| nya inum rāhnya tēhēr pēpēḍḍakan wkasakan hawu kerir
tibākan ing mahārorawa klān i kawah sang yama saluір ni (ng ?)
lara hiḍapannya, kadi lawas sang hyang candrāditya sumungluhi⁶

21. aṇḍabhuwana mangkanā lawasanya | n tmuakan sāngsāra
awaknya rabinya anaknya putunya puyutnya anggasnya nāhan
ling nira⁷ panghanākan sapatha matēhēr mamantingakan hantlū
manētēk⁷ gulū ning hayam ling nira

22. indah bhaṭāra kadyanggānike hantlū tan wa | luy i
kurunganya samangkana ikeng hayam tan waluyā matpung galūnya
mangkanā tmahanani kanangnguang umulahulah suśuk ning kudur
sāngsārā ataya śakulagotranya kawaih, ikana sang masīma swasthā
dīrghāyuṣa astu (.)

1. FS. has *sa*^o.

3. FS. has *māka*^o.

5. FS. has *pu*^o.

7. FS. has *°tēk*.

2. FS. has *tu*^o.

4. FS. has *ta*^o.

6. FS. has *linira*.

TRANSLATION.

1. 1. Hail! The Śaka year expired, 841, the month of Śrāvaṇa, twelfth day of the bright half of the month, *mawulu*¹, *umanis*², Monday, while the lunar mansion Mūla stood under the deity of Nīrti

2. during the conjunction of Waidhṛti in the South-east. At this time the illustrious great king, | the *raka*³ of Layang, *dyah* Tloḍong⁴, śrī Sajjanasanmatānurāga (u)t(t) unggadewa marked out the forest at Lintakan (which was) under Malintiki, and the forest at Tuhah (?) under Sinapan (?)⁵. Moreover,

3. there was also the marking out (of a region) | at Wru (which was) under the *magañjar* of the temple-inspector (?). These were in connexion with the foundation of a free-hold. There were also irrigated lands at Kasugihan (measuring) *tampah* 1, in the east of the *lmah*-grounds of Tunaḥ and of Lintakan. These were now bought

1. The day of the six-day week.

2. The day of the five-day week.

3. *Raka* may be = lord, i. e., Skt. *Swāmi*. Thus *rake* (*raka* + *i*) *Kayuwangi* = the lord of Kayuwangi, etc.

4. While remarking on *dyah* Balitung (*TBG*, 67, p. 181), Dr. Stutterheim equated the words with 'Prince (of) Billiton' (?) and mentioned the parallel of 'Prince of Wales.' In the latter case, however, the 'of' has been explicitly stated. If we have, for example, 'Prince Henry' we shall never equate the words with 'Prince of Henry.' Hence, we may translate *dyah* Balitung by 'Prince (viz.) Balitung, and *dyah* Tloḍong by 'Prince (viz.) Tloḍong.' So these alternative translations are equally possible and we cannot be certain regarding any one of them. We may, however, see in these examples, first the title of the King, then the Indonesian proper name and lastly his Sanskrit or Indian name.

5. Such as FS. shows, we may as well read this name as Pi⁶. If so, this will immediately remind us of the *samagga* Pinapan, mentioned in the *jayapāṭra* of 849 śaka. See *TBG*, XXXII, pp. 98-149.

Secondly, the passage seems to show that forests were crown-property. This becomes more clear, when we consider the fact that in the list of royal officers, we find a class of people called *tuha alas*, i. e., Superintendent of the forest.

4. by the illustrious great king from the headman of (the village of) Kasugihan | for silver 1 *karṣa*¹ 13 *dharāṇa*² 6 *māṣa*³. These were then accordingly marked out into free-holds with the object of offering *caru* to the *caitya* of the father of the illustrious great king (cremated) at Turumangambil*. The *lmah*-grounds (which)

5. were marked out, were the *lmah*-grounds to the South of Tarus (and) these are to be protected by the *mamrāti* (and) the *tilimpik*. | Moreover, in consequence of the coming of all the *taṇḍa rakryān-s*⁴, they were given presents in ample measure with their messengers (*paruḥjar*) (and), according to custom, the free-hold was completely marked out (and) was confirmed for the most remote future (i. e., for ages).

6. These are the reasons for such of the contents of | the edict (*praśasti*). All the *taṇḍa rakryān-s* received (gifts) in ample measure, according to the custom of marking out free-holds. (Thus) the (*rakryān*) *hino* of the time (viz.) *Pu Ketudhara*⁵, a lord (*prabhu*) having the brilliance of jewels and the prowess of Trivikrama (i. e. Viṣṇu)⁷, (received) *pilih magēng*-cloth 1 set and gold 1 *suvarṇa* and 4 *māsa*. The *raka* of *halu* (viz.)

7. | *Pu Siṇḍok*, the *raka* of *sirikan* (viz) *Pu Hawang*, the *raka* of *wka* (viz) *Pu Kiraṇa*, received *Kalyāga*-cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *mamrāti* (viz) *Pu Ḍapit* (and) the *tilimpik* (viz) *Pu Paṇḍamuan* received

8. *ambay-ambay*-cloth 1 set | (and) gold 4 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *samgat momahumah* of Pikatan (viz.) *Pu Kamba-*

1. 1 *Karṣa* = 16 *māṣa*.

2. 1 *Dharāṇa* = $\frac{2}{3}$ *karṣa*.

3. 1 *Māṣa* = $\frac{1}{16}$ *suvarṇa* or *karṣa*.

4. This translation has been possible after the ingenious emendation of the text by Dr. Poerbatjaraka. See his *Agastya*, p. 77.

5. Principal officers.

6. Dr. Krom suggests (*Geschiedenis*², pp. 189-90) that 'Ketudhara' and 'vijaya' are not different persons. It is also possible that he is identical with King Wawa (924-27 A. D.). See *TBG*, 70, p. 183.

7. It appears from these titles, particularly from the use of *hino* and *prabhu*, that he was a prince of the blood royal. He might not, of course, be a Vaiṣṇavite prince.

ladhara received *sulasih*-cloth 1 set (and) gold 8 *māṣa*. The *tiruan* (viz.) *Pu Cakra* received

9. *ambay-ambay*-cloth 1 set and gold 5 *māṣa*. The *halaran* (viz.) *Pu Wihikan*, | the *palarhyang* (temple-priest ?) (viz.) *Pu Balandung*, the *dalinan* (viz.) *Pu Parbwata*, the *manghūri* (viz.) *Pu Teja*, the *pangkur*¹ (viz.) *Pu Jayanta*, the *tawān* (viz.) *Pu Sena*, the *tirip* (viz.) *Pu Hariwangśa*, the *wadihati* (viz.) *Pu Manggala*, the *makudur* (viz.) *Pu Dhanuka*,—all received *ambay-ambay*-cloth

10. 1 set and gold 4 *māsa*, each | in particular. The officer of Sinapan (?), having lands in Tunah (viz.) *Sang Pangganuan* received *ambay-ambay*-cloth 1 set (and) gold 8 *māṣa*. The *manglintaki* (viz.) *Pu Sawitra* received 1 piece of cotton cloth. Two chiefs (*tuhān*) of the *wadihati*:

11. *miramiraḥ* (viz.) *Pu Sudanta*, | resident of *Miramiraḥ*, (and) *mangrangkapi lēbur poh* (viz.) *Pu Wikasita*, resident of *Ḍatar* under *Ḍatar*; two chiefs (*tuhān*) of the *makudur*: *lingo* (viz.) *Sang Manghandul*, resident of *Kinaling* under the jurisdiction of the queen² (and) *mangrangkapi* (viz.) *Sang Manglage*, resident

12. of *Pulung* | under *makudur*; the *wahuta hyang kudur*; the *lumaku manusuk*³ of the *wadihati* (viz.) *Sang Wada*, resident of *Sumbhāgi* under *Pangrēmban* (?); (the *lumaku manusuk*) of the *makudur* (viz.) *Sang Mangantus*, resident of *Jurungan* under *Pagar wēsi*; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold

13. 4 *māṣa*, | each in particular. The messenger (*parujar*) of *hino*: *kaṇḍamuhi* (viz.) *Sang Kasura* (?), resident of *Wungkuḍu* under *Kilisan* (°pa° ?); the messenger (*parujar*) of *halu*: *wisāga* (viz.) *Sang*⁴ *Widyānidhi*, resident of *Hilyan* under

1. *Pangkur*, *tawān* and *tirip* are described in the Kalasan inscription as *ādeśasastrin*, which may mean bodyguards (?)

2. Following *Kaḍatuan*. Of *Binihaji*, i. e., Queen, *bini*=*bi*+Mal.-Polynesian infix *in*. So *binihaji* should lit. mean 'the one who has been made wife of the King.'

3. That this is an official title (apparently in connexion with the marking out of the free-hold) appears clearly from *OJO XXXI*, V° 8.

4. The text should thus be emended.

14. Padlagan ; the scribe of the *hino* of Pangujaran : *wu | ng kal waraṇi* (viz.) *Sang Śuddha*, resident of the cloister at Kamyang in Jantur ; the messenger (*parujar*) of *sirikan* : *hujung galuh*¹ (viz.) *Sang Tatwa*, resident of Srāngan under Srāngan ; the messenger (*parujar*) of *wēka* : *wiridiḥ* (viz.) *Sang Kirtadhara*,

15. resident of Huntu under Pu | taddhaṇu ; the messenger (*Parujar*) of *Tiruan* : *Sumudaṇ* (viz.) *Sang Prāṇa*, resident of the cloister at Siddhakāryya belonging to Dīhyang, the place of flowers and water ; the messenger

16. (*parujār*) of *halaran* (viz.) *Sang Adigama*, resident of Jahayan | under *halu* ; the messenger (*parujar*) of the *palārhyang* (temple-priest ?) (viz.) *Sang Mañca*, resident of Sumuda under Edēngan (?) ; the messenger (*parujar*) of *dalinan* (viz.) *Sang Trisarāṇa*, resident of Muntang under Upit ; the messenger (*parujar*) of *pangkur* : *didēlan*² :

1. In Old-Javanese inscriptions, so far as I know, *Hujung galuh* has twice been used as the name of a place. I am referring to the Kēlagen inscription of King Airlangga, where we read (*OJO*, p. 135), *bhāṇḍa ri hujung galuh* and *ri hujung galuh iḥang* and in the Amsterdam inscription of Balitung. In all other places, the phrase indicates a class of officers of the lower category. Scholars have unfortunately neglected the unambiguous testimony of *KO* XVII, l. 14 where *hujung galuh* has been grouped under the people called *mamuat ujar*, i.e., 'bearer of words.' Thus we read there, ".....*sang mamuat ujar : kaṇḍamuhi* (viz.) *ḍapunta Widyānidhi* ; *watu waraṇi* (viz.) *Pu Manghalangi* ; *wisāga* (viz.) *Pu Wiryya* ; *hujung galuh* (viz.) *Pu Kacat*....." On a different occasion Dr. Bosch remarked (*OV*, 1925, p. 48), "It appears that *tuhan mamuat ujar* or *parujar* forms a lower category of officers, in service to the high dignitaries. In the list of *parujars* are taken the three *citrālekha-s* (scribes) : *watu waraṇi*, *dharmmasinta* and *halang manuk* who also signed the *praśasti* (Kēmbang Arum inscription). They appear to be similar in rank with the *parujar-s*. They were included in the list of messengers probably because they are also, in a sense, 'bearer of words.' At any rate, the association of *hujung galuh* with *parujar* or *mamuat ujar* is unmistakable. In this sense of ours, *hujung galuh* is mentioned in *OJO*, p. 45 (ll. 4-5 V°) p. 65 (l. 11 V°), p. 78 (ll. 1-2), p. 94 (ll. 28, 32) and in several other places. See also Rouffaer, *BKI*, 77 (1921) p. 364.

2. Cohen Stuart gives the alternative reading of *ḍēḍḍ*^o. This is found in *KO* XVII, 15.

17. *Sang* | Adik, resident of Rakadut under Rannyā (?); the messenger (*paruċar*) of *habāngan*¹ : *aluk* (viz.) *Sang* Nirmmala, resident of Manggulungi under Manggulungi; the messenger (*paruċar*) of *tirip* (viz.) *Sang* Ṣtanggil (?), resident

2, 1. of | Mataram, the place of precious metals, under Kahulunan; the messenger (*paruċar*) of *mamrati* : *turuhan* (viz.) Hawang Ananta resident of Kabanyāgān in Galuh²;

2. the messenger (*paruċar*) of *tilimpik* : *wka-wka* (viz.) *Si* Pawana, resident of | Wuga under Pĕar; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular. The scribe of *mamrati* : *kĕrĕp* (viz.) *Sang* Ludra, resident of Mandahi under Mandahi; the scribe of *tilimpik* : *patilaman* (viz.) *Sang* Ladwāngga (?),

3. | resident of Kahuripan under Pagar wĕsi; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *wahuta* of *mamrati* : *prih* (viz.) *Si* Godhā, resident of Talaga under Mamrati; the *wahuta* of *tilim-*

4. *pik* : *ĵukuter* | (viz.) *Si* Dewa, resident of Wĕrĕhĕnya under *tilimpik*; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 2 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *pihujung* of *pangkur* (viz.) *Si* Nanda, resident of Lua under Lua; the *pihu-*

5. *jung* of *tawān* (viz.) Lua Sukan, resident of Lua | under Tañjung; the *pihujung* of *tirip* (viz.) Panawungan, resident of Panawungan under Tirip; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 piece (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular. The *wahuta* of *kahulunan* : *dumling turuy* (viz.) *Si* Bikrma, resident of Sĕkar

6. ambay | under Tangar; the *patih*³ of Gilikan (viz.) *Si* Muṇḍi, father⁴ of Wagad; the *patih* of Tigang sugih (viz.) *Si*

1. Cohen Stuart doubted this reading, but the FS. is not indistinct on this point. Besides, this official appears in *KO* XV, b 2.

2. Galuh (?) in *OJO* XXVIII. cf. also Galuh in *Charita Parahyangan* (*TBG*, 59, p. 416); also cf. *TBG*, 67, p. 197 and fn. 59.

3. The *patiĥ* of these places is a petty officer and not like the great officers (*mahāmantri*).

4. *Rāma* means either 'father' or the 'officer of a village.' There is yet no criterion to decide which meaning has to be accepted in particular cases. An observation of a large number of instances has however led me to the view that when the word *rāma* occurs before the name (with

Cakër, father of Ratha ; the *patih* of Panggil (viz.) *Si* Balikuh ; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular.

7. All their wives received 1 piece | of undercloth for women, each in particular. The messenger (*paruḡar*) of the *patih* of Gilikan (viz.) Sawahu¹, father of Dungis ; the messenger (*paruḡar*) of Tigang sugiḡ (*viz.*) *Si* knoh, father of Wanayi ; the messenger (*paruḡar*) of the *patih* of Panggil (*viz.*) *Si* Wërě (?) father of Taśah (?) ; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 piece (and) gold 2 *kupang*², each in particular. Tue *rāma māg-*

8. *man* (?) | of Kaśugihan : *kalang*³ (*viz.*) *Si* Balawo (?), father of Rawi ; the older of the village (*tuha wanua*) (*viz.*) *Si* Jalung (?), father of Gunu (?) ; the six (?) *gusti-s*⁴ : *Si* Padma (who is) father of Wërěl, *Si* Ranggěl (who is) father of Bukat, *Si* Anggirā (who is) father of Lalati, *Si* Rěši (who is) father of Pahing, *Si* Jambhala (who is) father of Gayuk, the proxy (*winkas*)⁵ (*viz.*) *Si* Kěpu,

9. father of Gěyak ; (all these) received | coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular. All their wives

pu, *m̐pu*, *si*, etc.), it should be translated by 'the officer of the village ;' in other cases, by 'father.' The reading of Old-Javanese inscriptions also shows that the official title of the person in question is placed first, then appears his proper name and lastly words indicative of his social status. Judging from this point of view, the remarks of Dr. Bosch (*OV*, 1925, p. 45) over Lucira have been misapplied. I have always kept this general principle before my view.

1. I suppose that *Sa(ng)* Wahu has been intended here.

2. 1 *Kupang* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *mās*.

3. Or, ".....of Kasugihan ; the Kalang....."

4. In Bali, *gusti* = *Vaisya*. That is not probably intended here. In the following enumeration we find that the *winkas*, i. e., the proxy has been included in the list of *gusti-s*. This shows that the *Vaisya* is not intended here. This will be more evident from b. 11 below, where we shall not only find the *winkas* again included in the list of the *gusti-s* but also the *tuha banua*. The *gusti* is, therefore, in all probability, a petty village functionary.

5. In the *Inscription of Papringan*, published by Dr. Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, pp. 99—100, the word has been translated by him as proxy, substitute. Kern (*VG*, VII, p. 21) translated it by 'clerk.'

received 1 piece of under-cloth for women, each in particular. The astrologer¹ (*vix.*) *Si* Parasi, father of Wugël; the two messengers (*parujar*): *Si* Bamaņa (who is) the father of Nek (and) *Si* Běkyah (who is) the father of Pacang (?); (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set

10. (and) gold 6 *kupang*, | each in particular. All their wives received 1 piece of under-cloth for women, each in particular. The *rāma maratā*-s: *Si* Tanggul (who is) father of D̥ulang (and) *Si* N̥arā (who is) father of Gawul, received gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular.

11. The *kalang* of Lintakan (*vix*) *Si* Kuñjar, father of Subhi; the six *gusti*-s: *Si* | Kayuara (who is) the father of Kěpu, *Si* Wěgil (who is) the father of Warangan, *Si* Dewa, *Si* Bayatū (who is) the father of Cabur (?), the older of the village (*tuha banua*) (*vix.*) *Si* Mahi (who is) the father of Baśri, the proxy (*winkas*) (*vix.*) *Si* Guwinda (who is) the father of Jo; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each

12. in particular. All their wives | received 1 piece of under cloth for women, each in particular. The two messengers (*parujar*): *Si* Śanti (who is) the father of Mangiring (and) *Si* Lakṣaņa (who is) the father of Kamwing (?), received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. All their wives received 1 piece of under cloth for women, each in

13. particular. The astrologer (*wariga*): *Si* Samwi (?), | father of Ti, received 1 piece of coloured cloth (and) gold 2 *kupang*. Further, the astrologer (*wariga*): father² of Kěsil; the irrigation-inspector (*huler*)³: *Si* Jawa, father of Bari; the six (?) *tuha wěřēh*-s⁴: *Si* Gomanta (who is) the father of Pahēhan, *Si* Wahu (who is) the father of Waluh, *Si* Janggi, *Si* Rěgik (who is) the father of Buddhi;

1. So I should like to translate the title of *wariga*.

2. The name of this astrologer seems to have been left out due to the carelessness of the copyist.

3. See *TBG*, 73, pp. 99-100.

4. We have probably to read 'four *tuha wěřēh*-s.' *Tuha wěřēh* is the 'chief over the young (unmarried ?) persons.' Dr. Goris says (*TBG*, 70, p. 164)

14. the temple-inspector¹ (*marhyang*) of Dīhyang² (*vix.*) *Sang* Bilut, | father of Wajang; the temple-inspector (*marhyang*) of Jamwu (*vix.*) *Si* Candra, father of Waḍi; the temple-inspector (*marhyang*) of Samaḍi (*vix.*) *punta* Unes (?); the temple-inspector (*marhyang*) of Putar (?) (*vix.*) *Si* Wawuat, father of Mañcing; the *tañjèn* of *kalang* (*vix.*) *Si* Tguh, father of Nḍikan; the *raṇḍ apantil* (*vix.*) *Si* Pu-

15. lakas, father of Baddha (?); the *rāma matuha*³ (*vix.*) *Si* Mahi, | father of Limwang; the *rāma maratā* (*vix.*) *Sang* Kalyāna father of Tapa; all (of them) received gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. The *kalang* of Tunah (*vix.*) *Si* Měwohok, father of Krānta; the three⁴ *gusti*-s: *Si* Añjing (who is) the father of Ndurukan, *Si* Lěga (who is) the father of Nandaka,

16. | *Si* Pañjol (who is) the father of Baśu, the older of the village (*tuha banua*) (*vix.*) *Si* Sarwwa (who is) the father of Prahana, the proxy (*winkas*) (*vix.*) *Si* Gujil (who is) the father of Towana; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*, each in particular. All their wives received 1 piece of undercloth for women,

17. each in particular. The two messengers (*paruḥjar*): | *Si* Tarah (?), father of Měḍang⁵ (and) the officer of the village (*rāma*)

that in the temples of North Bali up to the present day, visitors are divided as (1) adult men, (2) married women, (3) unmarried youths and (4) unmarried girls. The *tuha wěṛḗh* stood over such group. Here also the number is four. In the enumeration of names in our text, only four persons have been noted. That is also noteworthy. After these *tuha wěṛḗh*-s, four temple-priests or temple-inspectors have been mentioned. They should also be considered in this connexion.

1. The meaning of this word is not certain. He may also be the temple-priest. Till more suitable explanation is forthcoming, we may translate this word by temple-inspector. See also Stutterheim in *TBG*, 73, pp. 99-100, s.v. *marhyang*.

2. This is the old name of the well-known Dieng.

3. The head of the elders?

4. Probably we have to read 'five'. As a matter of fact, five persons have been enumerated.

5. Our view regarding *rāma* confirms the remark of Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, p. 193, f.n. 43.

of Ay¹, received coloured cloth 1 set and gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. All their wives received 1 piece of undercloth for women, each in particular. The astrologer (*wariga*) *Si* Buru, father of Mundiki, received 1 piece of coloured cloth (and)

18. gold 2 *kupang*. The *pawah* | (of the) astrologer (*wariga*) (*vix.*) *Si* Bāma, father of Uḍuh ; the irrigation-inspector (*huler*) (*vix.*) *Si* Mukmuk, father of Nḍokoh ; the two *tuha wērēh-s* (*vix.*) *Si* Mangalap (and) *Si* Hunur ; the *rāma maratā* (s) : *Si* Wada, the grandfather of Wangi (and) *Si* Měběyěng, father of Kupu ; (all these) re-

19. ceived gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. The *kalang* of Wra (*vix.*) *Si* Ges, | father of Bining (?) ; the six² *gusti-s* : *Si* Kěwah (who is) the father of Kěpu, *Si* Wangah, *Si* Garjita, *Si* Pañjol (who is) the father of Cangkak, the older of the village (*vix.*) *Si* Lakwan (who is) the father of Kucyak, the proxy (*winkas*) (*vix.*) *Si* Palaku ; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 1 *māṣa*,

20. each in particular. All their | wives received 1 piece of undercloth for women, each in particular. The two messengers (*parujar*) : *Si* Lěwě (?) (who is) the father of Bari (and) *Si* Lutung (who is) the father of Puṇḍuk, received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. All their wives received 1 piece of under-cloth for women,

3. 1. | each in particular. The astrologer (*wariga*) (*vix.*) *Si* Garu (who is) the father of Samwī received 1 piece of cloth (and) gold 2 *kupang*. The irrigation-inspector (*huler*) (*vix.*) *Si* Luka, father of Ḍaha, received gold 2 *kupang*. The officers of neighbouring villages who went to stand as witnesses at the foundation of the

2. free-hold : the officers of the village of Sawyan (?) (*vix.*) the *gusti* (who is) *Si* Anggu, father of Gilēh | ; the *kalang* (who is) *Si* Nek, father of Dalihan ; the messenger (*parujar*) (who is) *Si* Luting, father of Dṛngil. The officer of the village of Luītan : the *kalang* (*vix.*) *Si* Hiri, father of Datti ; the two messengers

1. His name might have been omitted for the carelessness of the scribe.

2. The *gusti-s* appear to have formed something like a board or committee. From other inscriptions, however, it appears that their number was not fixed.

(*parujar*) : *Si Kaṭu* (?), father of Kuśala, (and) *Si Dagū*, father of Blyah ; the *kalang* of Tigang Sugih (*vix.*) *Si Sungkul* (?),

3. father of Koḍo ; the *gusti* (*vix.*) | *Si Kuring*, father of Balam ; the messenger (*parujar*) (*vix.*) *Si Kēḍangan* ; the *kalang* of Parang (*vix.*) *Si Bētah*, father of Tarima ; the older of the village (*tuha banua*) (*vix.*) *Si Kantī*, grandfather of Bhawita ; the messenger (*parujar*) (*vix.*) *Si Datang*, father of Barubuh ; the older of the village (*tuha banua*) of Gilikan (*vix.*) *Si Kalamwuay* ; the two messengers (*parujar*) (*vix.*) *Si Hṅg* (who is) the father of

4. Dungas (and) *Si Knoch* | (who is) the father of Wanayī ; the *kalang* of Kalawukan (*vix.*) *Si Gaṇa*, father of Darā ; the *gusti* (*vix.*) *Si Tarkha*, father of Godhi ; the messenger (*parujar*) (*vix.*) *Si Glo*. All these *Kalang*-s, *gusti*-s, elders (*tuha banua*-s) of neighbouring villages received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. All the messengers

5. (*parujar*) | received coloured cloth 1 piece (and) gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. The officers of the village of Turumangamwil who went to stand as witnesses : *Si Waraṇa*, father of Bhukti ; the *kalang* (*vix.*) *Si Arta*, father of Dhyāna ; (all these) received coloured cloth 1 set (and) gold 2 *kupang*, each in particular. (All) their wives

6. | received 1 piece of undercloth of women, each in particular. The messenger (*parujar*) (*vix.*) *Si Padma* received coloured cloth 1 piece (and) gold 2 *kupang*. Evenso, the young, male (or) female, received their share of silver (which was) one *atak* (and) one *kupang*, per head¹.

7. The slaves² received (their reward) according to (their) ability (lit., physique). The *atapukan*-s who went to the foundation of | the free-hold : *Si Rahulu*, father of Mariṣa (?), resident of Paḡlutan under Tiru ranu ; *Si Marūm*, father of Tarima, resident of Kahutanan under Mataram ; *Si Piñjungan*, father of Namwi, resident of

1. cf. Kern, *VG. VII*, p. 45.

2. By *wsi*, I think *anak wsi*, i. e., slaves have been intended.

8. Mangěwěl under Anggul (?) ; *Si* Patanghuran, resident | of Wěngkal¹ under Dalinan ; *Si* Balilu, resident of Paniruan under Panggil hyang ; *Si* Bisama, resident of Pakalangkyangan under Pagar wsi ; *Si* Lamayung, resident of Watuwatu under Watuwatu. The total number of

9. *atapukan-s* | (*viz.*) 3^s persons, the *hop* (*an-s* ?)^s (and) the young, all together, received silver 1 *dharāṇa*. Their *tarimwa-s* received silver 1 *māṣa*, all together. The *pininang-s*⁴ of the *mawuaya*⁵ of Marěbung and of Wulang received silver 8 *māṣa*, per village. Moreover, *Sang* Wirěh (?) of Kaśugihan (who)

10. | went to supply water (?)⁶ received silver 2 *māṣa*. Thereafter was completed the (distribution of) gifts in ample measure and *saji*-offerings. All of them (then) went to the *lmah*-grounds at Kunahwāhu (?)⁷ which was marked out into a free-hold. They (then) placed themselves in the festal tent (and) they ate (and) drank (and) took unguents and perfumes. They (then) removed themselves (and) made toilette with paints and flowers, one by one.

11. | Four buffaloes valued at silver 5 *dharāṇa* 8 *māṣa*, each, (and) three *t̃kṣukat* (?)⁸, which were sent by the great king, were

1. Stutterheim (*TBG*, 67, p. 183) provisionally brings this place-name in connexion with Wěngkali of the *Nāg* : 3 : 1-4. I think he is right, because Pilanggu is also met with in records of Central Java.

2. The number has evidently been wrong, for the number is 7 and not 3.

3. I am not sure if the well-known class of persons called *hopan* is intended here. *Hop* occurs several times in Old-Jav. inscriptions after the numerals, whether in land-measurement or elsewhere.

4. Assistants ?

5. Water-suppliers ?

6. This should be the etymological meaning from *wway* = *wuay*, i. e. water.

7. Probably we have to read Tu°. This appears to be the full name of the village in Pl. I, 3. The mention of only the first half of the name of the village is not strange, for, we have already the testimony of the inscription of Kědu, published by Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, pp. 172-215. In Pl. A, 3, the name of the village is written as *Kuning Kaganturan* ; in I, 7 of the same plate, it is simply *Kuning*.

8. I do not know what animal is intended hereby.

presented to everyone of them (*i.e.* for all of them). The Hon. *Pakuwangi* (*vix.*) *Pu Bañjua*, resident of Kaṇ-

12. ḍang under *Pakuwangi* and the Hon. *tangkil* (*vix.*) *Pu Wu* | *ñji*, resident of Tērēñēh under *tangkil*; all of them drank *tuak*¹, *sīdhu*² and *ciñca*-wine. Even so, the drummers, *tuwung*³-players, cymbal-players, *brēkuk*⁴-players, *gaṇḍi*⁵-players, *rāwaṇahasta*⁶-players. After the passing off of the evening time, at six hour, stood up

13. | the *wahuta hyang kudur* with a jacket, skirt (and) 1 set of cloth to consecrate the sacred *watu sima* (*i.e.*, the foundation-stone), and placed himself under the tent facing the east. All the Hon. judges went forward and placed themselves in the north of the tent. The *patih*-s, (and) the

14. officers of villages, | young and old, male and female, placed themselves in the South of the tent. The offerings (*saji*) for the sacred *watu sima* are : coloured cloth 5 sets and gold 5 *māṣa* ; (for) *Brahmā*⁷ 1 set of coloured cloth (of the value of ?) 1 *māṣa* ; uncooked rice in a bowl ; one cooking pot ; gold 6 *māṣa* ; *wēsi urā*, 5 ; other kinds of iron objects :

15. | axe, mattock, plane, curved chopper, dagger, grass-cutter, *kulumī*⁸, *kurumbhāgi*⁹, *kris*¹⁰, chopping knife, one of each kind ; crowbar, 5 ; hoe, 1 ; kinds of copper objects : washing basin, *tahas*, cooking bowl,

1. A kind of palm-wine.

2. A kind of 'rum.

3. A kind of musical instrument of the form of a basin.

4. Evidently a kind of musical instrument.

5. A class of musicians.

6. If etymology is a guide, *rāwaṇahasta* should be a class of musicians who raise music by striking palms of hands. This reminds me of some reliefs on the walls of Barabudur where we find persons of this very description in a musical party. See plate in *BKI*, 92, p. 188.

7. The god of Fire has been intended here.

8. In some inscriptions it is written as *gu*^o.

9. Elsewhere *gu*^o.

10. The well-known Indonesian dagger.

16. drinking basin, lamp, one of each kind ; sack, 1 ; uncooked rice, | 1 *pada*¹ ; iron, 10 (1 ?) *ikat*² ; head of a buffalo, 1 ; *kumol*, 1 ; offerings of cooked rice in bowls, 2 dishes ; *salimar* (?), *tulung* (?)³ ; water for washing feet⁴ ; semi-precious metals, 2 ; black hens, 5 ; eggs, 5 ; five necessary things for offering (*viz.* ?)⁵ white and yellow flour,

17. flower, scent, frankincense, lamp and paints. Now all these offerings | were presented to god Brahmā who stood as a divine witness of the sacred *watu sīma*. Thereupon he (*i.e.* *wahuta kudur*), with joint-palms, offered respects to god Brahmā and uttered curses before the sacred *watu sīma*. His words were : “Be gracious, O god

18. Brahmā, the divine earth, water, light, wind, | ether, north, south, west, east, (the deities) of the nether-region (and) of zenith, the sacred day and night, the invisible gods, all dead kings (*bhaṭāra*)⁶, you all deities, come to witness ! If there is any one who disturbs the *watu sīma*,

19. he may be killed by you, | he may die through your action without his (finding time to) turn behind, without (his finding time to) looked behind. He may be struck in the left side, then again in the right side. His mouth may be smashed, his forehead may be broken, his belly may be ripped open, his bowels may be rooted

20. out, his entrails may be drawn out, his heart may be pulled out, his flesh may be eaten up, | his blood may be sucked up,

1. *Pada* may mean ‘type, sort, kind.’ If so, the translation may be ‘uncooked rice of one sort.’

2. The text has *wēsi ikat* which may stand for the name of an article I do not know. Can *ikat* indicate a measurement ?

3. The text has *salimar tulu(ng ?)*, whereof the latter word may denote a kind of *caru*.

4. *Paargha* is obviously the corrupted form of *Pā(dy)ārga*.

5. In the following enumeration, six things have been summed up and hence *pañcopacāra* need not be taken here in too literal a sense. In some other inscriptions, however, ‘white and yellow flower’ has been omitted, thus making the things numbered five.

6. cf. the remarks of Stutterheim in *TBG*, 67, p. 188.

thereupon he may be trampled. Lastly his ashes may be blown away (and) thrown into the *mahāraurawa*-hell to be cooked in the hell-pan of god Yama ! He may experience all sorts of (such) sorrows ! So long as the deities Moon and Sun light up

21. the earth-ball, during this | period, he himself, his wife, his children, his grand-children, his great-grand-children, his great-great-grand-children, shall be afflicted with sorrows ! So were his words describing the oaths. Thereupon he smashed the egg (and) separated the neck of the hen. His words were :

22. "Be gracious, O Gods ! Just as the part of the egg cannot return | to the shell, just as the hen can not return and be united with its neck, so shall be the sad fate of him who will disturb the foundation of the *Kudur* : with all his family and relations he will be afflicted with sorrows and destroyed ! (But) the owner of the free-hold shall be happy and long-living ! Amen¹ !

P. S. As the facsimile was compared at the time of proof-reading, my difference from the previous editor will be noted in my *Corpus Inscriptionum Javanarum*, Vol. I.

1. I have come across similar imprecatory verses in Indian Sanskrit literature and inscriptions. But so far as I have seen, the statements are not exactly identical. Below is quoted the relevant portion from the Chiplun plates of Pulakesin II (*El*, III, p. 53) :

"The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty-thousand years ; (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents to (an act of confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! O Yudhisthira, best of kings, carefully preserve land that has previously been given to the twice-born ; (verily) the preservation (of a grant) is more meritorious than making a grant ! Whosoever confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another,—he is born as a worm in ordure, and is consumed together with (his) deceased ancestors ! Those grants, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings (are) like worn-out garlands ; verily, what good man would take them back again ? He who grants land (whether simply) ploughed (or) planted with seed (or) full of crops,—he is treated with honour in heaven, for as long as the worlds, created by the Sun, endure !"

For similar other examples, reference may be made to *El*, III, pp. 133, 146, 224 ; *IA*, XVI, p. 134 ; Fleet, *CII*, Nos. 26-28, 30-31. See also *Skandapuṇḍarīka*, *uttarakhaṇḍa*, 22 : 33 ff.

APPENDIX

**List of officers and classes of people¹ referred to
in the Inscription.**

Aluk	Marhyang
Anurat	Mawuaya
Atapukan	Miramirah
Brĕkuk	Paḍahi
Dalinan	Pagar wěsi
Didĕlan	Pakuwangi
Dumling turuy	Palarhyang
Gaṇḍi	Pangkur
Gusti	Parujar
Habāngan	Patih
Halaran	Patilaman
Halu	Pawah
Hino	Pihujung
Hujung galuh	Pininang
Huler	Prih
Jukuter	Raka
Kahulunan	Rakryan
Kalang	Rāma
Kaṇḍamuhi	Rāma māgman
Kĕrĕp	Rāma maratā
Lingo	Rāma matuha
Lumaku manusuk	Raṇĕ apantil
Makudur	Rāwaṇahasta
Magañjar	Rĕgang
Mamrati	Samgat momahumah
Manghūri	Sirikan
Manglintaki	Sumuḍan
Mangrangkapi	Taṇḍa rakryan
Mangrangkapi lĕbur poh	Tañjĕn

1. Where names of places and titles could not be distinguished, I avoided them from the above list.

Tarimwa	Wadihati
Tawan	Wahuta
Tilimpik	Wahuta hyang kudur
Tirip	Wariga
Tiruan	Winkas
Tuhan	Wiridih
Tuha wanua (banua)	Wisāga
Tuha wěřh	Wka-wka
Turuhan	Wungkal waraṇi
Tuwung	

SOME SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE NUṢAIRIS.*

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The Nusairis have been the cause of a number of theories¹. Scholars like De Sacy², René Dussaud³, René Basset⁴ and the historian Benjamin⁵ have dealt with their doctrines and movements but they have not been able to discover the exact date of their origin. Ibn Ḥazm⁶ and al-Shahrastānī⁷ also are silent on this point. The

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The writer is deeply indebted to Prof. J. W. Fück and Dr. K. R. Qanungo for their valuable assistance in preparing the lecture.

(1) For a few theories on the etymology of the name as well as for the present-day religion of the Nuṣairis see Hastings, *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, IX, 417sq.

(2) *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, II, 559-586.

(3) *Histoire et Religion des Nosairis* (Paris 1900). In his opinion they are the Alides among the Shīas.

(4) *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*. s.v. Nuṣairis. In his opinion they are a nation called Anṣāriya who live even now in the mountainous country, north of Lebanon between ancient Eleutherus, the Orontes and the Mediterranean coast. They founded colonies in Antioch, Mersina, Tarsus and Adana which are very prosperous with a population of 150,000. Basset divides them into 4 classes : (I) The Haidaris, (II) the Shamalis, (III) the Kalaziz and (IV) the Ghaibis.

(5) *Persia and the Persians* (London 1885) p. 352 sq.

(6) The Zahirite, b. 384/994 and d. 456/1063. For his biography see *Enc. of Islam* s.v. Ibn Ḥazm. D.B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology* etc, pp. 208sq.

(7) Abul Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, the principal historian of the religions in the oriental middle ages b. In Shahrastān in Khorasan in 469/1076 and d. in 548/1153. *Enc. of Islām* IV, 263.

former says¹ that the Nusairiya is a party belonging to the *Sabbābiya* sect (of the Shias) who cursed Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the two sons of 'Alī, while the latter informs² us that the Nuṣairis as well as the Ishaqians are from among the *Ghulāt al-Shī'a* (the extreme Shias) who believe in incarnation and declare that God emanated into human beings, and that when after the death of the Prophet there remained none better than 'Alī and his selected descendants, God manifested Himself in their persons and spoke through their tongues. According to the popular theory it is Muhammad b. Nuṣair who founded a sect called Nuṣairiya. But René Basset opposes this theory and says, on supposition, that the Nuṣairis are either connected with Nuṣair, a freedman of 'Alī or with Ansars of the Prophet. This theory, then, would prove that the Nuṣairis came into existence even in the first century A.H. But if we look into an excellent article in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, (Vol. VIII, article No. VI, 1864) by Edward Salisbury, who discovers the mysteries of the Nuṣairian religion from a rare and precious book, *Kitāb Bākūrat al-Sulaimāniya fī Kashf Asrār al-Diyāna al-Nuṣairiyya*³ by Sulaimān Efendi al-Adhānī, we understand that the sect undoubtedly originated at the end of the 3rd. century A.H. with one Abū Shu'aib Muhammad b. Nuṣair al-'Abdī al-Bakrī al-Numairī, a fanatical adherent of the 11th 'Alide Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī who died in 260/873⁴.

I now propose to deal with some glimpses of strange and peculiar beliefs of this sect in the light of accounts available in the

(1) *Al-Fiṣal fī'l-Milal wa'l Ahwā' wa'n Niḥal*, pr. Cairo 1317-21.

(2) *Milal wa'n Niḥal*, (Leipzig 1923) I, 143-145.

(3) In it we come across a few doctrinal formulae of the Nuṣairis in an scriptural arrangement consisting of 16 Suras (chapters). The book further deals with some of their peculiar festivals and prayers, and a doctrinal tract named *al-Habṭah* (the fall) forms the last chapter of this book.

(4) J.A.O.S. VIII, 236/5 ; 243/14 ; cf. H. Lammens, *L' Islam*, p. 187. He says : La secte renonte a un certain Ibn Nosair. C'était un partisan exalté du onzième imam 'alide, Ḥasan al-'askari mort en 873.

writings¹ of Ibn Taimiyya², the great reformer of Islām of the 8th century A. H.

Like Ibn Ḥazm and Shahrastānī³ our author is quite silent about the date of the origin of the Nusairis ; rather he mixes them with various other sects of Islām that sprang along with the Shī'a sect⁴. He identifies the Nusairis with the *Malāhida* (heretics), the *Qarāmiṭa* (Karmatians)⁵, the *Baṭiniyya* (people of the esoterism)⁶ the *Ismā'īliyya*, the *Khurramiyya*⁷ and the *Muhammira*⁸.

The Nusairis, says Ibn Taimiyya, outwardly professed to be the followers of Islam but inwardly led an anti-Islamic movement, and for some time they became masters of a considerable part of Syria. It was through the assistance of these Nusairis that the Mongols¹ entered the city of Baghdād and put an end to the Abbaside

(1) *Majmū 'Rasā'il* (Cairo 1323)pp. 94-102.

(2) d. 728/1328. For his biography see my article "Ibn Taimiyya and His Anthropomorphism" in the Dacca University Journal, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 77-88.

(3) Supra p. annot. 6 & 7.

(4) *Majmū 'Rasā'il* l. c., p. 97.

(5) After the name Qarmat, the leader of a faction among the Ismā'ilis, who separated himself from the original faction in 227/848. For the etymology and early history of the word Qarmat see Enc. of Islam s. v. Karmatians by Massignon; *Rasā'il Ikhwan al-Safā*, II, 60-62, 80-91 ; iv, 182-217 (Bombay 1303).

(6) Besides the outward sense of the Qur'ān they maintain that it contains some inward sense in it. This name has been applied by Arab authors to several distinct sects of Islām. Enc. of Islam I, 679, s.v. Bāṭiniya.

(7) They came into prominence after the execution of Abu Muslim of *khurasān* in 136/753. They believed in transmigration etc. Enc. of Islam II 974 sq. s.v. *khurramiyya*.

(8) Browne. Lit. Hist. of Persia I, 311 ; Enc. of Islam s.v. Muḥammira.

(1) Ibn Taimiyya like other Arab writers calls them Tartars although in his *Majmū 'Rasā'il* l. c., but they are better known in history as Mongols.

Caliphate in 656/1258. It was Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī², the leader of the sect and the minister of the Mongols at Alamūt³ who instigated the execution of the Caliph⁴ and the massacre of the orthodox Sunnis.

These Nusairis as well as the sects of the Karmatians, continues our author, were the worst enemies of the true Muslims. They did more harm to the Muslims than did the Mongols and the Franks, for they professed themselves, amongst the ignorant Muslims', to be Shi'aites and helpers of the family of the Prophet, whereas they did not believe in God or His Prophet and religion. They gave a false interpretation to the verses of the Qurān and the sayings of the Prophet¹ and claimed to possess a mystical knowledge in connection with the manifestation of the Deity (*lāhūt*) in mankind (*nāsūt*). Their philosophy in this aspect was that God loved human beings and taught them how to recognise Him and worship Him ; and that a Nuṣairī could

(2) Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Al-Ḥasan, an astronomer, polyhistor and Shi'a politician of the period of the Mongol invasion, born at Ṭūs in 597/1201, and died at Baghdād in 672/1274. In 654/1256 he played the assassin leader Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh into the hands of Hulāgū whom he accompanied as his trusted adviser to the conquest of Baghdād. He retained his influential position under Abāka the son of Hulāgū i.e. the second Mongol Ilkan prince of Persia, 1265-1282. Ṭūsī composed the Commentary *Ḥall Mushkilāt al-Ishārāt* (lucknow 1293) on the *Ishārāt wa' l-Tanbīh* of Ibn Sīnā. Here he defended Ibn Sīnā against Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī. On the other hand he wrote against Fakhr al-Dīn's *Muhassal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn* the critical commentary *Talkhīs Muḥaṣṣal* (edited at the foot of *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo, 1323.) He further wrote *Awṣaf al-Ashraf*, a mystical work in which he gave a clear manifestation of his Shi'a conduct. His *Akhlāq-i Nāsirī* is universally known. For further information see Enc. of Islām, IV, 980-982.

(3) A mountain-fortress north-west of Qazwīn, which is famous for its being the seat of the grand-Master of the Assassins from 484/1090 upto 654/1256. This fortress was built in 246/860 by the Alide Ḥasan al-Da'ī ila' l-Haqq. During the reign of the Ṣafawides it was used by them as a state prison. Its remains may be visible even now. See Huart, *La Fortresse d' Alamut* in the *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris* XV ; Enc. of Islam I, 249 sq.s.v. Alamut.

(4) Caliph Musta'ṣim r. 640/1242-656/1258.

(1) See infra p. 9.

not be called a true Nuṣairī with whom they could drink, associate, whom they could entrust with their secrets and to whom they could give their daughters in marriage unless he had been initiated by his teachers. The essence of this initiation was that they made him swear to conceal his faith and the names of his *shaikhs* (spiritual guides). He was moreover forbidden to consult any Muslim or any one who did not belong to his fraternity. He had to believe with an unswerving faith in the *Ism* and *Ma'nā* (name and idea)² throughout the ages from the beginning of the creation to the end of it, taking *Ādam* and *Shīth* to be the first *Ism* and *Ma'nā*, respectively. In order to prove the *Ism* and *Ma'nā* they had recourse to the Qur'ān and said that the Prophet *Ya'qūb* was the *Ism* and *Yūsuf* the *Ma'nā*, because when the sons of the former asked pardon of him for their crime in throwing *Yūsuf* in the well, he uttered, "Presently I will ask pardon for you of my Lord ; surely He is the pardoner, the Merciful,"¹ but, because *Yūsuf* was the *Ma'nā* so, unlike his father, when his brothers said, "By Allāh, now Allāh has certainly chosen you over us, and we were certainly sinners,"² he replied, "There shall be no reproof against you this day, Allāh may pardon you, and He is the most merciful of the merciful,"³ and did not depend upon any one, as he knew that he was the absolute authority. They further say that *Mūsā* was the *Ism*, *Yūsha'* the *Ma'nā*, for the sun obeyed the order of *Yūsha'*, the Lord and yielded to him. They also believed that *Sulaimān* was the *Ism* and *Āsaf*⁴ the *Ma'nā* because *Sulaimān* was unable to fetch the throne of queen *Bilqīs* and it was *Asaf* who did it by his wonderful power.⁵

(2) For a further explanation of these words see Muḥammad Najm al-Ghanī, *Madhāhib al-Islām* p. 170 sq. (Lucknow 1924) ; Hastings Enc. of Religion and Ethics, IX, 419.

(1) Qur'ān, Sūra XII, 99.

(2) " , " XII, 91.

(3) " , " XII, 92.

(4) There is no mention of this name in the Qur'ān. Baiḍāwī mentions it as *Āsaf* b. Barakhyā (Hebrew *Asaf* b. Berekyah) the minister of *Sulaimān*. See the commentary of Baiḍāwī in Sūra XXVII, 40. Ṭabari, I, 588 sqq. (de Goeje). Enc. of Islām s.v. Barakhyā. (I, 476).

(5) Majmū' Rasā'il l.c. p. 95.

In brief, the Nuṣairis enumerated the Prophets and the Messengers, one after another, down to the time of the Prophet Muhammad whom they took to be the *Ism* and 'Alī the *Ma'nā*, but the essence of their faith was that 'Alī was their Lord (Rabb), the Prophet Muḥammad the *veil* (Hijāb) and Salmān the Persian¹ the *gate* (al-Bāb) and that this would continue upto eternity². The names of the *Khamsa Aitām* (five incomparables)³ and the twelve *nugabā'* (pursuivants)⁴ were written in their scriptures and they manifested themselves, by turns, as the Lord, the *Veil* and the *Gate*. They further believed that Caliph 'Umar was the greatest of all devils, next to whom was Abū Bakr and then 'Uthmān. In addition to their aforesaid mystic knowledge the Nuṣairis believed that the five daily prayers meant five names, namely 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Muḥsin and Fāṭima, and that the utterance of these five names exempted them

حیدرة الانزع البطين	اشهد ان لا اله الا
محمد الصادق الامين	ولا حجاب عليه الا
سلمان ذر القرة المتين	ولا طريق اليه الا

(1) A renowned *Ṣahābī*, (companion of the Prophet) born with magian faith but later on abandoned it for Christianity and finally for Islām. For his interesting history see Ibn Hishām pp. 136-143. Enc. of Islām, s.v. Salmān al-Fārsī (IV, 116 sq).

(2) On this a certain Nuṣairī composed the following verses in the 7th century A.H. See Majmū 'Rasā'il l. c., p. 95.

(3) They are (I) Miqdād b. Aswad al-Kindī, (II) Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī (III) 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī, (IV) 'Uthmān b. Maz'un al-Najāshī, and (V) Oanbar b. Kādān al-Dausī. See the 5th Sūra of their scripture in J.A.O.S., Vol. VIII, 247.

(4) They are (I) Abū Haitham Mālīk b. al-Taiyihan al-Aṣḥhalī, (II) Al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr al-Anṣārī, (III) Al-Mundhir b. Lūdān b. Kannās al-Sā'idī, (IV) Rāfi b. Mālīk al-'Ajlānī, (V) Al-Aswad b. Ḥusain al-Aṣḥhalī, (VI) Al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda al-Anṣārī, (VII) 'Ubāda b. Ṣāmit al-Nawfalī, (VIII) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥizām al-Anṣārī, (IX) Sālīm b. 'Umair al-Khazraji, (X) Ubai b. Ka'b, (XI) Rāfi' b. Warāqa and (XII) Bilāl b. Rayyāḥ al-Shanawī. These pursuivants, they say, were chosen by the Prophet Muḥammad from among seventy men on the night of 'Aqaba, in the valley of Minā. Hence they are so important.

from the obligatory washing of *janābat*¹ and ablusion (*waḍū'*) as well as from all *shurūṭ* (conditions) and *wājibāt* (duties) of prayer, and that the fasting of thirty days indicated thirty men and thirty women, and that it was 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib who created the heavens and the earth and had been an *Imām* (leader) in both the worlds². These Nuṣairis believed in lawfulness of wine, transmigration of souls and the eternity of the world (*qidam al-Ālam*) and denied resurrection and judgment day, Heaven and Hell³.

The Nusairis composed books against orthodox Islam and shed the blood of the Muslims without any compunction. According to our author who makes no distinction between the Nuṣairis and the early Karmatians, they killed the Muslim pilgrims to Mecca and cast them into the well Zamzam, on another occasion they took away the black stone (*al-hajar al-aswad*) and kept it with them for a long time⁴. They killed the learned Muslims, their divines and their soldiers. They wrote many books on their creed and the Muslim 'Ulamā replied to them exposing their paganism and heresy⁵.

It was through these Nusairis that the Christians mastered the sea-coast of Syria for, the former were always helping the enemies of the Muslims whoever they might be. So these Nuṣairis joined the Christians (Franks) against the Muslims, and they considered it a great calamity when the Muslims defeated the Tartārs in 659/1261⁶. These people rejoiced a great deal when the Christians occupied the frontiers of the countries that had always been under the sway of the Muslims along with the island of Cyprus⁷ which had been conquered

(1) For another form of their vile prayer purifying themselves from *Janābat*; see J.A.O.S. VIII, 264.

(2) Majmū' Rasā'il I. c., p. 94.

(3) Ibid, p. 94.

(4) This is a clear reference to the wars of the Qarmatians.

(5) Majmū' Rasā'il I.c.p. 97.

(6) This refers to Hulāgū's attempts in 658/1260 to conquer Syria. Hulāgū himself had to return to Persia whilst his troops were routed by Sulṭan Qutub at 'Ain Jālūt in 659/1261.

(7) An island near the coast of Asia Minor.

by the Muslims during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān and remained in their possession down to the middle of the year 400/1009. The Nusairis who increased in number on the sea-coast and elsewhere, helped the Christians to conquer the sea-coast and the city of Jerusalem etc. though afterwards Nūr al-Dīn Shahīd¹ and the famous Saladin² recovered all these places in the last part of the 12th century A.D. along with Egypt that had been ruled by the Christians for about two hundred years.

Lastly, in criticising the faith of these Nusairis, Ibn Taimiyya expresses his opinion that outwardly they are Rawāfiḍ³ but inwardly they are downright infidels. In fact they believed neither in the foregoing Prophets and the Messengers⁴ nor in any of the Holy Scriptures and their injunctions. Some of them did not believe that the world had a creator or that there would be a judgment day in the next world. They built up their doctrines on critical, philosophical and theosophical investigations: some times they feigned to be philosophers but some times they held the speculation of the fire-worshipping magians and combined these doctrines with Rāfiḍism (extreme Shism) and produced false arguments in support of the same by a saying of the Prophet—*Awwalu mā khalaqa Allāhu l-'aqlu*⁵ (the first thing that Allāh created was intelligence) whereas this is an apocryphal *ḥadīth* according to all authorities. The genuine *ḥadīth* is—*"Inna Allāha lammā khalaqa al-'aqla fa-qāla lahu aqbil fa'aqbal, faqāla lahu adbir fa'adbara"* (when Allāh created 'reason' ('aql) he said to it, "Approach" and it approached. Then he said to it "Retire" and it retired). But the Nusairis, in accordance with the views of the Aristotelian philosophers altered the wordings of the saying and said, "*Awwalu mā khalaqa Allāhu al-aqlu*."

Such delusive doctrines of these people spread far and wide even amongst the learned and pious Muslims who, though they

(1) Nūr al-Dīn Jangī Ata Beg of Alepho d. 569/1174.

(2) Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. 532/1138 d. 569/1193.

(3) Sing. *rafiḍī* meaning Shi'ate or heretics.

(4) Like Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad.

(5) For this tradition see Ibn al-Daiba' *Tamyiz al-Tayyib* p. 40, 1; 47. Al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā*, I, 33. Al-Dhahabī, *Miṣn al-I'tidāl* II, 332, 5.

did not actually accept the principles of the Nusairian creed, followed some of their doctrines and mentioned them in their philosophical treatises. This sort of interpretations were given by Nusairis mainly to deny the existence of God and ridicule Him. Some of these Nuṣāirīs proceeded so far as to write the name of *Allāh* in the lower part of their legs. The Prophet Muḥammad and Mūsā, they said, came to establish sovereignty in the world and they did it nicely, whereas, others such as Christ failed to do it and were killed. They ridiculed, as has been already said¹, the five daily prayers, poor rates (*zakāt*), fasting, pilgrimage, and (to their utter moral degradation), they legalised marriages with *dhawāt al-maḥārim* (women within prohibited degrees of marriage).²—

After this short review of the so called religion of the Nusairis one can at once realise that in the opinion of Ibn Taimiyya they follow no particular religion at all ; he sums up his opinion in the following sentence :—

“Sometimes they seem to follow the trinity of the Christians and sometimes the extreme views of the Shias while at other times they follow nothing whatsoever.”³

(1) See Supra p. 8

(2) For *dhawāt al-Maḥārim* see the Qur’ān, Sūra IV, 26-28. They are 14 in number.

(3) It will be worth while to go through an interesting *fatwā* (legal decision) with regard to 14 queries, produced by our author in his *Majmū, Rasā’il*, pp. 98-102 edited at Cairo in 1323 A.H.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE IMMIGRATION OF PERSIAN POETS INTO BENGAL.

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The history of the beginning and growth of the Persian language in India shows that the political supremacy of the Persian speaking people over the length and breadth of the country was one of the chief causes of the culture of their tongue. The adoption of the Persian language by the Turco-Persian rulers of the country as the language of the court and *belles-lettres* necessitated its study by the native population in order to gain a footing in the business of the state and to enjoy other facilities which were open to them; knowledge of Persian in those days was considered as a sign of refinement and culture, just as English is in modern times. With the advent of Muslim rule and the permanent establishment of a Muslim empire, a large number of Persian scholars immigrated to India; and the irruption of the Mongol hordes from central Asia and their destructive and ruthless incursions into Persia in the thirteenth century, compelled many a learned Persian to seek asylum in India. These immigrants and refugees made India their permanent home and formed the nucleus of Indo-Persian culture and scholarship. They brought with them the heritage of a highly gifted race and planted it in the fertile soil of India. That is why India produced eminent poets, historians, divines and mystics, who if not superior, are at least equal to any of the famous poets or historians of contemporary Persia.

Bengal was ruled by the Muslims for over five hundred years (1202-1756 A.D.), and for a considerable period of time it enjoyed complete independence from the sway of the Delhi emperors, till the subjugation of the country by the Mughals

in 1576 A.D., during the reign of the emperor Akbar, when Ḥusain Qulī Khān was appointed the Governor of Bengal. The political history of Muslim Bengal may be divided into three distinct periods: e.g. the early period when Bengal was governed by the Viceroys of the Delhi Sultanate of the Slave dynasty, i.e. from A.H. 594/ A.D. 1198⁽¹⁾—A.H. 739/A.D. 1338; the period of the independent sultans of Bengal, i.e. from A.H. 741/1340 A.D.—A.H. 984/1576 A.D., and thirdly the Mughal rule commencing from A.H. 984/1576 A.D.—1170/1757 A.D. when the government of the country passed into the hands of the English after the defeat of Sirājū'd-Dowla in the battle of Plassey.

The materials for the history of Persian poetry and literature of the pre-Mughal period in Bengal are very meagre. It is surprising to note that Bengal was governed by independent rulers for a period of over two hundred years, but no contemporary detailed accounts of their government, and the state of art and literature have come down to us. A proper search in the province may one day bring out more facts which would add to our present knowledge of these subjects. The only available sources on which we are to depend for our materials are the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* and the *Riyāzu's-Salātīn*.⁽²⁾ But both these books deal, mainly, with the political history of the time rather than literary or social history. They have, however, given us some incidental references as to the part played by some rulers in the encouragement of learning in their domain.

Of the early rulers mention has been made of Muhammad-bin-Bakhtiyār Khaljī and Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn as patrons of learning who built colleges in their capital and granted stipends to

(1) *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 150.

(2) The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* was written by Minhāju'd-Dīn, a court historian of the court of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Mahmood and was completed in 1258-9 A.D. The author had conversed with many people who helped in the conquest of Bengal, and he himself stayed several months at Lakhnautī the capital of Bengal. The *Riyāz* is a history of Bengal compiled in 1202 A.H.—1786 A.D. by Ghulām Ḥusain Salim. It is based on earlier sources which were available to the author. But it is defective in dates.

scholars⁽¹⁾. As instances of Ghiyásu'd-Dín's generosity towards men of learning, the author of the *Ṭabáqát-i-Náṣirí* narrates the following facts: "He granted stipends to scholars, pious men and descendants of the prophet; and other people acquired from his bounty and generosity much riches. For example there was an Imám Zāda of Fírúzkoh named Jalálu'd-Dín son of Jamálu'd-Dín Ghaznaví who migrated to India with his family, and after a few years returned to Fírúzkoh in A.H. 608=1211 A.D. with abundant wealth. People enquired about the means of the acquisition of his wealth. He stated that when he came to India he determined to proceed from Delhi to Lakhnautí. When he reached that capital Almighty God pre-ordained things so that he was called upon to deliver a discourse at the court of Sultan Ghiyásu'd-Dín Khaljí. That sovereign of generous disposition brought forth from his treasury one big tray of gold and silver *tankah*, and about ten thousand silver *tankahs* were awarded over and above these; the officers of the state were commanded to make liberal presents. About three thousand gold and silver *tankahs* more were obtained. At the time of his return about five thousand *tankahs* were received as gifts so that eighteen thousand rupees were amassed by that Imám through the good will of that king of Lakhnautí. When the writer of this history reached that country of Lakhnautí, the good works of that sovereign in different parts of the country were seen by him."⁽²⁾

During the reign of the independent Muslim kings, Bengal attained great prosperity. Two great Royal Houses, one of Ḥájí Ilyás and another of 'Aláu'd-Dín Ḥusain Sháh ruled the country very successfully, and extended their domain as far as Kamrúp or western Assam. They built strong forts, beautiful mosques, colleges, students' Hostels and traveller's rest houses, excavated tanks, and laid down roads for the benefit of the public⁽³⁾. Of these kings, Sultan Ghiyásu'd-Dín and 'Aláu'd-Dín Saiyid Ḥusain

(1) *Ṭabáqát-i-Náṣirí*, 151, 161.

(2) *Ṭabaqát* p. 162.

(3) *Riyás*, Tr. p. 95, f. n.

Sharíf-Makkí commonly known as Ḥusáin Sháh were noted for their patronage of learning. The court of Ghiyásu'd-Dín is said to have been an asylum for the learned and the cultured, and he was himself a just and righteous sovereign, and a man of light and sweetness⁽¹⁾. His invitation of the Persian poet Ḥáfiz to his court amply testifies to his love of learning. An interesting anecdote has been recorded by historians with reference to his invitation to Ḥáfiz. "It has been related that once Sultan Ghiyásu'd-Dín fell seriously ill and being in despair of his life, nominated three of his concubines named, Sarv (cypress), Gul (Rose) and Lálá (Tulip), to perform the last bathing ceremony. When God granted him recovery, the Sultan considered them to be auspicious and conferred on them more favour than before. The other concubines became jealous and began to taunt them about the bathing. One day when the Sultan was in a convivial mood they reported this matter to him. The Sultan uttered this hemistich :—

ساقی حدیث سرو و گل و لاله می‌رود

"Cupbearer, the story of the Cypress, the Rose and the Tulip is being talked"

The king could not compose the second hemistich, and none of the poets of the court could complete it. Then the Sultan having written the hemistich sent it through an envoy to Ḥáfiz of Shíráz (to supply the second line). Khwāja Ḥáfiz composed the second hemistich *extempore*

این بحث با ثلاثه غشاله می‌رود

"This discourse relates to the three bathers"

This second hemistich is not devoid of ingenious skill. Ḥáfiz also sent a complete Ghazal to the king. These two couplets are from that (poem)."⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid, p. 108, f. n. 3.

(2) Riyáz Text, pp. 105-6 ; and Tr. pp. 108-9. The entire Ghazal is to be found in *Diwán-i-Ḥáfiz*, Brackhaus edn, No. 158.

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند * زین قند پارسی که به بنگا له میروند
حافظ ز شوق مجلس سلطان غیاث الدین * خاموش مشو که کار تو از ناله میروند

“All the parrots of India would become the pecker of sugar
From this persian sugar-candy that goes forth to Bengal.
Ḥāfiẓ, from the desire for the Company of Sultan Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn
Rest not ; for thy work (lyric) is the outcome of lamentation.”

The author of the *Riyāz* says that Ḥusain Shāh had established Mosques and Rest-houses in every district of his kingdom, and he conferred gifts upon saints and recluse for their maintenance. He endowed several villages for the maintenance of the shrine of Shaykh Nuru'l-Qutb at Pandua⁽¹⁾. Further researches show that he founded a Madrasah in his capital for the advancement of learning. A contemporary inscription has been discovered which bears testimony to the fact of his establishing a college in 907 A.H.=1501 A.D. This inscription begins with the saying of the prophet “Search after knowledge even if it be in China”.⁽²⁾

Of the rulers of Bengal under the regime of the dynasty of Shér Shāh, Táj Khán Karrání and Sulaimán Karrání were noted for their learning and love of learned men. Badáoní⁽³⁾ mentions that Táj Khán Karrání was the most learned and accomplished of the Afghán rulers. The same historian remarks in another place about Sulaimán Karrání's love of saints and scholars thus :—“(Akbar) heard that Sulaimán Karrání, Governor of Bengal used every night to offer prayers in the company of hundred and fifty renowned Shaykhs and 'Ulemás and used to remain in their society till morning listening to commentaries and exhortations ; after morning prayers would occupy himself in state business and the affairs of the army and of his subjects”.⁽⁴⁾ These facts disclose that these rulers had provided sufficient facilities for the promotion of learning in their domain. But on account of the paucity of detailed accounts

(1) *Riyāz* p. 135.

(2) J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 393.

(3) P. 409, Vol. I.

(4) Badáoní, p. 200 Vol. II.

we are not in a position to make a fair estimate of the nature of literature produced during their rule.

When we come to the Mughal period we find a little better account of Persian language in Bengal than in the previous reigns. There are contemporary and later chroniclers and biographers who have mentioned the names of men of learning at the court of the Mughal governors. Of these rulers, Qásim Khán, Islám Khán Mashhadí, Sháh Shujá', Mír Jumla, Sháyesta Khán, Ibráhím Khán son of 'Alí Mardán Khán, and 'Alí Vardí Khán have been mentioned by different chroniclers as being patrons of learning. They encouraged Persian poetry and offered asylum to many poets who came to Bengal during their regime. Mír Jumla who came of a noble family of Ispahán was an accomplished scholar. He was himself a poet and is said to have left a Kulliyát containing twenty thousand verses. The author of the *Tazkira-i-Naṣrábádí*¹ says that he saw this Kulliyát with his own eyes. He has also cited some of his verses as specimens of Mír Jumla's poetry.

Having sketched above a brief outline of the causes of the migration of Iranian scholars into Bengal and the nature of patronage they received at the court of the rulers, we shall now attempt to present an account of the poets who flourished in the country during the Mughal period. The detailed study of the life and works of these poets would require further research; the materials and space at my disposal do not permit me to go beyond that of drawing the attention of modern scholars towards this neglected side of the subject. I hope that a serious enquiry will be undertaken in Bengal as well as outside which may lead to the discovery of more facts which would give us a complete account of the state of Persian literature in the Eastern part of the Mughal Empire.

SARMADÍ

His full name is Muḥammad Sharíf Isfahání. He migrated from Isfahán to India during the reign of Akbar. He was favourably

(1) P. 71.

received by the Emperor and raised to the *Manṣab* of two hundred.¹ Badáoní² says that he was at first 'Chowkinavís', and then was deputed to Bengal with Mír Sharíf Amúli.³ According to Akbar Námah⁴ he served in the 31st year of Akbar's reign in Kashmír, and in the 32nd in Gujarát. In 1000 A.H./1591 A.D., he was sent to Bengal with Sharíf Amúli. So it seems that he lived at least for four years in Bengal. He died in the Deccan in 1015 A.H.⁵ The exact place of his death is not known.

He is considered to be one of the learned men of the reign of Akbar, possessing the gift of composing excellent verses and a sound knowledge of Arithmetic.⁶ Before he came to the court of Akbar he used to write under the pen-name of Faizí. But when he met Faizi, the poet Laureate of the Emperor, he changed the name from Faizí to Sarmadí, so that he might please the vanity of Faizí who wielded great influence at the court.⁷

JA'FAR BEG

Ja'far son of Mírzá Badi'uzzamán Qazwiní:—His full name was Mírzá Qiámu'd-Dín Ja'far Beg. He adopted Ja'far as his *Takhallus*. He had immigrated to India in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign⁸, i.e. in 985/1577. He was introduced to the Emperor by his uncle Mírzá Ghiysáu'd-Din Aṣaf 'Alí Khán who was in the service of the Emperor at that time. Ja'far was favourably received by Akbar who conferred upon him the *Manṣab* of twenty and attached him

(1) 'Ain. Tr., p. 516 ; Text P. 164.

(2) Vol. II., P. 335.

(3) Sharíf Amúli was a staunch follower of Akbar's Dín-i-Ilahí and his apostle for Bengal ; Badáoní calls him a frivolous and a detestable heretic. For details of his life see Badáoní Vol. II, p. 245 ; Tuzuk, p. 22 ; 'Ain., Tr. pp. 452, 607.

(4) Vol. III, Lucknow edn. p. 629.

(5) Nashtar-i-Ishq p. 524, Dághistání says, he died in the Deccan.

(6) 'Ain. Tr. I. p. 607 ; Text. p. 181.

(7) Nashtar-i-Ishq 524 ; Badáoní, II., p. 335.

(8) 'Ain, Tr. I., 411.

to the Dákhilis of his uncle.¹ This rank was considered by Ja'far as a mark of insult rather than honour, so he gave up visiting the court. When this matter was reported to the Emperor he was ordered to go to Bengal² to the court of Khán Jahán, the Governor of the province. During those days compelling a man to come over to Bengal was considered a great punishment as it was commonly believed that the unhealthy climate of the province was sufficient to kill a person of the western countries, and very few could survive the effects of the enervating climate. An interesting anecdote has been related of his meeting with Mauláná Qásim Káhí³ at Akbarabad before he left for Bengal. When they met, the Mauláná enquired who he was and where he was going. Ja'far explained the situation and said that he was ordered by the Emperor to go to Bengal. At this the Mauláná said "You are a comely youth. It is a pity that you are to go to Bengal". He replied "I have no choice ; I am going there depending on the will of God. Whatever is destined will be fulfilled". The Mauláná then remarked "Beware ! Do not rely on God. It is the same God who has made the most darling ones of the prophet to be martyrs in the field of Kárbalá."⁴ When Ja'far Beg reached Bengal, Khán Jahán was ill and died a few days afterwards.⁵ This fact gives us an approximate date of his arrival in Bengal. Khán Jahán died in the end of the year 886 A.H.—1578 A.D. So we can reasonably conclude that Ja'far-Beg came to Bengal some time towards the end of 1578 A.D. Khán Jahán was succeeded by Muzaffar Khán in the Viceroyalty of Bengal. During the latter's rule the Afghán chiefs rebelled and put Muzaffar Khán to death.⁶ At the time of this mutiny when

(1) Ibid ; Nashtar-i-'Ishq, p. 245, is evidently wrong when it says that he was given the Mansab of forty. Dakhili is a contingent of infantry. They are also called Nima Sawārán or half troopers. 'Ain. Tr. I., 254.

(2) Nashtar-i-'Ishq, p. 246 ; Badáoní III, 216.

(3) Káhí was a scholar of Akbar's time. He was a free thinker and a disciple of the Emperor. Vide 'Ain., Tr. I. p. 566, Text p. 172, and Badáoní, III. p. 172.

(4) Nashtar-i-'Ishq p. 246.

(5) Ibid p. 246.

(6) For detailed history of this rebellion see Badáoní, Vol. II., pp. 280-81.

many of the nobles went over to the enemy's side, Ja'far Beg remained loyal to the Emperor and after the murder of Muẓaffar Kha'n he fled from Tandah to Fatehpúr Sikri. The Emperor received him very favourably and appointed him to the post of Bakhshí or Pay-master-General with the title of Asaf Kha'n. During the reign of Jahángír also he held responsible positions and was raised to the rank of five thousand.¹ He died at Burhánpúr in 1021 A.H.=1612 A.D. at the age of sixty-three,² during the reign of Jahángír when he was deputed in one of the expeditions to the Deccan.

He is said to be an accomplished scholar possessing great intelligence and lofty ideas.³ He was an able writer in prose and verse. He is the author of a Masnaví called "Shírín and Khusrau" written after the style of Nizámí. Ms. copies of this Masnaví are available in several of the important oriental Libraries.⁴ Verses from this book have been profusely quoted in Nashtar-i-'Ishq, 'Afn-Akbarí and other Tazkiras.

SALÍM

His full name is Mírzá Muḥammad Qulí Tihrání. Salím is his poetical name. He was a man of Turkish descent and migrated to India from his native land during the reign of the Emperor Sháh-Jahán. In his early life he was at the court of Mírza 'Abdu'llah the Vizier of Lahiján, where he was married and a child was born to him. On his arrival in India he wrote a Qaṣída in honour of the Emperor with the purpose of becoming one of the court poets. But owing to the jealousy of Abú Tálíb Kalím, the poet laureate of the Emperor, he failed to get a favourable reception at the court. Being disappointed, he gave up the idea of becoming a court poet and then became a 'nadim' or boon companion of 'Abdu's Salám Mashhadí known as Islám-Kha'n who ruled in Bengal

(1) Tuzuk, p. 109.

(2) Nashtar-i-'Ishq, p. 247 ; Tuzuk p. 108.

(3) 'Ain. Tr. I, p. 572 ; Text, p. 173.

(4) Catalogue of Bankipore, No. 274 ; Rieu Vol. I, p. 118.

from 1047-49 A.H.=1637-39 A.D. He died in 1057 A.H.=1647 A.D. at Kashmír and was buried there.¹ According to Naṣṙabādí he died in 1052 A.H.

He has left a Díwán consisting of different kinds of poetry, and a Maṣnavi called 'Qazá-wa-qadr' (Determination and free will). Ḥusain Qulí Khán the author of the Nashtar-i-'Ishq² says that his Maṣnaví was very popular and obtained the same rank as that of Nal-Daman of Faizí. Copies of this Maṣnaví are available. A Ms. copy of his Qaṣída is in the possession of Ḥakím Ḥabíbur-Raḥman of Dacca. While he was at Láhijan he composed a Maṣnavi describing the beauty of Láhiján. When he came to India this Maṣnaví was re-written describing the beauties of Kashmír.³

WÁLAH HARWÍ

His name is Mulla Darwísh. He was a pupil of Maulána Fasihí Anṣarí. He came to Bengal by the sea-route from Persia during the reign of Sháh Jahán. He lived and died in Bengal.⁴ The exact date of his immigration to Bengal or the place where he settled is not exactly known. The Nashtar-i-'Ishq⁵ says that when Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Qádir Bídil travelled in the Şubah of Bang, (Bengal), he enjoyed the company of Darwísh Wálah and was much benefited by this meeting. Mírza Bídil stayed in Bengal during the viceroyalty of prince Md. 'Azam, second son of Aurangzáb (1678-80). This fact shows that the poet had settled in some part of Eastern Bengal, probably at Dacca which was then the capital of the province and centre of culture.

(To be continued)

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- (1) Nashtar-i-Ishq, pp. 505-6.
 - (2) P. 506.
 - (3) Nasrabādi, p. 297.
 - (4) Nigāristān-i-Sukhan, p. 39.
 - (5) P. 1206.

JAGANNĀTHA'S TREATMENT OF THE GUṆA- CONCEPT IN SANSKRIT POETICS.

(BY PRAKASCHANDRA LAHIRI, KAVYATIRTHA, M.A.)

Jagannātha has never been explicit upon the point as to what position exactly he assigns to the Guṇas in his theory of Poetry, but he has left his views to be inferred by the student of the Śāstra from a study of his treatment, which is, as we shall see later on, mostly an attempt at harmonising the teachings of the old school with those of the new. Jagannātha's treatment of the Guṇas proper, as well as of the structures favourable and detrimental to them, extends over a considerable length (Rasa-gaṅgādhara, pp. 53-74); and throughout this one would apparently mark in him a tendency towards avoiding the question as to the views of what school of opinion he is really subscribing to. Thus, his remarks at the very beginning of his treatment of the Guṇas (*raseṣu caiteṣu nigaditeṣu mādhyanyajāḥ-prasādākhyāms trīṇ guṇānāhuḥ*, p. 53) would probably lead one to understand that he is adhering to the teachings of the early Rasa-dhvani theorists. But shortly, after this when he proceeds to deal with the question of the substrata of the Guṇas, one certainly considers him to be leaning towards the views of the Riti school.

Students of Sanskrit Poetics know that the theory of Guṇa as conceived by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* was developed further on the same lines by Mammaṭa. His views were accepted with slight or no modification by later writers till the advent of Jagannātha who was the first (and indeed the last) to raise his finger against this unqualified acceptance. While Jagannātha does not totally reject the position of the Dhvanikāra that the Guṇas belong to Rasa, his main objection against the theory of his predecessors of the Dhvani school is that the Guṇas do not belong exclusively to the Rasas but that they belong to the word and its sense as well, not

secondarily but primarily,—a view which bears adequate testimony to the influence which the teachings of the school of Vāmana worked upon Jagannātha, (pp. 54-55). Next he proceeds to discuss the twenty Guṇas of Vāmana with the remark *jarattarāstu* (p. 55)..... *ityāhuḥ* (p. 62) giving his own views here and there ; and immediately after that he criticises these Guṇas exactly after Mammaṭa beginning with *apare tu..... na tāvataḥ svīkurranti* (p. 62) and ending this criticism with “*atas traya eva guṇā iti mammaṭabhaṭṭādayaḥ*” (p. 64). Lastly, he takes up the question of word-structures (pp. 64-73) in which he displays unmistakable traces of the influence of the Dhvani theorists.

It is interesting to note that Jagannātha has not given any general definition of Guṇa, nor has he accepted the one given by the early Dhvani theorists, but he has presented the characteristics involved in the latter's individual Guṇas in such a way that it appears to constitute somewhat like a general definition¹ in his treatment. The early Dhvani theorists' definition of Guṇa implies that (1) Guṇas are (primarily) the properties of Rasa, (2) they reside invariably in Rasa and as such, (3) they help the manifestation of Rasa ; and the question of the production of some mental conditions through or by the Guṇas comes in their treatment afterwards, as *viśeṣa-lakṣaṇa*, in connection with the individual Guṇas. But Jagannātha has observed the fundamental character, *viz.*, the production of one or other mental condition, underlying these individual Guṇas, and appears to have utilised it in connection with the doctrine of Guṇa in general so as to assign a definite independent character to that

1. Jagannātha's remarks in this connection are interesting though not explicit : “*evam tarhi drutyādi-cittavṛtti-prayojakatvaṁ prayojakatā-sambandhena drutyādikam eva vā mādhyāyādikam astu*”, p. 55. It will be seen that he has not expressly stated “*drutyādi-cittavṛtti-prayojakatvaṁ guṇaḥ*”, and as such his remarks noted above cannot, strictly speaking, be looked upon as a definition of Guṇa. But his very attempt at characterising all the Guṇas together, instead of defining them separately as done by the earlier Dhvani theorists, gives the student sufficient indications to understand that it was his intention to incorporate in the above remarks the fundamental character of the element itself.

element². In other words, he judges the Guṇa fundamentally in terms of the mental condition it produces ; and when this is admitted, the question as to which factor the Guṇa belongs to does not present much difficulty. Jagannātha appears to solve it from a more or less commonsense point of view, even if this is really a matter of individual experience and opinion. If the Guṇa is understood to be an element having the capacity of producing some mental condition, Jagannātha cannot maintain that that capacity is restricted to Rasa alone ; but, on the other hand, he appears to hold that even the external aspects of poetry, namely, the word and its sense and the composition as a whole may equally possess that capacity³. As such he refuses to accept the position of the early Dhvani theorists that one has to

2. This is, in a sense, an advance made upon the treatment of his predecessors whose Guṇa, having no separate existence excepting in Rasa, does not naturally bring a definite idea as to its own character, for when it is remarked that a quality belongs to some known factor (e.g. Rasa here) or is a *dharma* of it, nothing is thereby said so as to give one a clear and definite idea of the quality itself. We should remember in this connection that towards this advancement Jagannātha had not to explore any appreciable new field of thought nor had he any new materials to utilise but he had only to present the selfsame treatment of his predecessors in a different way applying his remarks (noted in fn. 1) as much to the individual Guṇas as to the element itself and these remarks at once satisfy the *sāmānya* as well as the *viśeṣa-lakṣaṇa* of the Guṇa.

3. *Prayojakatvaṃ cādyṣṭādi-vilakṣaṇaṃ śābdārtha-rasa-racana-gaṭam eva grāhyam* (p. 55). Note *adyṣṭādi-vilakṣaṇaṃ* where under *ādi* Nāgeśa includes *kāla* and possibly *deśa* and such other factors. This appears to imply that even in ordinary life—apart from the sphere of poetry—particular circumstances give rise to mental conditions like *druti* etc. For instance, some people are extremely sentimental by nature and they are easily moved. Similarly, when a man reaches a particular place, he may burst into tears if the place is associated with some sad remembrances. But we are not concerned with the above circumstances. Note also the spirit of harmony with which Jagannātha reads the views not only of the different schools of thought (e.g. Riti school and the Dhvani school) but also of the different writers of the Dhvani-school itself. This spirit is clearly traceable in two cases, firstly, with regard to the question of the factor to which the Guṇa belongs, and secondly, with regard to the relationship between the Guṇas and the mental conditions with which they are associated. We know that Mammāṭa (*Kāvya-prakāśa*, *kārikās*

take recourse to *upacāra* (secondary or extended use) when one says that the Guṇa belongs to *śabda* and its *artha* or is a *dharma* of them⁴. It will appear, therefore, that Jagannātha lays no mean emphasis upon the structural beauty of composition : and this will also be justified by his very elaborate treatment with copious illustrations, of structures specially favourable to particular Guṇas (*tat-tad-guṇa-vyañjana-kṣamā nirmitiḥ* p. 65), as well as of the defects which are

90-93, pp. 474-76 ed, Jhalkikar) takes the Guṇa to be the cause of the *citta-vṛtti* while Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, *vṛtti* on *karikā* 606, p. 511. ed Jivānanda) who is anticipated by Abhinava identifies the Guṇa with the *citta-vṛtti*. Jagannātha generally accepts the position of Mammaṭa when he conceives of the relationship of *prayojya* and *prayojaka* between the *citta-vṛttis* and the Guṇas (p. 54) but his difference from Mammaṭa appears to lie in the fact that while in the latter's opinion Guṇa produces the *citta-vṛtti* only on account of the Rasa in which it always resides, the Guṇa according to the former can produce the *citta-vṛtti* even on its own account i.e. quite independently of the Rasa in which it does not invariably reside. The spirit of harmony is also patent from Jagannātha's remarks later on (quoted in fn. 1) where he first takes the Guṇa to possess the capacity of producing the *citta-vṛtti* and then identifies the one with the other. Now, when the Guṇa is *cittavṛtti-prayojaka* it may reside in *śabda*, *artha* and *racanā*; and this is explained by the fact that the reader's mind undergoes the process of melting, expansion etc. on the perusal of the composition as a whole or of the word and its sense. Thus *śabda*, *artha* and *racanā*, which are some external factors responsible for the the production of particular mental conditions of the reader are said to be *cittavṛtti-prayojaka*; or *°prayojaka-katva* may be said to reside in them. But, when the Guṇa is identified when the *citta-vṛtti*, it must reside only in the Rasa because a *citta-vṛtti* cannot reside in *śabda* or in *artha* or in *racanā* (and Jagannātha fights shy even to take recourse to *upacāra*). And contrarily, when the Guṇa resides in Rasa, it is not possible to conceive of the relationship of *prayojya* and *prayojaka* between the *citta-vṛtti* and the Guṇa, because both merge their individuality in that state of aesthetic bliss and consequently one has to be identified with the other. The production of the *druti* and the apprehension of the aesthetic bliss take place simultaneously. So it is that the Guṇa is generally *cittavṛtti-prayojaka*, but in the case of Rasa it is *citta-vṛttir eva*; for here the relationship of cause and effect disappears. This will also be justified by the fact that the Rasa has been classified as *asamlakṣya-krama vyañgya*.

4. *tathā ca śabdārthayor api mādhyādēv idṛśasya sattvād upacāro naiva kalpya iti tu mādṛśāḥ.* p. 55, II. 9-10.

detrimental to structural beauty. These extend over a great length (pp. 64-74) in Jagannātha's treatment but it is not necessary for us to study them in detail in this connection.

From what has been said above it will not be difficult to ascertain Jagannātha's attitude towards the question of the relationship between the Rasa and the Guṇa. Naturally, he cannot regard the Guṇa to be the inherent property of the Rasa alone (*rasa-mātra-dharma*). But his arguments in support of this position are interesting, not only because they are mixed up with his knowledge of philosophical technicalities but also because they appear to afford a fine example of what Dr. De calls his "subtle reasoning" and his "tendency towards controversy...combined with an aptitude for hairsplitting refinement" (*Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. II, p. 318). He holds that the theory of early writers of the Dhvani school that the Guṇa is *rasa-dharma* can be proved neither by *perception* (p. 54. 11. 12. 14) nor by *inference*. In the first place, he remarks that unlike *uṣṇa-sparśa*, which is the *anala-dharma*, the Guṇa, which is the so-called *rasa-dharma*, cannot be perceived independently of *druti* etc., the *rasa-kārya*. Speaking plainly, it stands thus: it is quite possible for us to feel the heat of the fire (*anala-dharma*) even when it does not actually burn us. But the Guṇa is not capable of being perceived independently because its existence is, according to Dhvani theorists, inseparably mixed up with the particular mental condition which the reader undergoes in the process of the realisation of Rasa. On the other hand, if it is assumed that the Rasa, along with the Guṇa, produces *druti* etc. as its effect, and argued on that strength that the Guṇa is to be inferred as the determinant of the causality in Rasa (*kāraṇatāva-ccchedakatayā*⁵), Jagannātha would reply by saying that when the Rasa can, by itself, produce the particular mental condition, it is superfluous to admit the existence of another element, *viz.*, Guṇa,

5. This refers to the theory in Vaiśeṣika philosophy that a thing cannot be regarded as a cause unless it is associated with a number of conditions which must exist in the cause in order that it might produce the effect. In the present case it resolves into the position that the Rasa can produce the *druti* because of the Guṇa which exists in it as its *Kāraṇatā*.

in it⁶. Next, Jagannātha argues that the Guṇa cannot be regarded as the property (*guṇa* or *dharma*) of Rasa (the *ātman* of poetry), because the *ātman* is, according to the Vedāntin's conception without any attribute⁷. Nor can the Guṇa be attributed to the permanent moods like *rati* etc., because these, being some limiting conditions (*ṇpādhi*) of the Rasas, are to be looked upon as their *differentia*, and as such further attributes cannot be associated with them⁸. It will appear, therefore, that Jagannātha's intention was to treat the Guṇas as absolute entities and in this respect he may be said to be a follower of Bharata and Bhāmaha. But his own characterisation of the Rasa along with *śabda*, *artha* etc. as one of the substrata of the Guṇas (=the capacity for producing the mental conditions) leaves at least some scope for considering his Guṇa to be a property of the Rasa. The Dhvanikāra's use of expressions like "*śṛṅgāro madhuraḥ*" (D. K. ii, 8) is, according to Jagannātha, analogous with the ordinary use of an expression *vājigandhā uṣṇā*, where *uṣṇatva* is not the exclusive but accidental quality of *vājigandhā*⁹, since it may reside as much in *vājigandhā* as in other articles like onion, musk and wine.

It ought to be noted that although the Guṇa (like any other poetic element) does not find any express mention in Jagannātha's definition of poetry (*raṁaṇīyārtha-pratipāḍakaḥ śabdaḥ*, p. 4¹⁰)

6. tādrśa-guṇa-viśiṣṭa-rasānām drutyādi-kāraṇatvād kāraṇatāvacchedakataiyā guṇānām anumānam iti cet, (na), prāṭisvika-rūpeṇaiva rasānām kāraṇato-papattau guṇakalpane gauravāt (p. 54).

7. paramātmā guṇa-sūnya eveti māyā-vādinō manyante, Jhalkikar, *Nyāyakoṣa* (1928) p. 473.

8. kiṁ cātmano nirguṇatayātma-rūpa-rasa-guṇatvaṁ mādhyādīnām anupapannam. evaṁ tadupādhi-ratyādi-guṇatvam api. mānābhāvāt, para-rityā guṇe guṇāntarasyānaucityāc ca. p. 55.

9. The *Vājigandhā* (*withania somnifera*) is an Indian plant which is famous specially for its stimulating character.

10. *lakṣaṇe guṇālaṁkāra-ādī-niveśo'pi na yuktaḥ. uditam maṇḍalam vidhoḥ iti kāvyo.....gato'stam arkaḥ ityādau cāvyaṅgyāpatteḥ* (p. 6). These two specific instances are, he holds, charming by reason of their suggested sense, although they contain neither Guṇa nor *Alaṁkāra*. Thus, he appears to support his position on the ground that the practice of mentioning a particular poetic

his broad conception of this element is quite in harmony with the definition and to some extent helps us to understand the propriety of his classification of poetry. Dr. De has already noted¹¹ the wide scope of Jagannātha's definition of poetry, namely, that the *ramaṇīyatā* involved therein includes in its comprehensiveness all the orthodox poetic elements. In the case of Guṇas, the mental conditions evoked account for the poetic charm (*ramaṇīyatā*) and their presence raises even *śabda*, *artha* and *racanā* (not to speak of *Rasa*) to the standard of the reader's appreciation. This adequately justifies the fact that Jagannātha, like Kuntaka, does not look upon the presence of *Rasa* as the only test of a poem's appeal to the reader.¹² In his opinion *ramaṇīyatā*, which is taken to be the *sine qua non* of true poetry, is due to the presence not only of *Rasa* but also of one or more of other factors, namely, *vastu* and *alaṃkāra-dhvani*, *vācyālaṃkāra* etc. The contribution of his Guṇas in this connection is also not insignificant. His classification

element in the definition of poetry is defective since it excludes the scope of other poetic elements. Two courses are then open. Either all the elements that can afford poetic charm should be explicitly embodied in the definition of poetry, or it must be defined in terms of some such factor as may be regarded as the essence of all of them. It may, therefore, be generally held that Jagannātha thinks his definition to be an improvement upon that of his predecessors of the Dhvani school (not excluding Mammaṭa) in the sense that these latter could not effectively utilise a factor like Jagannātha's *ramaṇīyatā* (or their *cārutva*, *camatkāra*, *vicchitti* etc.) which stands like a symbol for all the orthodox poetic elements. Nāgeśa appears to be correct when he remarks: *evam ca viśeṣa-lakṣaṇe teṣāṃ (guṇālaṃkāradīnāṃ) niveśe'pi sāmānya-lakṣaṇe teṣāṃ na niveśa iti na ko'pi doṣaḥ* (p. 7, *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*).

11. *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. ii, p. 319, where the term *ramaṇīyatā* and its scope (specially with reference to *Rasa*) have been explained. The different heads of classification have also been explained on pp. 320-21 of the same book.

12. *yat-tu rasavad eva kāvyam iti sāhityadarpaṇe nirṇītam, tan na, vastvalaṃkāra-pradhānānāṃ kāvyānāṃ akāvyaṃvāpatteḥ na ceṣṭāpattiḥ. mahākavi-saṃpradāyasyākulībhāva-prasaṅgāt.....* (p. 7, 11.9-11) Jagannātha's main objection against Viśvanātha's definition of poetry is that the latter in his attempt at perfection by directly referring to *Rasa* in his definition considerably narrows down the scope thereof. (See *Sanskrit Poetics* Vol. ii, pp. 283-84 for Jagannātha's objections against Viśvanātha in detail).

of poetry into four different classes namely (1) *uttamottama* (2) *uttama*, (3) *madhyama* and (4) *adhama* (p. 9) also bears testimony to the above fact. These heads of classification will show that the presence or otherwise of *Rasa* serves only to effect a gradation in the degree of charmingness; nevertheless, he admits of the existence of some sort of poetic charm in all of them. His later discussion about word-structures specially favourable to particular *Guṇas*¹³ with copious illustrations in all possible detail tends to show that the scope of his *Guṇas* is scarcely limited and that he views poetic charm as belonging to a wide range of linguistic composition.¹⁴

We shall now briefly discuss Jagannātha's reading of the *Guṇas* of *Vāmana* under two sections according as they belong to *śabda* or to *artha*, and note the discrepancies between the two theorists in their respective treatment of these *Guṇas*. We have

13. *madhura-raseṣu ye viśeṣato varjanīyā anupadaṁ vakṣyante ta evaujasviṣvanukūlāḥ, ye cānukūlatyoktās te pratikūlā iti sāmānyato nirṇayaḥ* (p.69). Thus the structure which is detrimental to one *Guṇa* (*Mādhurya*) is favourable to another (*Ojas*) and *vice versa*. Hence the presence of one or the other *Guṇa* can be felt in any of the two types of composition. And as for *Prasāda*, it has hardly any restriction, quick apprehension of the sense being its essential character. Jagannātha himself has remarked (p. 54) *prasādas tu sarveṣu raseṣu sarvāsu racanāsu ca sādharāṇaḥ*. In a word, the very fact that Jagannātha has admitted the presence of *Guṇa* in and also outside *Rasa* has theoretically enlarged the scope of this element and consequently of poetic charm itself.

14. We must emphasise here that this is again a matter of individual appreciation. In any case, it should be admitted that poems which are *sarasa* do not produce the same amount of poetic charm as those which have in them, according to Jagannātha, *Guṇas* independently of *Rasa*, Jagannātha would naturally say that the degree of the mental condition produced makes all this difference. Even in the case of *Rasa*, Jagannātha has referred (p. 53) to a controversy among two classes of theorists over the question whether a greater degree of *druti* is produced in the order viz., *Sambhoga*, *Karuṇa*, *Vipralambha* and *Śānta*, or in the order viz., *Sambhoga*, *Karuṇa*, *Śānta* and *Vipralambha*. Such a controversy is absolutely unprofitable, and Jagannātha himself has appealed to the experience of the connoisseur for a decision over the matter *yadi saḥjdayānām anubhavo'sti sākṣi tadā sa pramāṇam.*)

already^{14a} studied Vāmana's Guṇas, but for the sake of convenience we shall here arrange the readings of both in a tabular form :—

I. Śabdaguṇas.

Vāmana

Jagannātha

- (1) Śleṣa :—*masṛṇatva* *śabdānām bhinnānām-apy-ekatva-pratibhāna-prayojakaḥ saṁhitayaika-jāṭīya-varṇa-vinyāso gāḍhatva-paraparyāyaḥ* (p. 56)

Jagannātha's *śabdānām bhinnānām-apyekatra-pratibhāna-prayojaka* is equivalent to Vāmana's *vṛtti yasmin sati bahūnyapi padānyekavad bhāsante*. The formation of many words into a single whole is the character of the Guṇa in both. But while according to Vāmana this is due to *masṛṇatva* or ease of pronunciation, Jagannātha thinks this to be due to the presence of many words compounded together, in which alliteration (*ekajāṭīya-varṇa-vinyāsa*) plays a prominent part. The *gāḍhatva* is also the character of Vāmana's Ojas. Jagannātha is inclined to approximate his Śleṣa to Daṇḍin's, as will appear from his citation of Daṇḍin's definition of śliṣṭa (= *aspaṣṭa-śaithilya*), but we ought not to ignore one important fact that Daṇḍin's Śleṣa involves no compound words which one sees in Jagannātha's.

- (2) Prasāda :—*śaithilya* *gāḍhatva-śaithilyābhyām vyutkrama-*
(guṇaḥ saṁplavāt) *meṇa miśraṇam bandhasya* (ibid).

The *vyutkrama* literally means "inversion". Jagannātha uses it in the sense of admixture or "alternate appearance", as his *vṛtti* on the illustrative verse shows.¹⁵ Both these theorists mean the same thing by this Guṇa, but Jagannātha states his point more clearly.

14a. *IHQ*. Vol. IX, no. 4., pp. 835-853.

15. The verse runs thus :—

kim brūmas tava viratām vāyam amī yasmin dharāḥhaṇḍala-kriḍā-kuṇḍalita-bhru-śoṇa-nayane dormaṇḍalam daśyati etc. atra yasminnityantaṁ śaithilyam, bhrū-śabdāntaṁ gāḍhatvam, punar nayanetyantaṁ prathamam ityādi bodhyam (p. 56).

*Vāmana**Jagannātha*

- (3) Samatā :—*mārgābheda* *upakramād āsamāpte rītyabhedaḥ*¹⁶
(ibid)

- (4) Mādhurya :—*prthak-padatva* *saṁyoga-para-hrasvātirikta-
varṇa-ghaṭitatve sati prthak-
padatvam* (ibid)

Jagannātha urges the necessity for the absense of conjunct consonants. Nāgeśa remarks on *prthak-padatva* : *padāni bhinnān-yapekṣitāni, na tu śleṣavat*. He apparently insists upon the absense of compound words which has also been explicitly demanded in Vāmana's *vṛtti*.¹⁷

- (5) Sukumārātā :—*ajaraṭhatva* *aparusa-varṇa-ghaṭitatva* (p. 57)
(= *apāruṣya*)

- (6) Arthavyakti :—*artha-vyakti-hetutva* *jhagiti-pratīyamānārthān-
rayakatva* (quick apprehension of the connection of ideas.....(ibid)

Nāgeśa understands this quick apprehension to be due to the fact that the composition is complete in itself. One has not to depend upon any extrinsic matter in order to understand the sense (*ākāṅkṣādi-sakala-kāraṇa-sāmagrī-sattvād iti bhāvaḥ*). Vāmana, however, does not make it clear what this explicitness of the sense is due to.

16. It ought to be noted that Jagannātha has not treated of the Ritis separately. But reference to *upanāgarikā* in the *vṛtti* (*upanāgarikayavo-pakrama-samahārau*) as well as Nāgeśa's commentary on the definition of this Guṇa (*rīṭayaś copanāgarikā paruṣā komalā ca, eta eva krameṇa vaidarbhī-gauḍī-pāñcālya ucyante.....p. 56*). leaves no room for doubt that Jagannātha holds the same view as Mammaṭa, who follows Udbhaṭa in his conception of the *Vṛttis*.

17. *saṁāsa-dairghya-nivṛttiparaṁ cailat* (Vāmana's *vṛtti* on iii, 1, 20).

Vāmana

Jagannātha

- (7) Udāratā :—*vikāṭatva (yasmin sati kaṭhina-varṇa-ghaṭanā-rūpa-nṛtyantīva padāni) vikāṭatva-lakṣaṇā* (Expansion in the form of an arrangement of harsh syllables¹⁸.....ibid).

18. Jagannātha does not accept that the *vikāṭatva* involved here is due to a swing of words (*padānām nṛtyatprāyatvam*) as enjoined by Vāmana. He appears to hold that Mammaṭa could not have included the earlier theorists' Udāratā under his Ojas, had he understood this *vikāṭatva* to be due to a peculiar swing of words ; for, the verse *sva-caraṇa-viniviṣṭair nūpurair nartakīnām* etc. (which Vāmana selected as an illustration of his Udāratā (śābdī) but which has been wrongly ascribed by Jagannātha to the commentators of the *Kāvyaaprakāśa*) is in Jagannātha's opinion, hardly favourable to the structure of Mammaṭa's Ojas. On the other hand, it contains, in his opinion, Mādhurya in some of its parts. Now, it is probable that Mammaṭa included Vāmana's *Vikāṭatā* under his *uddhatatgumpha* without taking into account Vāmana's illustrative verse. But if he included Vāmana's *nṛtyatprāyatva* under his Ojas without being satisfied that the verse in question was favourable to the structure thereof, Mammaṭa himself was to blame, and not his commentators. Further, Jagannātha does not think that the verse in question contains a swing of words at all. This is of course a matter of opinion, and even the last two feet (specially the last foot of his own illustration of Udāratā viz, *haṭhoddhata-jaṭodbhāṭo gatapaṭo naṭo nṛtyati*) may in a sense be also said to contain a swing of words. His modification of Vāmana's treatment with regard to the definition of three *śabda guṇas*, viz., Śleṣa, Samādhi and Prasāda simplifies and to some extent strengthens the weak position of Vāmana, but it must be said that he has sadly betrayed himself in his treatment of Vāmana's (*śabda*) Udāratā where he mysteriously ascribes Vāmana's views to the commentators of KP. This admits of no doubt that he had not before him Vāmana's work, but he gathered the latter's views from some second-hand source. The manner of his ascription of the definition of Viśeṣokti to Vāmana does not militate against the view put forward here ; for, he might have taken this from Śrīdhara's commentary on *Kāvyaaprakāśa-viveka* where Vāmana's definition of Viśeṣokti has been criticised. (A. S. B. Manuscript of the K. P. Viveka, fol. 194b). In this connection, another fact should also be taken into account. Jagannātha has nowhere mentioned the name of Vāmana or of Daṇḍin with reference to the older theorists' (*jarattarāḥ*) treatment of Guṇas, and he appears to have confused the treatment of these two theorists when he speaks of the two-fold aspect of each of the Guṇas, and at the same time enumerates them by quoting

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Jagannātha

(8) Ojas :—*gāḍhabandhatva**saṁyoga-para-hrasva-prācurya-
rūpa-gāḍhatva* (p. 58).

The use of the expression *saṁyogapara-hrasva-prācurya* (abundance of vowels followed by conjunct consonants) raises a doubt whether Jagannātha takes *gāḍhatva* here to mean *sānurāgatva* after Abhinavagupta¹⁹. In fact, the *gāḍhatva* as referred to here and that explained in connection with Śleṣa do not appear to be much different. Even *saṁyogapara-hrasva-prācurya* does exist in the illustration of Jagannātha's Śleṣa. It seems, that the character of these two Guṇas have not been clearly kept apart by Jagannātha.

(9) Kānti :—*aujḡvalya*
(bandhasya)*avidagdha-vaidikādi-prayoga-yogyānām
padānām parihāreṇa prayujyamāneṣu
padeṣu lokottara-śobhā-rūpam aujḡval-
yam* (ibid)

Jagannātha's definition is merely an elucidation of Vāmana's *sūtra* and *Vṛtti*

(10) Samādhi :—*ārohāvaroha-krama* *bandha-gāḍhatva-śīthilatvayoḥ
krameṇāvasthānam* (ibid)

Jagannātha appears to take *āroha* and *avaroha* as synonymous respectively with *gāḍhatva* and *śīthilatva*, a position not on a par with that of Vāmana who takes *āroha* and *avaroha* to be particular aspects (*tīvrāvasthā*) of Ojas (*gāḍhatva*) and Prasāda (*śīthilatva*) respectively and not identical with them. He distinguishes Samādhi from Prasāda on the ground that while in the latter *gāḍhatva* and *śīthilya* appear alternately more than once (*vyutkrama*), in the former both appear only once, one being toned down or heightened by another.²⁰

the well known verse *śleṣaḥ Prasādaḥ* etc. of Daṇḍin (*Kāvyādarśa* I, 41) to whom, however, such an idea of the two-fold aspect of a Guṇa did not occur so clearly.

19. The Guṇa-Doctrine in Bharata. IHQ. Vol. VI, no. 2, p. 357.

20. *krama eva hi tayorḥ prasādād asya bhedaḥ, tatra hi tayor vyutkramena vṛtteḥ* (p. 58).

II. Artha-guṇas.

Vāmana

Jagannātha

- (1) Śleṣa :—*ghaṭanā* *kriyā-paramparāyā vidagdha-ceṣṭitasya tad-asphuṭatvasya tad-upapādaka-yukteṣ ca sāmānyādhikarāṇya-rūpaḥ saṁsargaḥ* (p. 59)

Jagannātha's definition would mean "identical association of an artful demeanour—its incongruity (lit. indistinctness) as well as a well-reasoned combination by means of a series of actions." Nāgeśa rightly reads *kriyā-paramparayā* instead of *paramparāyāḥ*. He refers to the too-well-known verse *ḍṛṣṭvaikāsana-saṁsthite priyatame* etc. (quoted in Vāmana, Abhinava and Bhoja) as an illustration. Vāmana's *ghaṭanā* we have already explained.^{20A} Jagannātha has probably given this definition purposely, in order that it might fit in with the sense of the verse in question.

- (2) Prasāda :—*artha-vaimalya yāvad-arthaka-padatva-rūpam artha*
(*prayojaka-mātra-* *-vaimalyam* (p. 59).
pada-parigraha)

- (3) Samatā :—*avaiṣamya prakramābhaṅgenārthaghaṭanātmakam*
=*(prakramābheda)* *avaiṣamyam* (ibid)²¹

- (4) Mādhurya :—*ukti-vaicitrya ekasyā evokteḥ punaḥ kathanāt-*
makam ukti-vaicitryam (ibid).

Gopendra Tripurahara, in his commentary on Vāmana (*vṛtti*, p. 92, Vāṇī-vilāsa Press edn.) takes this *ukti-vaicitrya* to mean *varṇyamā-nasyārthasya pratikarṣe pratipādye bhaṅgyantareṇoktiḥ*.....

20A. *IHQ* Vol. IX, no 4, pp. 844-45.

21. It should be carefully noted that Jagannātha's illustrative verse

hariḥ piṭā harir mātā harir bhrātā hariḥ suhṛt |

harim sarvatra paśyāmi harer anyan na bhāti me | |

is an example more of a *śabda-guṇa* than of an *artha-guṇa*. In Vāmana's illustrative verse, however, which deals with *ṛtu-sandhi* and which we have already discussed in its proper place, the Guṇa may rightly be said to belong to *artha*.

Jagannātha, following Mammaṭa, remarks in his *vṛtti* that but for this strikingness of utterance there would appear a fault²² called *anavikṛtatva* which the Pre-dhvani theorists call *ekārthatva* (useless repetition of the same expression). This *bhaṅgyantara-kathana* would not only keep the poem free from the fault mentioned above but also add a definite charm to it.

Vāmana

Jagannātha

(5) Sukumārā :—*apāruṣya*

*akāṇḍe śoka-dāyitrābhāva-rūpam
apāruṣyam* (p. 60).

Jagannātha (as also Gopendra Tripurahara in his commentary) considers the *Aślilatā-doṣa* to be a negation of this *Guṇa*. It may be noted that the *amaṅgala* variety of *Aślilatā-doṣa* specifically constitutes the corresponding fault.

(6) Arthavyakti :—*vastu-svabhāva* *vastuno varṇanīyasyaśādhārāṇa-
-sphuṭatva* *kriyā-rūpayor varṇanam* (ibid)

As before, Jagannātha follows Mammaṭa and states explicitly in his *vṛtti* that this *Guṇa* comes under the *Svabhāvokti Alamkāra* of the new school.

22. Jagannātha has not dealt separately with the concept of *Doṣa* except incidentally in connection with the *Guṇas* ; but he has given, after Ānanda-vardhana, a comprehensive treatment of the mutual contradiction of the *Rasas* (pp. 56-63). He has named two technical faults *anavikṛtatva* and *aślilatā* here in connection with his discussion of *Vāmana's* *Guṇas*, and these appear as opposites of the *Artha-guṇas* *Mādhurya* and *Sukumāratā*. Next, all sorts of faults that arise in connection with word-structure have been included by him under a single technical name *aśrava* (*evam ime sarve' pyaśravyabhedāḥ kāvya-sāmānye varjanīyāḥ* p. 69), Besides this, he has also referred to some other faults which are to be particularly discarded (*viśeṣato varjanīyāḥ*) inasmuch as they deal with structures which prove to be particularly detrimental to the realisation of *Rasa*. It will not be profitable for us to discuss these defects of structure in all their detail. We would do well only to remember that Jagannātha has generally followed his predecessors in the Post-dhvani school in his treatment of this section. It cannot be said with any amount of certainty whether the unfinished nature of Jagannātha's work was to any extent responsible for his omission of a separate treatment of the concept of *Doṣa*. His incidental reference to the *Doṣa* in connection with *Guṇa* and *Rasa* and his elaborate treatment of

Vāmana

Jagannātha

(7) Udāratā :—*agrāmyatva*

grāmyārtha-parihāra

(8) Ojas :—*arthasya praudhiḥ* (its five varieties have been already noted)^{22A}

ekasya padārthasya bahubhiḥ padair abhidhānam (ibid)

bahūnām caikena, tathaiḥkasya vāk्यārthasya bahubhir vāk-yaiḥ bahu-vāk्यārthasyaikavā-kyenābhidhānam, viśeṣaṇā-nām sāmhiprāyatvaṁ ceti pañcavidham ojaḥ, (ibid).

Jagannātha explains *sāmhiprāyatva* as *prkṛtārtha-poṣakatā* which is later on taken (after Mammaṭa) to be a negation of the fault *apuṣṭārtha* (use of unnecessary epithets).

(9) Kānti :—*dīptarasatva*

dīptarasatva (p. 62)

(10) Samādhi :—*arthadrṣṭi*

avarṇita-pūrvo'yam arthaḥ pūrva-varṇitacchāyo veti kaver ālocanam (ibid)

It is needless to mention that Jagannātha's definition is nothing but an elucidation of the two kinds of *artha* mentioned by Vāmana. Jagannātha, later on (p. 63), remarks in the name of Mammaṭa that the poet's consideration (*kaver ālocanam*) about the *artha*, being absolutely necessary in his production, need not be regarded as a separate Guṇa ; otherwise the poet's genius too would have to be regarded as such²³.

Rasa-virodha (pp. 46-53) prior to it make it probable that, like Ānanda-varadhana, Jagannātha did not think it necessary to treat the Doṣas very elaborately but considered the Rasa-doṣa (roughly *anaucitya*) to be the main factor disturbing the poetic effect.

22 A. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, p. 842.

23. *samādhis tu kavigataḥ kāvyasya kāraṇam, na tu guṇaḥ pratibhāyā api kāvya-guṇavāpattiḥ*. We have seen that Mammaṭa does not criticise the Guṇa exactly in this way, but it must be said that Jagannātha's criticism is quite an interesting and pertinent one,

Similarly, Jagannātha criticizes all the above Guṇas of Vāmana under the name and after the manner of Mammaṭa, ultimately admitting, like all Dhvani theorists, the existence of only three Guṇas on the basis of the mental conditions. It will be mere repetition to study here this criticism in detail, but we may present in a tabular form that all the above twenty Guṇas can, according to the new theorists, be ultimately resolved into three, including some under one of these and some under Rasadhvani or the Alāmkāras, and characterising others as mere *doṣābhāvas* or even positive *doṣas*. The *uktivaicitrya* need not be treated as a separate Guṇa since there may be innumerable varieties of strikingness in different poems according to the power of the poet.

GUṆAS.....INCLUDED UNDER.....OR TREATED AS.....

	New Guṇa	Rasadhvani or Alāmkāra.	Vaicitrya- mātra no Guṇa.	Mere Negation of the Doṣa.	Posi- tive Doṣa.
1. ŚLEṢA					
i. śabda	ojo- vyañjaka- ghaṭanā	...	...	...	...
ii. artha	...	...	vaicitrya- mātra	...	...
2. PRASĀDA					
i. śabda	prasāda- vyañjaka- ghaṭanā	...	...	...	...
ii. artha	...	...	...	adhika- padatva	...
3. SAMATĀ					
i. śabda	...	...	...	...	sometimes a veritable doṣa
ii. artha	...	...	...	vaiṣamya- doṣa	...

4. MĀDHURYA

i. śabda	mādhurya- vyañjaka- ghaṭanā	...	...	...	...
ii. artha	...	...	...	anavikṛtatva	...

5. SUKUMĀRATĀ

i. śabda	...	...	...	kaṣṭatva	..
ii. artha	...	...	...	amaṅgala- rūpāślila	..

6. ARTHA-VYAKTI

i. śabda	Prasāda	...	...	...	..
ii. artha	...	svabhāvokti	...	...	..

7. UDĀRATĀ

i. śabda	ojo- vyañjaka- ghaṭanā	...	...	...	...
ii. artha	...	...	...	grāmyatva	...

8. OJAS

i. śabda	ojo- vyañjaka- ghaṭanā	...	...	...	...
ii. artha	...	...	vaicitrya- mātra	apuṣṭārtha	...

9. KĀNTI

i. śabda	...	...	...	grāmyatva	...
ii. artha	...	Rasadhvani etc.	...	...	...

10. SAMĀDHI

i. śabda	ojo- vyañjaka- ghaṭanā	...	...	...	...
ii. artha	...	...	kāvya-kārāṇa	...	...

From all that has been said above it will be easily seen that the most important and original contribution of Jagannātha, so far as the concept of Guṇa is concerned, lies in his discussion about the substrata of this element. Otherwise he has accepted the teachings of the Dhvani theorists only with slight modification here and there. In spite of all his attempts to conceal his own views under the garb of reference to the teachings of the different theorists, one can clearly mark in him a leaning towards the position taken by his predecessors, *viz.* those of the Dhvani school. Thus, he has accepted the definition and character of individual Guṇas of the Dhvani theorists, but treated them in a different way to strengthen his own position. He has also adhered to the number and nomenclature of the mental conditions and has judged the Guṇas on the basis thereof. Then again, the Guṇa, in his theory, comes in the course of his treatment of the Rasas and that portion of chapter I which deals with the Guṇas and their structures ends with the remark : *iti saṃkṣepeṇa nirūpitā rasāḥ* (p. 74). This proves that, in spite of his widening the scope of the Guṇas, Jagannātha was unconsciously dragged into the position of the early Dhvani theorists in presenting the Guṇa as a subsidiary element. And lastly, his description of the letters (*varṇa*), composition (*racanā*) and structures (*nirmīti*) or (*gumpha*) as the suggestors (*vyañjaka*) of particular Guṇas²⁴ shows another clear instance of Mammaṭa's influence upon him. In the treatment of Mammaṭa, whose Guṇa resides in *śabda* and *artha* only secondarily²⁵, the relationship of *vyāṅgya* and *vyañjaka* between the Guṇa on the one hand and the *śabda*, *racanā*²⁶ etc., on the other is quite justified ; but in the case of Jagannātha who is an adherent

24. *vargasthānām pañcānām apyaviśeṣeṇa mādhuṛya-vyañjakatām āhuḥ* (p. 64) *bhagavadādhyañānu/sukṛtya śānta eva paryavasānāt tad-gatamādhuṛyasābhivyāñjikā racaneyam* (p. 64) *tat-tad-guṇa-vyañjana-kṣamāyā nirmīteḥ paricayaḥ varjanīyaḥ nirūpyate* (p. 66)

25. *mādhuṛyam tu pareṣām [vāmanādīnām prācīnānām] asmat [māmma-ṭabhaṭṭādy] abhyupagata-mādhuṛya-vyañjakam eva. evaṃ ca sarvatra vyañjake vyāṅgyaśabda-prāyogo bhāktāḥ* (p. 62).

26. *Proktāḥ śabda-guṇāḥ ca ye varṇāḥ samāso racanā teṣām vyañjakatām itaḥ.* (Kāvya prakāśa, Kārikā 98, p. 484).

of the theory of the Guṇa as a primary virtue of the *śabda*, such a procedure is absolutely unwarrantable. This, together with the more important position of Jagannātha regarding the question of the substrata of the Guṇas may be explained by the fact that he was trying to effect a synthesis of the views of the old school and those of the new by borrowing materials from both. This was to a great extent responsible for the curious combination and apparent contradiction.

But the real importance of Jagannātha's work does not lie in his treatment of the concept of Guṇa alone. It is true that he has generally been an adherent to the main teachings of the Dhvani theorists, but in spite of that, a careful observer would not fail to see that he displays a spirit of sturdy independence throughout his work. Thus, some of the well-established views of eminent theorists of the Dhvani school he dismisses unceremoniously as incapable of standing criticism; and even those that he accepts had to pass through the crucible of his strong scrutiny. He has a peculiar way of reproducing things in a forceful language, on account of which even long-accepted views appear to be newly set forth by him. This is traceable not only in his treatment of the Guṇas but also of the *Alaṃkāras* which constitute the greater portion of the present work (*Rasa-gaṅgādhara*) as well as the whole of his *Citrāmīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*.

Jagannātha tells us that he received his training at the feet of his father Perubhaṭṭa, who became a master of all the different branches of Hindu Philosophy²⁷. Jagannātha imbibed from him the spirit of an intensive scholarship, and quite naturally his knowledge of philosophical technicalities has crept in even in his works on *Alaṃkāra*. His involved language and his line of argument bear proofs of an inevitable influence of his deep study specially of *Nyāya* and *Vedānta* systems of Philosophy. But he appears to deviate from the traditional treatment of the *Śāstra* when he brings in the technicalities of Philosophy to establish his thesis. Thus, he argues, that the *ātman* being *nirguṇa* (without any attribute), Guṇas

27. *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* i, 3 ; *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 276 and P. V. Kane. (History of *Alaṃkāra* Literature in his Introduction to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. CXXXIII).

like Mādhurya etc., should not be attached to it, and that these Guṇas cannot even be properties of the *sathāyi-bhāvas* like *rati* which themselves serve as the differentiating characteristics of particular Rasas. For, in the first place, we must not forget that the propounders of the Rasa theory never understood the realisation of Rasa to be identical with the philosophical contemplation of Brahman but only analogous with it (*brahmāsvāda-sahodara*), and as such they must have considered the *ātman* of Kāvya to be distinct from the object of the Vedāntin's realisation. And, in the second place, the Dhvani theorists' treatment has left no scope for such a criticism, since the Guṇa, which, in their theory, represents the mental condition involved in the realisation of Rasa, has got nothing to do with the permanent mood (like *rati* etc.) unless and until this latter is raised to a state of relish through certain co-operation of the *vibhāvas* etc. Jagannātha completely overlooked the Dhavni theorists' analogy between the Kāvya and the human being. Otherwise he would not have missed their analogy between the Rasa possessing the Guṇas as its properties and the human soul possessing human virtues. And so far as the Rasa is concerned what appeared to be inconsistent in the eye of a Naiyāyika would not have been so from the view point of an Ālamkārika, to whom the enjoyment of the aesthetic bliss is beyond ordinary cannons of inconsistency and irregularity (cf. *alaukika-siddher bhūṣaṇam etat, na dūṣaṇam*). The study of Nyāya Philosophy sometimes tends to make the scholars concerned careless about broad facts and mindful about minute details. Jagannāth probably could not—as he could hardly be expected to—prove any exception.

But whatever objection might be raised against Jagannātha's twisting of language, his subtle distinctions and his habit of using philosophical technicalities in arguing a point, it must be admitted that the ultimate result which he thus arrives at (viz. that the Guṇa is a property of *śabda*, *artha*, *rasa* and *racanā* alike) is valuable since it makes out a strong case for a comprehensive conception of poerty, as he has done. As regards the allegations made against him we should bear in mind that the spirit of the age in which he flourished and the environment in which he was educated were to a great extent responsible for them. We know that Jagannātha

flourished at an age when linguistic precision and logical exposition were accepted as the ideal of scholarship ; and this naturally influenced not only Jagannātha and his work on poetics but all the different branches of Sanskrit learning. He argues like a true logician and expresses his ideas with force and dignity and presents his theory with a great amount of boldness and confidence—a character essentially required of all true scholars and honest thinkers. His manner of argument, in spite of all its defects, undoubtedly indicates what profound amount of thought he bestowed on the subject. And when the theories and principles of Poetics as established by the Dhvani school came to be finally established and widely accepted, casting into the background all earlier speculations, any further development of the Śāstra could, if it was at all to be expected, probably be brought about only by a reactionary of the type of Jagannātha.

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF LIGNIN.

PULIN BEHARI SARKAR.

In spite of the fact that scientific investigation on lignin began nearly a century ago (Payen, *Compt. rend.* 1838, 7, 1052, 1125) and since then, a large number of workers all over the world have engaged themselves to elucidate its nature, the constitution of lignin still remains unknown. The structural formulae advanced upto now are found to be highly speculative—not a single of them can explain all the experimental facts satisfactorily. We have no definite knowledge as regards the constituent groups present in the lignin molecule and such knowledge is obviously essential to arrive at its structure. Though all the common groups e.g. OH, CHO, OCH₃, CO, COOH, CH₃-CO etc. have been reported to occur in one lignin or another, yet surprisingly enough evidence is not unequivocal on the presence of such a reactive group as CHO.

It has been suggested by some investigators that carbohydrates particularly pentoses, are part and parcel of the lignin molecule, but this has met with much opposition. A good deal of controversy also exists regarding the molecular size of lignin. While Freudenberg *et al* (*Cellulosechemie.* 1931, 12, 263) and more recently Klason (Ber. 1934, 67, 302) consider that genuine wood-lignin has a very high molecular weight, Powell and Whittaker (*J.C.S.* 1924, 125, 357), Harries *et al* (*J. Am. Chem. Soc.* 1934, 56, 889), Rassow and Wagner (*Cellulosechemie.* 1932, 13, 109) amongst others hold that its mol. wt. lies near about 900.

Then again, there is diversity of opinion as regards its chemical nature; Klason (Ber. 1920, 53, 706, 1864), Heuser and Winsvold (*Cellulosechemie.* 1923, 4, 49), Freudenberg (Ber. 1929, 62, 1554), Herzog (Ber. 1929, 62, 1600), Häggglund (*Svensk Kem. Tidskn.* 1929, 41, 185) along with many others regard lignin as an aromatic substance with side-chains, but Strupp (*Cellulosechemie.* 1924, 5, 6) and others hold that lignin is hydro-aromatic in nature; while a third group of workers (Willstätter and co-worker, Ber. 1922, 55, 2637) maintain

that lignin is entirely aliphatic like cellulose and pentosans to which it is said to be structurally related. Then there is the fourth school of thought, represented chiefly by Jonas (*Z. angew. Chem.* 1921, 34, 289, 373) and Marcusson (*ibid.* 1921, 34, 437; 1922, 35, 165; 1923, 36, 42) who contend that lignin is neither aliphatic nor aromatic but is made up of furane nuclei.

It is therefore obvious that our knowledge of lignin chemistry is still rather amorphous and a good deal of clarification requires to be effected before our ideas become crystallised in the form of a definite chemical formula for the molecule. In a series of papers (Parts i-ix) already published by the author in the *Journal of the Indian Chemical Society*, several aspects of this complicated problem have been studied; in the present paper, we shall very briefly discuss the results we have so far obtained with jute-lignin in so far as they throw any light on its constitution.

The process of lignification being in all probability a continuous one, jute-lignin is expected to be much simpler in composition than wood-lignin as it exists in living plants not more than 5 months in all. This has been inferred from the facts that lignin from jute has a much lighter colour, being pale rosy, while wood-lignin is dark gray; it is dissolved by ClO_2 practically without leaving any residue; while in the case of wood-lignin it is not so. Thirdly, it is acted upon by fused potash at a much lower temperature (200°) than wood-lignin, and lastly, the amount of HCHO obtained from jute-lignin is appreciably higher than from wood-lignin, (as will be shown later on) showing that it has a lower mol. wt. than the latter. Jute is free from nitrogenous matter and has but little ash-content, these cannot therefore contaminate the lignin obtained from jute. For the above mentioned reasons, jute-lignin is an ideal sample to start with.

By a comparative study of the different methods of isolation, it has been shown by the author (*J. Indian Chem. Soc.* 1931, 7, 397) that HCl -method is the best. By a modification of this method, a sample of lignin has been obtained from jute, which is not substantially different from the natural product as regards its colour, the absence of acetyl group, the presence of iodoform- and carbon dioxide-yielding complexes, its methoxyl-content, absence of furfuraldehyde-yielding component etc,

CARBOHYDRATES AS CONSTITUENT PART OF LIGNIN :

The fact that Willstätter-lignin from spruce wood gave arabinose when boiled with 3% HCl, led Hägglund (Ber. 1923, 56, 1866) to propound the hypothesis that pentosans or furfuraldehyde-yielding bodies are part and parcel of the lignin molecule. According to Schmidt (Ber. 1925, 58, 1394) lignin is a compound of an aromatic body with not only pentosans but also hexosans. During delignification by ClO_2 , these sugars are removed along with 'lignin'.

HCl-lignin from jute prepared in the usual way gave traces of furfural (aniline-acetate test), on distillation with 12% HCl, but lignin prepared and purified according to the modified method of the author gave no trace of it. Jute-lignin prepared by the HCl-method is a spongy mass and as such it tenaciously retains a fraction of the sugars by absorption, which can only be removed by prolonged boiling with water under reflux for 2-3 days. This fact shows that pectin or hemi-celluloses are no constituent part of lignin. The presence of furfural-yielding complex in lignin appears to be due either to incomplete hydrolysis of the plant material or to imperfect purification of the lignin even if the hydrolysis be complete.

Secondly, when due allowance is made for the insoluble phloroglucide of HCHO (split off from the $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group), the discrepancy between the furfural values of raw and delignified jute practically disappears, showing thereby that lignin should give no furfural on acid distillation, and none is actually found. The ultra-violet absorption spectra of lignin and its derivatives by Herzog and Hillmer (Ber. 1927, 60, 365; 1931, 64, 1288) indicate that lignin is composed of benzene rings with side-chains of 3 carbon atoms, which are saturated. It is therefore in disagreement with Schmidt's view regarding the composition of lignin. No sugar has yet been detected in the degradation products of lignin to justify the hypothesis that carbohydrates are component parts of lignin, which therefore must be discarded,

BASIC COMPOSITION OF LIGNIN :

From a careful study of the literature on lignin it would appear that all lignins have the same basic composition. Before any definite formula can be assigned to lignin, it is essentially necessary to establish the identity of the basic structure of different lignins. That jute-lignin does not differ fundamentally from various other lignins will be evident from the following :—

(a) By potash fusion, jute-lignin gave the same decomposition products as with other lignins *viz.* oxalic and butyric acids, pyrocatechol, protocatechuic acid and the so-called lignic acid.

(b) By the action of nitric acid, oxalic acid and a nitro-product of indefinite composition were obtained from jute-lignin as from wood-lignins.

(c) By chlorination, a yellow chloro-compound is obtained from all lignins, the percentage of Cl however somewhat varied perhaps owing to the difference in the experimental procedure. It is a case of substitution rather than addition in all cases. The mol. wt. of chloro-lignin from jute as determined by the author was very approximately the same as found by Waentig (Z. angew. Chem. 1928, 41, 977, 1001).

(d) As regards the constituent groups, OCH_3 , OH , $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ etc, they are all found in every sample. Double bond and acetyl group seem to be absent, and the iodoform-and carbon dioxide-yielding complexes are present in jute-lignin as also in other lignins.

AROMATIC NATURE OF LIGNIN :

There is considerable difference of opinion amongst workers on lignin as to whether it is aliphatic, aromatic or heterocyclic. An overwhelming majority of experimental evidences show that lignin contains the benzene nucleus. Apart from the results of chemical examination of lignin, we have in our support the physical data from the study of ultra-violet absorption spectra which

indicate a benzenoid structure for lignin. With jute-lignin the following evidences have been obtained :—

(a) By potash fusion of jute-lignin, protocatechuic acid (maximum yield 13.87%) and pyrocatechol (3.84%) were found as the decomposition products. Delignified jute under the circumstances gave no aromatic products.

(b) When HCHO is split off from jute-lignin, the resulting products dissolve completely in dilute caustic alkalis, though the original lignin is insoluble in them. This indicates that free phenolic groups have been formed and that the $\text{O}-\text{CH}_2-\text{O}$ is linked to the benzene ring. The dark colour of the residue left also indicates its di-phenolic character.

(c) The reducing action of jute-lignin has been found to be due to the loss of HCHO from the $\text{O}-\text{CH}_2-\text{O}$ group and consequent appearance of two OH groups in the ortho-position, just as in the case of pyrocatechol. Two adjacent OH groups attached to an aliphatic compound do not behave like this. Moreover, the reducing property disappears on methylation, acetylation and methylenation of the residue left after all the HCHO has been expelled from lignin.

(d) It has been found that substituents like Cl, Br, and NO_2 , in the ring make the phenols comparatively more stable towards ClO_2 . Since chloro-, bromo- and nitro-lignins behave in a similar manner, it may be inferred that these substituents, at least in part, enter the benzene ring when lignin is chlorinated, brominated or nitrated. The fact that lignin and its derivatives are very susceptible to the action of ClO_2 , also indicates its aromatic nature.

(e) During numerous estimations of OCH_3 , according to Zeisel's method, it has been observed that in the case of jute-lignin CH_3I always first appeared at $92^\circ\text{--}93^\circ$. In the cases of vanillin and vanillic acid as well the same phenomenon was noticed. This striking similarity lends support to the view that vanillin residue is present in lignin, or in any case, OCH_3 is linked to the benzene ring.

(f) The amount of oxalic acid (38.1%) obtained from jute-lignin by oxidation with nitric acid, does not support the sugar

structure, in view of the fact that protocatechuic acid and pyrocatechol (which are present in lignin) as well gave oxalic acid under such circumstances as observed by the author.

(g) Jute-lignin gave no furfural or its derivatives, nor any levulinic acid (obtainable from hexoses) on distillation with mineral acids.

(h) Delignified jute (which is practically all carbohydrate) gave no aromatic product on potash fusion.

(i) No sugar—pentose or hexose—could be detected in any of the decomposition products of jute-lignin.

DI-OXY-METHYLENE GROUP IN LIGNIN :

The controversy regarding the presence of this group in lignin is a recent one. It is highly important to decide this question before assigning any definite structure to lignin as in no constitutional formula so far advanced, except that by Freudenberg (*Cellulosechemie* 1931, 12, 263) there is provision for this group. The following facts will prove its presence :—

(a) Formaldehyde has been obtained from lignins prepared from five ligno-celluloses viz. jute, bamboo, rice-straw, cocoanut fibre and teak wood, by distilling with 12% HCl. The $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group from which in all probability it comes, is thus a common constituent of lignin.

(b) The presence of $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group in lignin and consequent appearance of two adjacent phenolic OH groups by acid treatment (when HCHO is partially or wholly split off) adequately explains the reducing property of ordinary lignin and also of the residue left when pure lignin (which does not reduce) is distilled with acids. Also, the fact that this residue loses its reducing property on methylation or acetylation, can thus be accounted for.

(c) The difference between the furfural values (as phloroglucide) between raw and delignified jute, bamboo, and cocoanut fibre can be properly explained, as HCHO which is split off during pentosan estimation, also gives an insoluble condensation product with phloroglucinol just like furfural.

(d) Purified lignin, which is insoluble in NaOH, is distilled with 28% sulphuric acid until all the HCHO is expelled: the residue has practically the same methoxyl value, showing thereby that no phenolic group has been formed owing to the removal of OCH_3 groups. But the same residue dissolves completely in dilute NaOH, which indicates the existence of phenolic groups. Loss of HCHO from the $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group explains this satisfactorily.

(e) The residue obtained after removing all the HCHO from lignin, has been methylenated with CH_2I_2 and KOH to give a product which again gives practically the same amount of HCHO as the original lignin. This was insoluble in dilute NaOH and no longer reduced Fehling's solution. These facts prove directly and conclusively the presence of the $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group in lignin.

(f) By treating the dry residue left after removing all the HCHO from jute-lignin, with acetone and P_2O_5 at $8^\circ\text{-}10^\circ$, a light coloured product was obtained, which was no more soluble in caustic alkalis and did not reduce Fehling's solution.

THE PRESENCE OF CARBOXYL GROUP IN LIGNIN

It was observed by the author that HCl-lignin from jute gave carbon dioxide on boiling with 12% HCl but no furfural. Purified chloro-lignin behaved similarly. This suggests the presence of a COOH group in lignin possibly with a negative group in the α -position, for it is well known that such organic acids yield CO_2 more or less readily when heated alone or with acids. It is worth while to note that the liberation of CO_2 from such acids is scarcely quantitative. The percentage is higher in the chloro-derivative than in lignin itself. It may be explained on the assumption that some of the Cl atoms enter the side-chain as well and the substitution by the negative element Cl makes the COOH group of the side-chain to part with its CO_2 more easily. Evolution of HCl when chloro-lignin is heated ($135^\circ\text{-}140^\circ$) or loss of HCl by dilute alkali treatment, seems to support the latter view as chlorine in the benzene ring is never removed under such conditions.

Attempts were made to esterify this COOH with dimethyl sulphate and KOH, other methods failing; but methylated lignin

(OH groups being simultaneously methylated) formed a tarry product which could not be purified without taking recourse to alkali boiling, in which process the ester was completely hydrolysed—the purified product had the same OCH_3 value even after acid boiling or treatment with alcoholic potash.

THE REDUCING ACTION OF LIGNIN

Jute-lignin prepared in the usual way, like lignins from various other sources, has been found to reduce Fehling's solution. This has been explained by assuming an aldehyde group in lignin. Fries (Ber, 1929, 62, 2538) considers it to be due to traces of sugars present in lignin. The author holds that the reducing action of lignin is due to two OH groups attached to the benzene ring in the ortho-position and that no CHO group is present in lignin. The following facts lead to this conclusion :—

(a) Lignin obtained from jute in the ordinary way with 42% HCl reduces Fehling's solution readily. When it is separated at low temperature, the reducing action is much diminished. Again when this is washed with dilute caustic soda until the washings are colourless, the insoluble fraction has no reducing property at all; but the filtrate reduces Fehling's solution very readily. It has been shown that the lower the yield of HCHO obtainable from jute-lignin, the greater the reducing action. The longer the lignin remains in contact with the strong acids, and the higher the temperature to which it is exposed, the stronger the reducing property in the lignin so isolated.

(b) When all the HCHO is expelled from the lignin by boiling with 28% H_2SO_4 , the residue (R) shows strong reducing property though the original lignin did not reduce Fehling's solution. If this residue is methylenated with CH_2I_2 and KOH the reducing property disappears altogether.

(c) When the residue (R) is exhaustively methylated with dimethyl sulphate and alkali, the product obtained no longer reduces Fehling's solution.

(d) When the residue (R) is acetylated with acetic anhydride and pyridine, to its maximum acetyl content, the product does not reduce ammoniacal solution of silver nitrate.

(e) Ordinary jute-lignin completely freed from adhering sugars by repeated boiling with water under reflux until the filtrate no longer reduced Fehling's solution, reduced Fehling's solution as before, this reducing action being due to two hydroxyl groups in ortho-position formed during isolation of lignin.

THE QUESTION OF DOUBLE BOND

The presence of double bond in lignin is still a matter of dispute. To explain the formation of rather stable ligno-sulphonic acids, Klason (Ber. 1920, 53, 705, 1862, 1864) assumed an ethylene linkage in lignin. Many other investigators are in favour of a double bond in the side-chain though from the study of the absorption spectra Herzog and Hillmer (Ber. 1927, 60, 365, Ber. 1931, 64, 1288) conclude that the side-chains are saturated. Freudenberg and co-workers (Ber. 1929, 62, 1554) consider the bromination of pine-wood lignin as substitution but they appear to have presented no quantitative data.

In the case of jute-lignin this question has been decided by estimating simultaneously the HCl evolved as well as the chlorine entering the lignin molecule. Separated lignin in aqueous suspension as also moist raw jute itself, was treated with chlorine, and the ratio, Cl combined to Cl evolved as HCl was found to be considerably higher—(about 1:3). In carbontetrachloride medium, separated lignin was chlorinated and the ratio was found to be very approximately equal to 1:1. This was independent of time and temperature of chlorination. These results prove that the side-chain in jute-lignin is saturated.

Secondly, in the presence of metallic palladium, jute-lignin absorbed no hydrogen. This would indicate the absence of an ethylenic linkage in jute-lignin.

Thirdly, attempts were made to determine the iodine value of jute-lignin in the usual way with ICl and IBr. There was slight absorption of these reagents but this does not show the presence of a double bond in view of the fact that saturated aromatic compounds like phenol and anisol (but not benzene or benzoic acid) also behaved like lignin.

It is therefore concluded that jute-lignin is a saturated compound.

THE NATURE OF THE ALKYLOXYL GROUPS :

The following facts are worth consideration regarding these groups in jute-lignin :

(a) By absorbing the alkyl iodide (in Zeisel's apparatus for methoxyl determination) in dimethyl aniline, only trimethyl phenyl ammonium iodide was identified, this shows that only methoxyl groups are present in lignin.

(b) On boiling jute-lignin with 28% sulphuric acid or with alcoholic caustic potash under reflux, the methoxyl value remained remarkably unchanged. Thus, all methoxyl groups are linked in the form of ether.

(c) The temperature at which CH_3I was first formed from jute-lignin during methoxyl determination by Zeisel's method, was always found to be 92° - 93° , at which vanillin or vanillic acid also gave CH_3I ; it is inferred that the methoxyl groups are attached to the benzene ring, possibly as vanillin residue.

(d) During isolation of lignin from jute in the ordinary way by 42% HCl there was a slight loss (1.96%) of methoxyl, but carefully separated jute-lignin contained all the methoxyl groups (19.18%) present in natural lignin.

(e) Assuming the molecular weight of jute-lignin to be 830, (for which there are sufficient grounds) this methoxyl value of 19.18% indicates that there are 5 OCH_3 groups in the lignin molecule.

ACETYL GROUPS IN LIGNIN :

The fact that wood and similar other lignified materials when distilled with mineral acids give acetic acid has caused several investigators to assume that lignin contains acetyl groups. This is still an unsettled fact in as much as no lignin preparation upto now has been found to yield acetic acid under similar conditions. According to Jonas (Papier Fabrikant 1928, 26, 221) acetyl group is split off from lignin by very strong HCl during isolation even in the cold. He therefore includes an acetyl group in his modification of Schrauth's formula for lignin. Heuser (Paper Trade J. 1930, 88, 75) also considers the acetyl group as characteristic of lignin.

To decide if natural jute-lignin at all contains any acetyl group, acetic acid has been estimated in purified raw jute and in jute delignified by ClO_2 , without of course previously boiling with 1% KOH for one hour, which process facilitates delignification. It has been observed that all the acetyl groups present in raw jute are present in the delignified jute. This unmistakably indicates that lignin native in jute contains no acetyl group.

Acetic acid from delignified jute appears in all probability to be due to the pectin matter present in jute. That pectin contains acetyl groups has been pointed out by many investigators (Fuchs. *Die Chemie des Lignins*. 1926. p234). In support of the view that lignin contains no acetyl group, may be mentioned a more recent observation by Ritter and Kurth (*Ind. Eng. Chem.* 1933, 25, 1250) who have just separated lignin leaving all the acetic acid of the original wood in the carbohydrate portion. The view of Pringsheim and Mangus (*Z. physiol. Chem.* 1919, 105, 179) that the whole of the acetic acid in wood is derived from lignin, is not therefore justified. Also their view that the dark colour of lignin is due to the loss of acetyl groups cannot therefore stand.

THE ACTION OF CHLORINE ON LIGNIN :

The chloro-compounds prepared from separated jute-lignin and from jute directly, have been found to be practically identical. When HCl-lignin was chlorinated at 60° for four hours the maximum Cl-content was 17.6%. This was also the case when chlorination was done with catalysts like iodine, ferric chloride or antimony trichloride. When chloro-lignin with a chlorine content of 25.8% of Cl (obtained by chlorination at room temperature) was dissolved in dilute caustic soda and then precipitated with mineral acids, a compound with 17.71% of Cl was obtained. Again, when the same derivative (with 25.8% of Cl) was heated to 135° - 140° until there was no more evolution of HCl, the compound that was left behind had a chlorine content of 17.80%. Lastly, when it was re-chlorinated in glacial acetic acid the percentage of Cl rose up from 25.8 to 32.70. No chloro-compound gave any product of the type of mairagallol and leucogallol as found by Cross and Bevan.

If the mol. wt. of jute-lignin be taken to be 816 the mechanism of chlorination can be satisfactorily explained. Under ordinary conditions, 25.8% of Cl in the chloro-lignin means 8 Cl atoms enter the molecule to give $C_xH_{y-8}O_zCl_8$. On being heated to 135°-140°, or treated with dilute caustic alkalis in the cold, 3 atoms of chlorine are lost as HCl, to leave behind a compound with 5 atoms of Cl in the molecule i.e. $C_xH_{y-11}O_zCl_5$. (with 17.7% of Cl) and during chlorination of lignin at 60° or with catalysts, the same product results. On re-chlorination, the original compound gives a product with 11 atoms of Cl, *viz.* $C_xH_{y-11}O_zCl_{11}$ (with 32.7% of Cl). The methoxyl value as well can be explained similarly. Two methoxyl groups are present in chloro-lignin which means 5.67% of OCH_3 , while actually 5.61% has been found.

This view is supported by the fact that the mol. wt. of chloro-lignin with 25.8% of Cl, has been found to be 1080 in phenol by the cryoscopic method; the theoretical value is 1090. By the boiling point method Waentig (Z. angew. Chem. 1928, 41, 1001) obtained a similar figure for chloro-lignin from straw.

THE NATURE OF THE HYDROXYL GROUPS :

The presence of OH groups in lignin has been definitely established, but opinion seems to be divided as to whether they are all alcoholic, or both alcoholic and phenolic in nature. The behaviour of some organic compounds with one or two free phenolic groups towards ClO_2 , has been utilised by Schmidt and co-workers (Ber. 1925, 58, 1394) as an argument for assuming the presence of free phenolic groups in lignin which behaves in a similar manner.

A larger number of phenolic compounds have been studied by the author and it has been found that all of them are readily decomposed by ClO_2 ; but when these phenolic groups are protected either by acetylation or methylation, the resulting products also react with ClO_2 , though less readily. Acetylated or methylated lignin behaves similarly. As lignin contains more than one OCH_3 group attached to the benzene ring, it is obvious that the fact that it is acted upon by ClO_2 does not in any way prove the existence of any free aromatic OH in the molecule.

The fact that diazomethane methylates approximately one (0.9) OH in lignin with a mol. wt. of 820, (Freudenberg and Hess, Ann. 1926, 448, 121 ; Fuchs and Horn, Ber. 1929, 62, 1691) cannot prove the existence of free phenolic group in lignin, as diazomethane reacts, although sluggishly, with alcoholic OH groups as well, particularly in high molecular substances like starch and cellulose. Carefully prepared jute-lignin has been found to be insoluble in caustic alkalis—in which it dissolves when the $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group is wholly lost. It therefore appears unlikely that jute-lignin contains any free phenolic group.

Methylation of lignin prepared in the ordinary way cannot give any accurate information as to how many OH groups are present in natural lignin, as new OH groups are always set free unless special precautions are taken, by the partial decomposition of the $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group. As a matter of fact a higher methoxyl value (36.21%) has been obtained by methylating ordinary HCl-lignin, than in the case of pure jute-lignin separated at low temperature and washed with dilute NaOH at room temperature (34.51%). During methylation with dimethyl sulphate and alkali below 26° , the $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group remained in tact.

It has been mentioned above that if 830 be accepted as the mol. wt. of jute-lignin, 19.18% OCH_3 in the pure lignin means 5 OCH_3 groups in the molecule. And 34.51% methoxyl in the fully methylated lignin indicates 10 OCH_3 groups in all, 5 additional OCH_3 have therefore entered into the original lignin.

By acetylation of jute-lignin, similar results have been obtained—a higher amount of acetic acid (31-32%) was found in the acetylated lignin isolated in the usual way, while fully acetylated purified lignin (isolated at low temperature) gave 29.45% of acetic acid. The latter figure only corroborates the conclusions arrived at by methylation of jute-lignin—viz. that 5 OH groups have been acetylated on the assumption that jute-lignin has a mol. wt. of 830.

As free phenolic groups do not appear to be present in lignin, it is obvious that all these 5 OH groups are alcoholic in nature, i. e. they are all in the side-chain. It may be mentioned

here that on boiling the fully methylated product with 28% sulphuric acid or alcoholic caustic potash under reflux, for 3-4 hours, the methoxyl value remained remarkably constant showing thereby their ether linkage.

THE MOLECULAR SIZE OF JUTE-LIGNIN :

Until recently, workers in the field of lignin chemistry were practically unanimous regarding the molecular size of lignin—its mol. wt. was considered to lie near about 800. Experimental data on molecular weight determinations supported this view (Fuchs, *Die Chemie des Lignins*, 1926, p. 178). As a matter of fact, many of the analytical data can be explained on this basis. Freudenberg and Hess (loc. cit.) explained the methylation of pine-wood lignin with diazomethane taking 820 as the mol. wt. of lignin. Fuchs and Horn (loc. cit.) from their analytical results, on acetylated pine-wood lignin arrived at the value 804. Klason (*Arkiv. Kemi. Geo.* 1927, 6, pt. 15. 7) studied ligno-sulphonic acid from spruce wood and determined the mol. wt. of the original lignin as 714.

Freudenberg seems to be the first to express the opinion later on that lignin has a high molecular weight. (2176). (cf. *Cellulose-chemie* 1931, 12, 263). His conception appears to depend primarily on the small yield of formaldehyde (1.2%) obtained from pine-wood lignin prepared according to his method. Klason too has very recently changed his former views and holds that the mol. wt. of lignin must at least be 3640 (*Ber.* 1934. 67, 302). But save and except these two veteran investigators, the view is generally held that the molecular weight of lignin cannot be higher than 900. (cf. Brauns and Hibbert, *J. Am. Chem. Soc.* 1933, 55, 4720; Rassow and Wagner, *Cellulosechemie.* 1932, 13, 109).

The method of potash fusion being too drastic, quantitative yield of aromatic products cannot be expected even when the fusion is done under the mildest and the most favourable conditions. Hence, potash fusion data on jute-lignin can furnish no definite information as regards its molecular size. As has already been mentioned, the highest yield of formaldehyde from jute-lignin has been 2.78%. On the assumption that this represents only 77.6%

of theory, (as with piperonylic acid) and also that only one $\text{O-CH}_3\text{-O}$ group is present in lignin, its molecular weight comes to 830, which is in fair agreement with those obtained by other investigators. In support of the high yield of HCHO from jute-lignin it may be mentioned that very recently Harries *et al* (J. Am. Chem. Soc. 1934, 54, 889) have found 1.6% of HCHO in maple wood lignin; it is not mentioned whether they took all possible precautions to prevent the loss of HCHO during isolation, for they used 72% sulphuric acid, which has been found to destroy much of the dioxymethylene group in the case of jute-lignin.

Secondly, as has been pointed out, the molecular weight of chloro-lignin (with 25.8% of Cl) was found in phenol to be 1080, whence the molecular weight of lignin roughly comes to 816. The mechanism of chlorination has been satisfactorily explained on this basis. This is also in agreement with Waentig's results with straw lignin.

Thirdly, pure jute-lignin has 19.18% OCH_3 , which means 5 methoxyl groups are present in a mol. wt. of 830. On exhaustive methylation, 34.51% was the final methoxyl value reached, which figure shows that 5 additional OCH_3 groups have entered the lignin molecule, or in other words, lignin has 5 OCH_3 and 5 OH groups. This strikingly constant simple ratio of OH to OCH_3 tends to indicate that the mol. wt. of jute-lignin is 830, or very nearly this figure.

Lastly, by acetylation of pure lignin 29.45% acetic acid was obtained from the fully acetylated product. This again shows that 5 acetyl groups have entered the molecule of 830, which figure therefore represents in all probability the real mol. wt. of jute-lignin.

SUMMARY

(i) Jute-lignin appears to be a less complex substance than wood-lignin as it exists for a very short period in the living plant. Its colour, the action of ClO_2 and of fused KOH on it, and its low mol. wt. support this view.

(ii) Carbohydrates—pentosans or hexosans—are no parts of the lignin molecule.

(iii) The jute-lignin that has been investigated represents the natural lignin in most respects—*viz.* OCH_3 , OH , $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ groups, absence of acetyl group, presence of CO_2 - and iodoform-yielding complexes etc.

(iv) The basic composition of jute-lignin is the same as that of other lignins and so it is not essentially different from them.

(v) Jute-lignin is aromatic in nature, and not aliphatic nor structurally related to carbohydrates.

(vi) The dioxymethylene group appears to be a common constituent of lignin. The presence of this group in jute-lignin has been established by removal of this group and re-methylenating it.

(vii) The dark colour of jute-lignin prepared in the usual way seems to be due to two OH groups in the ortho-position set free during the isolation of lignin.

(viii) Jute-lignin appears to contain a COOH group with a negative radical in the α -position.

(ix) Jute-lignin contains no ethylenic double bond.

(x) The alkyloxy groups in jute-lignin are all methoxyl. They are all linked in the form of ether.

(xi) Jute-lignin contains no acetyl group.

(xii) Chloro-lignin from jute parts with 3 atoms of Cl as HCl , when heated to $135^\circ\text{-}140^\circ$. Also, on treating with dilute alkali, 3 Cl atoms are lost as HCl . At 60° or with catalysts, chlorolignin formed has 3 Cl atoms less than under usual circumstances.

(xiii) The mechanism of chlorination can be explained satisfactorily on the assumption that jute-lignin has a mol. wt. of 816, which figure is also obtained from the mol. wt. determination of chloro-lignin in phenol.

(xiv) All the OH groups in lignin are alcoholic in nature, and no free phenolic group seems to be present.

(xv) The mol. wt. of lignin lies near about 830. This figure is reached from the HCHO value, assuming that only one $\text{O-CH}_2\text{-O}$ group is present in lignin.

(xvi) The formation of butyric acid on potash fusion of jute-lignin indicates the presence of a side-chain with 4 carbon atoms.

(xvii) From methylation of lignin as also from acetylation, it is found that jute-lignin has 5 OH groups in a molecule of 830.

(xviii) The methoxyl value of 19.18% in pure lignin shows the presence of 5 OCH_3 groups in natural lignin. The OH, OCH_3 , and $\text{O-CH}_3\text{-O}$ are all in simple ratio if 830 be accepted as the mol. wt. of jute-lignin.

(xix) Jute-lignin gives no mellitic acid on oxidation with nitric acid. The highest yield of oxalic acid is 39.1%, which may at least partially result from the pyrocatechol residue which is present in lignin. Oxidation of methylated lignin with HNO_3 (5N) failed to give any anisic acid.

(xx) Lignin insoluble in alkali becomes soluble as soon as free OH groups are liberated from the dioxymethylene group. This shows the absence of free OH groups in genuine lignin.

(xxi) The action of ClO_2 on lignin cannot be used as an argument for assuming the presence of free phenolic groups in lignin, as acetylated or methylated phenols are also attacked by this reagent.*

* My hearty thanks are due to my teachers Dr. J. K. Chowdhury and Dr. J. C. Ghosh for their kind and sympathetic encouragement for the last six years and also for offering me extraordinary facilities for work in the laboratory.

EDITORIAL NOTES

"The Dacca University Studies" owes its existence to the desire of the University of Dacca to provide a handy and compact medium for the publication of articles embodying researches carried on by its members. At present, they contribute articles to learned magazines and periodicals in India and abroad ; while it is not desirable to discourage this practice altogether, it is felt that the University ought to have a publication of its own which will encourage and co-ordinate research work in the University. The Executive Council of the University has laid down :

"(a) All contributions to *"The Dacca University Studies"* should either contain new facts or new interpretations of old facts, and should have a permanent value. Current controversial topics are to be avoided.

(b) Only contributions by the staff and students of the University should be accepted for publication.

(c) There should be, ordinarily, two issues of the *Studies* during each academic session."

The subjects to which articles belong have been classified in the alphabetical order and all articles have been arranged accordingly.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

1. *Allahabad University Studies*

Vol. XI (Arts and Sciences), 1935.

2. *Journal for the University of Bombay*

January, March, May, and July 1935 (Vols. III, Parts IV, V, VI, and Vol. IV, part I).

3. *Journal of the Madras University*

(July, 1935, Vol. VII, No. 2).

4. *The Half Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*

Mysore University, 1933 and 1934 (Vol. VII No. 2).

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(Formerly Editor, 'The New Era')

Madras
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Vol. III, No. 1

Jan-Feb
1930

*Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul,
and the visions of early youth, for they are a
perfume of Paradise which the soul retains in
issuing from the hands of its Creator.*

MAZZINI.

‘TRIVENI’ AND ‘THE NEW ERA’

We are glad to be able to announce that ‘The New Era’ has been merged in ‘Triveni’. We hope that this result will meet with the approval of the friends of both the magazines. Though these two journals were living separate, it must have been apparent to many that there was much that was common to both. No doubt each had its special features, and no journal need be born if it has nothing special to propagate. But in the combined effort, an attempt will be made to bring out the best features of both. The fortunes of serious journalism in our country are exceptionally precarious, and united they could look forward to a stabler and more prosperous career than while single. We appeal to our friends and subscribers to evince in the combined venture the same interest and sympathy they were pleased to extend to the two journals separately.

M. S. CHELAPATI,

Editor, ‘The New Era’

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO,

Editor, ‘Triveni’

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Tributes to 'Triveni'

'Triveni' issued from Madras, for the last two years or so, under the Editorship of a rising and highly qualified Andhra journalist, Mr. K. Ramakotiswara Rao, B.A., B.L., deserves prominent mention and a very wide appreciation. It justly claims to be the organ of the Indian Renaissance movement, especially in the Southern provinces and States. It is produced as a Magazine of Indian Art, so far as its get-up and illustrations are concerned. As regards its contents, they are rich in covering a wide range in the cultural sphere of activities, and its articles (which are generally written by experts and specialists) should appeal to all lovers of Indian progress, more particularly in Literature, Philosophy and Art, though other activities are also surveyed, from time to time, by competent writers. We hope that it will be possible for its talented Editor to convert, in due course, 'Triveni' into a monthly. But as that is for time to come, we earnestly hope that the efforts of its energetic Editor to keep up his excellent periodical as a bi-monthly will receive at the hands of the educated public, especially in Southern India, that generous response which it richly merits as the exponent of all that is best and noblest alike in ancient and modern Indian culture.

SACCHIDANANDA SINHA, BAR-AT-LAW,
Editor, *The Hindustan Review*.

I am greatly attracted by your Magazine, both by its get-up and the matter it contains. I congratulate you on it.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,

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Corrections

Page 69 line 13, for *inverted* read *inserted*.
 „ 72 „ 13, for *cuncuma* read *curcuma*.

The 'Triple Stream'

The gift of pre-vision is denied to most of us, and we ought to be thankful for the denial. If, in December 1927, I had foreseen even a fraction of the suffering that 'Triveni' was destined to cause its Editor, this frail bark would never have been launched. But having once launched it, I am bound to keep it afloat. The task is much beyond my resources, financial and otherwise. I have oftentimes felt like the parent blessed with a child 'divinely fair' but not having the wherewithal to nourish it. But help has always come to me from the most unexpected quarters, and at moments when even my unreasoning optimism was yielding place to despair. I am constantly reminded of Gandhiji's touching words: "God helps when one feels oneself humbler than the very dust under one's feet. Only to the weak and helpless is divine succour vouchsafed." Verily doth He temper the wind to the shorn lamb!

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"What does the name 'Triveni' signify?" ask friends interested in the Journal. But the name, like the whole scheme of the Journal, came to me in a flash, and I adopted it since it sounded so beautiful. Then I sought to interpret it as Art, Literature and History, the three streams of culture that flow through our pages, or, in the alternative, as Love, Wisdom and Power, the three attributes of Divinity. But the merging of 'The New Era' in 'Triveni' and the invaluable help rendered—though unofficially—by the promoters of 'Ananda'¹ have yielded a new meaning. For, if 'The New Era' is like the Jumna that mingles its waters with the Ganges at Allahabad, 'Ananda' is the Saraswati which flows unseen but yet is a life-giving element of the 'Triple Stream' of the 'Triveni'.

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Under the new arrangements, there will be no Associate Editors, but I am sure that my old colleagues will work for the Journal with their wonted zeal. Mr. M. S. Chelapati, the young and talented Editor of 'The New Era', has very generously offered to co-operate with me. Professors S. Radhakrishnan and K. T. Shah have honoured me by agreeing to serve on the Advisory Board. Mr. C. Jinarajadasa

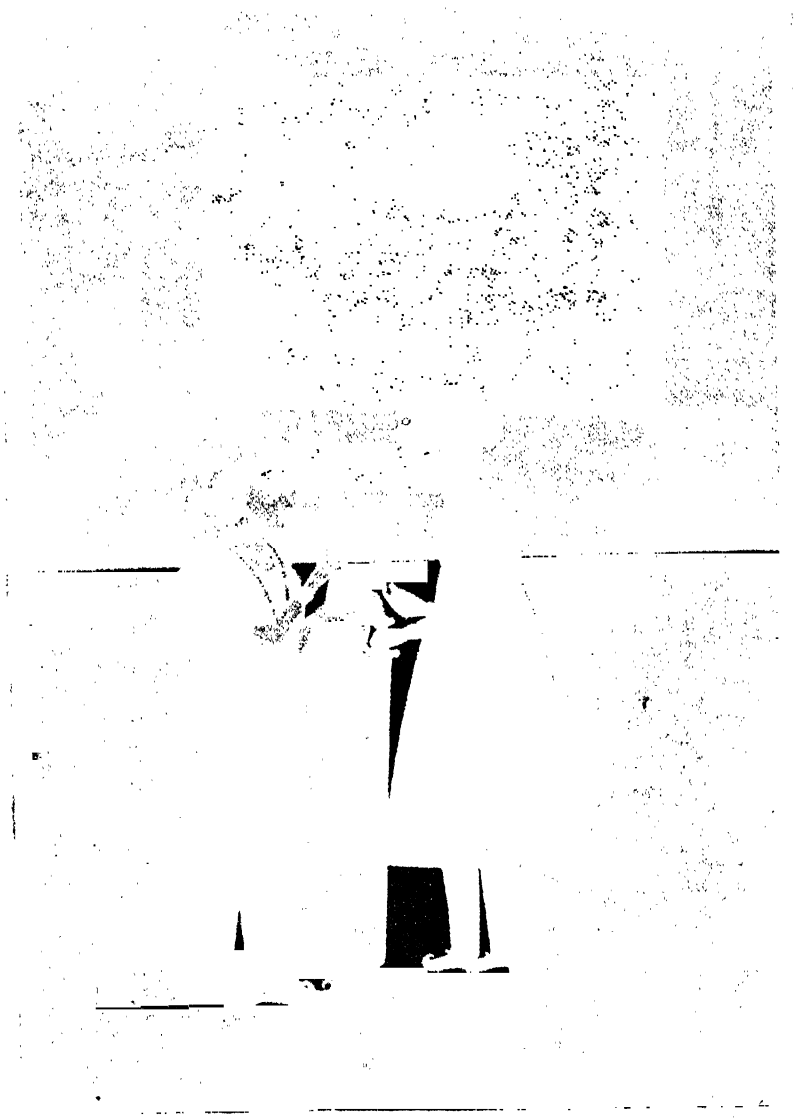
¹ The charming Monthly Magazine, edited by Mr. N. S. Rama Rao M.A., (Cantab) and Mrs. Alice E. Adair, which ceased publication last December.

and Dr B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the other members of the Board, have all along watched over my work with affectionate solicitude, and to both of them I am more grateful than I can express.

I do hope that, with the assistance of the Advisory Board and the continued patronage of the public, the 'Triple Stream' will flow without interruption and fertilise the domain of culture.

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

The new cover for 'Triveni' has been designed by Mr. K. Rama Mohan Sastry, a Painter-Etcher of South India. The present number of 'Triveni' also contains two 'dry-point' pictures by him,—'Omar' and 'Buddha under the Bodhi Tree.'



'A Nobleman of the Deccan'

*Reproduced with the kind permission of the owner
Mr. Oswald J. Couldrey, M.A.(Oxon)*

The Mughal conquest of India was both political and cultural. The Timurid kings brought with them not only an invading army of soldiers but also State administrators and Court artists. The Persian architects and painters that accompanied them gave India the marble palaces and mosques which are the admiration of the world today, gave the Hindustani music which still charms the hearers, and gave also the School of Mughal Painting, which is so very unique in the world. Its uniqueness lies in its eclectic nature: it is the harmonious blending of the best elements of Chinese, Persian and Hindu art of painting. Mughal painting, at its best, represents the fineness of Chinese drawing, the delicacy of Persian coloring and the richness and variety of Hindu genius. The indigenous art of the Rajput School of Painting considerably influenced the imported Persian art of the Mughals, and during the reigns of Jehangir and Akbar, this art was at its highest, and some of the best painters in the courts of these two emperors were both Persians and Hindus. After the decline of the Mughal Empire, the artists migrated to various parts of India, and some of them found employment in the southern Muhammadan kingdoms and carried on the tradition of their art. It gradually declined and decayed, though here and there some good artists painted delightful miniature portraits of kings and queens. The one reproduced here is a good example of that class of Mughal painting, and it retains some of the excellent qualities of that art.

We see a nobleman standing, dressed in the later Shah Jehan style of dress, with a sword in his right hand. A woman attendant is holding a 'Hukka' to his lips. The dress of the lady is also of the later style of Mughal painting, a pair of red trousers, a diaphanous scarf thrown over her shoulders and jewels of pearls round her neck. She is evidently a Hindu maid. The colours are schematic and the background is simple and chaste. The figures are thrown out in relief and a decorative border with two red bands encloses the picture.

G. V.

GREETINGS TO 'TRIVENI'

Nations are like human beings—they are souls as well as bodies. Freedom of the body from fetters is excellent, but all the same it is possible to be a slave in mind and soul. Independence or Dominion Status for India is merely the outer husk of the nation's upbuilding; it is only when the soul of India finds herself that she is truly a Nation.

Just as a man finds his soul only by creation of new things from his heart's depths, so too a Nation finds itself by creating beautiful things. Any one who helps India to be proud of her artistic past, in order to produce more wonderful things still in the future, is indeed a patriot. That is why from the beginning I have been a warm admirer of 'Triveni'. It is rare to find in India such a presentable magazine. I send my cordial wishes for its continued success to Mr. K. Ramakotiswara Rao, its devoted Editor.

C. JINARAJADASA

Religious Movements in Medieval India

BY K. M. PANIKKAR M.A., (OXON) BAR-AT-LAW

It is a view generally held that the period between the 12th and the 17th centuries was a period of intellectual darkness in India. It is widely assumed that with the Mohammedan conquest of Northern India, Hinduism ceased to be a living force and the Hindu mind, under the humiliation of political subjection, lost its vitality. Most European historians have depicted to us the middle ages in India as a dreary expanse of intellectual barrenness unrelieved either by intellectual or artistic efforts. With the Mohammedan conquest, the spirit of Ancient India which produced poets, thinkers and prophets is supposed to have vanished, leaving nothing but the memory of past achievements and an ancient civilization.

Politically, no doubt, this picture of a dark age is to some extent true. The political history of Northern India, from the invasion of the Mohammedans in the 12th century to the establishment of the Moghul Empire in the middle of the 16th century, is nothing but a chaotic record of anarchy. But the intellectual life of India during this period developed in every direction and to such a degree that it can be said to have laid the foundations of modern Indian life. The modern notion that the middle ages in India formed an intellectual hiatus—a chapter of mean achievement and meaner ideals—which had no connection with the present-day life, is demonstrably untrue. Life in India has been continuous and if the Hindu of today derives his inspiration from the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the epics, it is to a very large extent through the works and teachings of the medieval writers. The spirit of Ancient Indian humanism descends to modern India mainly

through the saints and prophets of the period between the 12th and the 16th centuries.

In fact, the more closely we analyse, the more clearly we will see that, in every aspect of modern Indian life, the dominating spirit is that of the thinkers and poets of the middle ages. The vernacular literatures through which the life of India now flows took their present shape at that period. The main divisions of Hinduism, the Vaishnavas, the Saivasiddhantis, the Sikhs and the numerous sects in which the millions of India find their spiritual solace, came into existence at this period. The two main legal systems under which the Hindus live even today were worked out during the same period. The fact is that the contact with the stern monotheism and the youthful vigour of Islam produced among the Hindus a renaissance which, in its varied manifestations, still dominates the life of India. From Kashmir to Cape Comorin an intellectual wave swept over India remoulding its religious life, transforming its fundamental ideas, creating new social institutions, changing, in fact, the whole temper and outlook of the mind. The main characteristics of this period which we propose to analyse here are the religious and philosophical revival, the growth of the great vernacular literatures through which these ideas expressed themselves, and the remarkable attempts at a national synthesis made over and over again.

By the end of the 9th century, the *Advaita* system of philosophy had practically become the leading school of Indian thought. Sankara who lived in the 9th century is justly considered one of the greatest of Indian thinkers and, due to his influence, his system of absolute monism came to be accepted practically throughout the length and breadth of India. But from the very nature of this doctrine, it could never become the basis of a popular religion and though the *Advaita Vedanta* continues to this day to hold its premier position as the accepted philosophy of the Hindu household, its relation to religious life was never very great. The revolt

against the rigidity of absolutism of Sankara begins early during this period. It is in the Tamil country that the new religious movement found its origin. For many centuries previous to this period, the Tamil people had developed an extraordinary spiritual life which found expression in a devotional literature of unsurpassed beauty and intensity. Of its great literary beauty we shall speak later. They had already been collected into the *Tiramurai* or the sacred scriptures grouped in eleven books in the time of Rama Raja, the Great. But it contained no set of doctrines, being merely the expression of personal spiritual experience and exalted devotional moods. The 13th and 14th centuries marked a great change from this. It witnessed a wonderful efflorescence of Tamil thought. Under Meykhanda Deva, who was a Sudra Sanyasin, the nebulous ideas of the early devotional poets became organised into a systematic set of doctrines which came to be known as the *Saiva Siddhanta*. A succession of talented disciples continued his work. It is a singularly interesting and highly significant fact pointing to the cultural unity of India that the Saiva school in the South should be closely allied to the Saivas of Kashmir, whose chief philosophical intrepeter was Samadeva, the author of *Siva Drishti*. The Kashmiri movement produced some profound thinkers like Kshema Raja who had considerable influence in the South.

Besides this Saivite development there was in South India at that time a devotional school of Vaishnavism whose saints were known as Alvars. Traditionally there were 12 Alvars and after them came the orthodox succession of patriarchs of whom Nathamuni and Alvandar were the most important. Alvandar was the Vaishnava patriarch at Srirangam and Ramanuja was a great-grandson of his. An interesting thing about Ramanuja is that he was educated in the tradition of Sankara, the great Saivite philosopher, and thus in him both the Vaishnavite and the Saivite currents were united. Ramanuja in course of time succeeded to the Vaishna-

vite pontifical seat at Srirangam succeeding Yamunacharya. It is not too much to say that his ministry there is one of the most important facts in Indian history. He changed the face of Hinduism in the South of India and gave it a new set of doctrines and a new social organization. His doctrines, as we shall show, influenced the whole course of religious development in Northern India. From a devotional sect the Sri Vaishnavas were transformed into a new religion which was directly connected with the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* through the great commentary, the *Sri Bhashya* which Ramanuja wrote. His philosophical doctrine may best be described as a qualified monism. He held, in opposition to Sankara, that though God alone exists and the rest are but His manifestations, for that reason the manifestations are not in themselves unreal. From the religious as opposed to the metaphysical point of view, the main difference between Sankara and Ramanuja lay in their conception of *Bhakti* or devotion. It is in Ramanuja's commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* that we come across the elaboration of the theory of *Bhakti* which in the course of the next three centuries was destined to become the leading doctrine of Indian religion. "In the same manner as my servant cannot live without me—his highest goal—so I cannot live without him, verily therefore is he my very self." So says Krishna, in the *Gita*. It is this idea which Ramanuja emphasises and which becomes the main doctrine of the *Bhakti* school.

In the period between the death of Ramanuja and the growth of the *Bhakti* school under Ramananda in the North, a large number of reformers arose in different parts of India, preaching in divergent forms and under different metaphysical coverings, the same gospel of direct communion with a personal God. Madhwacharya in Udipi, Nimbarka in the Telugu country, Chakradhar and Nagadevabhata in Western India, and many others rose to preach the necessity of a living religion. Everywhere there was an

unprecedented intellectual ferment—going on at a time when the Muslims had firmly established themselves in Northern India and were carrying sword and fire over the length and breadth of the country. It is characteristic of India that her great religious movements should have taken place at a time when her whole political structure was crumbling to pieces by the rude contact with the Pathan invasions. It was when the Mohammedan Sultanates were firmly established at Delhi and extended their sway over the whole of the Gangetic Valley that the great wave of religious revival broke over Northern India.

The main figure of this revival in Northern India is Ramananda. His exact date cannot be fixed, but it is well established that he lived in the 14th century. Ramananda was a Vaishnava Brahmin from the South and a follower of Ramanuja, who like all religious men in India before and after him wandered from place to place, partly on pilgrimage, partly for religious disputation, finally reaching Benares as the chief centre for both. There Ramananda settled down, and giving up Sanskrit began to teach in the vernacular. He received disciples from all castes and set up what may be called a Free Church accepting neither orthodox theology nor orthodox social organisation. His main religious principle was an intense faith in a personal God—whom he called Rama—and personal devotion to Him. He did not accept caste and among his chief disciples was a Mohammedan weaver—the most beloved of modern Hindu saints, Kabir. Let no one ask a man his caste or sect, said Ramananda, whoever adores God is God's own. It was through Ramananda that the *Bhakti* doctrine of Ramanuja spread in the Gangetic Valley. The Ramanandis or the sect which accepts him as the master is numerically very small, but Ramananda's influence is still very great in the religious life of Northern India, as he was the *guru* and master of Kabir and Tulsidas, the great author of *Ramacharita Manas*, which is for Northern Hindus, the scripture, philosophy and literature, all combined into one.

Kabir was a Mohammedan weaver who early in his life came under the influence of Hindu mysticism. Though outside the pale of Hindu society, he became a disciple of Ramananda and spent his days singing the unity of God and the futility of trying to confine Him within the circumscribed limits of sectarian theology. The Hindus and the Mohammedans, he says in one song, have the same Lord. He worshipped God alike under the name of Rama as of Allah. He was the first to see that much of the theological quarrel between Hindus and Muslims was merely a question of names. What matters if God is called Allah or Ram, he asks. He did not believe in idol worship or in any of the forms of ceremonial religion.

"The inner veil of the Temple of Mecca is in a man's heart, if truth be known," he says. Religion according to him is the life we lead. "Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple."

Though in his strict and unbending monotheism and in his disbelief in idolatry, Kabir held the Mohammedan point of view, the general background of his religion as well as his essential ideas were Hindu. He was, beyond everything else, a *Bhakta*, a mystic who believed in personal communion with God. "As the river enters the ocean, so my heart touches thee," he says. His simple theology is based on Hindu ideas of *karma* and transmigration.

Kabir's influence on Hindu thought is remarkable. Unlike Ramanuja, Madhwa or Ramananda, he was a poor unlettered weaver. He had neither the religious sanctity attached to great Pandits or philosophers to give him a privileged position with the people. Nor was he a scholar or a philosopher to be able to found a new school, or to preach a new set of dogmas. His influence was entirely due to his wonderful poetic expression of spiritual experience and his direct appeal to the heart of the poor people. His message was not for the scholars trained to revel in metaphysical discussions, or for priests and nobles. He taught the simple truth that God is for all, for the rich and

the poor, for the Brahmin and the outcaste, for the Hindu and the Mohammedan. He taught that all alike can attain grace by devotion to Him and by good works. "The Kingdom of God is within you," is what he says. "The Mecca that you search for is in your heart." Even now there is in India a small sect who call themselves *Kabir Panthis* or the followers of the way of Kabir. But Kabir's influence in Indian life is not to be judged by the number of his followers. His was the first voice raised against the theological disputation of Hindus and Mohammedans. He was the first to show the noble way for a national ideal. In the life and work of every-day India, Kabir is still one of the few living personalities, alike by the beauty of his sayings as by the greatness of his teachings.

A religious figure of equal importance was Nanak the founder of the Sikh religion. Nanak was a Hindu from the Punjab who realised early enough the futilities of a purely ceremonial-ridden religion. He was greatly influenced by Kabir and believed with him in the unity of God and the communion of all men direct with God without the intervention of a church or a set of dogmas. He preached against idolatry and caste but otherwise accepted the categories of Hindu thought, only excluding rigidly the pantheistic ideas of Brahminical theology. He wandered far and wide and founded a small community into which he admitted Hindus, Muslims, Brahmins and outcastes alike. Nanak himself had no idea of founding a separate sect. He was a Hindu mystic, who like Kabir combined in his teachings some of the doctrines of Islam. He was not however a believer in the religion of *Bhakti*. For ceremonial observances, pilgrimages, etc., Nanak had no regard. As he himself expresses it:

Religion consisteth not in mere words
 He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.
 Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs,
 Or to places of cremation or sitting in attitudes of contemplation.
 Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries or in
 bathing at places of pilgrimage,

Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world.
Thus shalt thou find the way to salvation.

Though a mystic, his faith was the simple one which believed that "no one shall be saved except through good works."

By an irony of history, this simple religion of Nanak was in course of time converted into a militant creed of which the central idea was the creation of a community whose ideal was warfare. The religion that Nanak founded is the religion of Sikhism.

The story of Tulsidas is equally interesting. He was born in the province of Agra and was married very early while he was still a child. He was devoted to his wife from whom he could not be parted even for a single day. His wife once went to her father's house and Tulsi followed her there. Annoyed at this behaviour, his wife turned round on him and said that if he had followed God with the same persistence he would have attained salvation by that time. The words of his angry wife came to him as a revelation and from that time he devoted himself entirely to religious devotion. As a Ramanandi he was a worshipper of Rama, and in singing of Rama's deeds he found the greatest spiritual solace. He devoted his time to writing the life of Rama in the vernacular. The Pandits were naturally angry that he should have written his great work in the language of the people and not in classical Sanskrit. To them he replied: "Whether it be in vulgar tongue or in Sanskrit, true love for the Lord is what is needed."

The *Ramacharita Manas* is the great epic of Northern India—the book of daily devotion to all Hindus in Aryavarta. But it is more than that. He has put into the poem all the philosophy of Vaishnava thinkers, the doctrines of the *Bhakti* school and the spiritual emotionalism of the devotional songs of the *Alvars*, Ramananda, Kabir, and others. To him Rama was not a mere semi-divine hero. He was God Himself in all His greatness:

Seers and sages, saints and hermits fix on Him their reverend gaze
 And in faint trembling accents holy scriptures sing His praise.
 He the omnipresent spirit, Lord of heaven, earth and hell,
 To redeem His people freely has vouchsafed with men to dwell.

One other name remains to be mentioned in relation to the *Bhakti* religion and that is Chaitanya, the prophet of Bengal. Many reasons contributed to make Bengal a particularly fertile soil for the development of this religion. For the emotional aspect of the *Bhakti* cult, a long line of poets and singers beginning with Chandidas and Vidyapati had prepared the mind of Bengal. On its popular side the tradition of Buddhism with its *sankirtans* had lingered on, transformed and hardly recognisable but still providing an exceptionally suitable ground. In Chaitanya the emotional worship of Krishna found the highest expression. The very sight of *Kadamba* trees in bloom, so closely associated with the *Krida* of Krishna, used to make him feel the presence of God—so intense was the communion of his soul with Krishna. His was a religion based on ecstatic emotion and it made a wonderful appeal to Bengal in the 16th century. It was revivalism of an extraordinary kind and all classes of people followed him. The whole countryside was filled with singing parties and it is this 'Vaishnava' inheritance that is still the cultural background of modern Bengal.

The idea of a "Divine Spouse" which produced among Christian mystics such types as Hildegarde and Angela de Flodigno is common to all women mystics. In Mirabai, the queen of Udaipur, it was specially emphasised. She felt herself to be the spouse of Krishna and she felt in her ecstasy His personal presence near her. The intensity of her passion was such that the Hindu world, always prone to accept divinity, has claimed her to be the incarnation of Krishna's divine consort. For His love she gave up her kingdom. She says with exquisite charm:—

"Kana have I bought; the price he asked I gave,
 Some cry it is great, others fear it is small.
 I gave in full weighed to the utmost grain.
 My love, my life, my self, my soul, my All."

The spirit of utter self-abnegation and sacrifice which is the characteristic of *Bhakti* is nowhere better illustrated than in these lines of Mirabai. She died at the feet of the beloved idol of Krishna, offering herself as the spouse of God.

The main characteristics of the religious movements we have noticed may now be analysed. Except in the case of Ramanuja and Madhwa, the religious revival was essentially popular and not scholastic. Both Ramanuja and Madhwa were philosophers who were anxious to connect their new schools with the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. But the later leaders, especially Ramananda, Kabir, Tulsidas, Nanak and Chaitanya, have no philosophical systems of their own. Theological discussions do not interest them and subtle questions of metaphysics, over which the schools of an earlier day fought and battled, left them cold. They were the interpreters of a new kind of religion, of devotion to God, of faith in Him, of the futility of dogmas and ceremonials. It is this eclecticism that is their main characteristic.

Another matter of extreme significance is the growth of democratic feeling in regard to religion. The older sects, except Buddhism, were exclusive and caste-ridden. Knowledge was considered to be the exclusive privilege of the Brahmins, and religious observance, their special inheritance. But in the new movements of our period, this ceased to be. Even Ramanuja, though an orthodox Brahmin, was more lax with regard to caste rules than any previous reformer. Though no evidence could be found for the assertion which is often made that he took even outcastes into his sect, there is clear proof that he did not accept the limitations of earlier teachers with regard to the lower castes. The Northern Indian movements were even more liberal. Ramananda said that no man should be asked his caste. Kabir, though a Mohammedan, became a disciple and his followers were of all castes. Nanak preached vigorously against the system of caste and admitted every one freely to his sect. Of the Maratha saints, a good many were outcastes and at least one a Mohammedan.

It is clear from these facts that the religious movements all over India from the 11th to the 16th century were not only eclectic in ideas, but to a large extent free from the cramping restrictions of orthodox Brahmanism. They were moved by a vast and generous desire for the salvation of humanity and not merely of castes or classes. In fact, never was there in India such a tremendous upheaval of religious spirit in its true sense, desire for spiritual uplift and widespread longing for the freedom of the human soul, since the days of the Buddha. Apart from the schools and sects that this great movement of mind gave rise to, there was one result which was singularly important, and that was the attempt made over and over again to create a religious synthesis out of the conflicting creeds of Hinduism and Islam. By their nobility of purpose, no less than by their achievements, these attempts stand out as highly significant landmarks in Indian thought.

Another feature is the popular character of these movements. Most of the saints of the Hinduism of this period were men of the people. Their songs were not subtle or metaphysical, and appealed directly to the heart of the people. In fact it is not too much to say that the mind of the Hindu of today bears the imprint of these religious teachers more than even the religious thought of the *Vedas* or the *Upanishads*. The songs of Jnaneswar in the Maratha country, the hymns of the *Alvars* and the Saivite saints in the South, the songs of Kabir, Mirabai, and more than all, the work of Tulsidas, have created the popular religion of India. Even today it is in these that modern India finds its mental nourishment.

Of the influence of Islam on Hinduism and of Hindu thought on Islam, it is not necessary to speak here. No doubt much of the revival of Hinduism in Northern India was due to the contact with Islam and the impetus which the rigorous monotheism of the followers of the Arabian Prophet gave to the Hindu mind. But apart from influences of that kind, it was inevitable that the co-existence of a powerful body of

thought and a rigorous and unbending dogma should give rise to new creeds in which what is best in both systems should be mixed together to form a new synthesis. This is the great value of Kabir's teachings which were later on followed and elaborated with greater success by Nanak. Kabir thought that Allah and Rama were but two names for the same God, that it was only fools who quarrelled over names. The religion of the Sikhs is based on this. It is a strict monotheism, hating the worship of God through idols and holding with Islam that caste is repugnant to religious ideas. But in other respects it is Hindu. Both in Kabir and in Nanak we find that catholicism of spirit and that genuine faith in the universality of religion, through whatever form it may be expressed, which make them perhaps the greatest religious figures in Indian history since Gautama Buddha.

Besides this, there may be noticed what may be called a national tendency in the religious revival in many parts. It is the hymns of Namdev and Tukaram that paved the way for the establishment of the Maratha nation. The Sikh religion became a mystic, if militant, nationalism and everywhere the religious revival became a great factor in the evolution of sub-nationalities in India. If no great national synthesis resulted from this awakening, it was due to the varied and dissonant racial and cultural tendencies in India. In medieval India, though there was a unity of sentiment and unity of institutions, there was not the same chance as there is today of a universal prevalence of ideas working towards the establishment of a national unity. The geographical facts inevitably tended to make all awakenings of this kind local in effect, though national in their bearing.

The ideas behind this vast religious upheaval may well be described as being the faith in a personal God and a belief that God can be known only through experience. The extraordinary crowding of emotions around the personality of the Deity, in whatever form He may be worshipped by the individual teacher,—in the form of Krishna by Chaitanya and Mirabai,

Rama by Tulsidas and Ramananda—is a central fact. To them their God was no abstraction of attributes but a living and knowable experience. Together with this went the idea which is the essence of the *Bhakti* religion that “where faith is, there God is”. The whole of the medieval religious movement in India is a commentary on these two texts. The literature it produced, as valuable as that of any period of India not excluding the great age of Kalidasa, is essentially a poetry of direct experience and not of conventional art. There is freshness and vigour alike in the thought and expression of the songs of this movement. Whether it is Tulsidas or Namdev, Kabir or Mirabai, they are singing, not so much to show their scholarship and their wonderful skill with words, as to convey their soul. The great vernaculars of modern India owe their beginning to this movement. Except Tamil, all the great languages which are spoken in India today owe their inspiration to the religious teachers of the middle ages. Tulsidas, Surajdas and Kabir are the founders of Hindi, Vidyapati and Chandidas of Bengali. Jnaneswara has been called the Dante of Marathi, and without doubt it is with him that Marathi took its literary form. If the literary output of the great religious teachers of the middle ages is taken away, there would be very little of higher value left in the vernaculars before the modern time. It is saying a great deal for a movement that its momentum has been such as to produce a literary revolution of this kind over so wide an area.

Hoysala Bequest to Indian Art

BY B. SUBRAHMANYAM

"An endless fountain of immortal drink,
Pouring unto us from the heaven's brink." — KEATS.



Hoysala crest

of subdued imagination and skill.

Judged by this standard, it looks as if Indian art is but a remote approximation to this ideal and falls a little wide of the mark, not on account of any deficiency but due to a profound exuberance of both imagination and skill.

But then, in the West, art is the expression of the 'whole man'; whereas in India, it is the expression of the life of a 'whole people'. While one represents and is moulded by the genius of an individual, the other represents and is shaped by the genius of a whole community amidst whom it exists. There is, thus, a fundamental difference between these two conceptions of art.

Indian art, especially as represented in its architecture and sculpture, satisfies almost to a perfection the most meticulous requirements of this latter and perhaps the more rational ideal of art. By far the most exquisite example of the perfection of

Indian art in this branch has been vouchsafed to us in the many relics of temple architecture of the 12th and 13th centuries that are to be found in the Mysore State and the adjoining districts of Western India comprising the Karnataka country. These have an individuality of their own and are the result of a happy fusion of the Northern and the Dravidian schools of architecture. Distinct marks of this new departure are seen earlier in the structures built by the later Chalukyan Kings; but it was only during the ascendancy and within the dominion of the Hoysala Kings that this school developed unmistakable and finished features of its own and brought into being these "loveliest shapes carved in stone." Besides, the largest number of structures of this school of architecture have been constructed during the time of the Hoysalas. It has, therefore, been considered more appropriate to name this style after the Hoysalas,¹ than the Chalukyas after whom Fergusson has called this style.

If one could be permitted to give this a linguistic nomenclature, it is perhaps not less correct to say that this is the Karnataka style, as this school of architecture had been fostered, developed by, and had its being amidst the Kannada-speaking people, whose very life, traditions and culture had not a little share in the final shaping of these marvellous treasures of medieval architecture.

II

The ancestors of the patrons of this school of architecture which attained such magnificent stature under their fostering

¹ It was Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Retired Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, that gave this name to the structures of this style. And it was endorsed by Vincent A. Smith in a note in *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLIV. He says:—" . . . I was acquainted with what Fergusson had written concerning the temples built in the style named by him Chalukyan, but more suitably designated as the 'Hoysala style,' the most characteristic examples having been erected during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the dominions of the Kings of the Hoysala dynasty."



Hoysala Vishnuvardhana



Front wall of Chennakesava Temple at Belur
(On the right of the picture is carved the Darbar scene of Vishnuvardhana,
and on the left that of Narasimha I.)

care, were small chiefs dominating the west of the Mysore State and claiming to have descended from Yaduraya of the Lunar dynasty. They were natives of Sosevur or Sasakapura which has been identified by Mr. Lewis Rice as Angadi¹ in the Western Ghats. An incident associated with one of their line, Sala, (A.D. 1007),² is responsible for the dynastic name of Hoysala, by which all his descendants are known.

This incident, which is described in one of the inscriptions of Hoysala Ballala II found in the Trikuteswara temple at Gadag, is of interest. It says:³ "In course of time, there was born in that race a certain king named Sala, who, having gained title for his family, caused even Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten. For when in the City of Sasakapura, with the words 'Slay, O Sala,'⁴ he was commanded by a certain ascetic to destroy a tiger that had come to devour him in the performance of his religious rites, he slew it and acquired the name 'Hoysala'. From that time forth, the name of 'Hoysala' was attached to his race and the emblem on its banner, causing fear to its foes, was a tiger."

The story has been recounted in many of the Hoysala inscriptions, with perhaps certain verbal and other minor differences here and there. And the figure of Sala fighting the tiger is to be found in many of the ornate structures built by the Hoysala Kings all over their Kingdom. Sala seems to have built his new capital Dwarasamudra (present Halebid)⁵ from where ruled his descendants for over three hundred years until swept away by the Mohammedans.

¹ This village lies twenty miles off Mudigere in Kadur District, Mysore State.

² For the sake of convenience, the periods of administration of each of the Hoysala kings have all been given from Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I.

³ This is the English rendering of Mr. J. F. Fleet, who seems to have first read this inscription—*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II.

⁴ 'Hoy' or 'Poy' in Kannada means 'Slay'. Hence the name 'Hoysala'. Sometimes 'Poysala' is also used.

⁵ In Belur Taluk, Hassan District, Mysore.

The next Hoysala King Vinayaditya (A.D. 1047-1100) is better known to history and was a feudatory chief (Maha-mandaleswara) subordinate to the Western Chalukyas. Six temples of his time have been found and one of them happens to be in Angadi. Nothing is so far known about the architectural activities of his grandson Ballala I (A.D. 1101-1104) who succeeded him, Vinayaditya's son Ereyanga having died during his own life-time.

But the ascendancy of the Hoysalas began with the coming into power of Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 1104—1141) brother of Ballala I and second son of Ereyanga, during whose rule the Hoysala Kingdom was considerably extended. He had become so powerful that he attempted an invasion of the territories of his overlords, the Chalukyas, but was badly repulsed. Vishnuvardhana, who was a Jain, was converted by Sri Ramanuja into the Vaishnavite faith in A.D. 1117 and in commemoration of this event, he built the Chennakesava temple at Belur¹ which was his capital at the time. Besides this, ten more temples of this school were built during his rule; the earliest being the Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli² in A.D. 1113.

His son, Vijayanarasimha or Narasimha I (A.D. 1136—71) made yet another attempt to shake off the Chalukyan yoke during the time of the Chalukyan King, Jagadekamalla II (A.D. 1138—49), but without success. It was during this King's rule that the famous Hoysaleswara temple at Halebid was constructed in (A.D. 1141).³ There are also thirteen other temples of this period.

By far the most powerful of the Hoysalas was Ballala II, also known as Viraballala who succeeded his father in A.D. 1172. He was a very powerful ruler like his grandfather

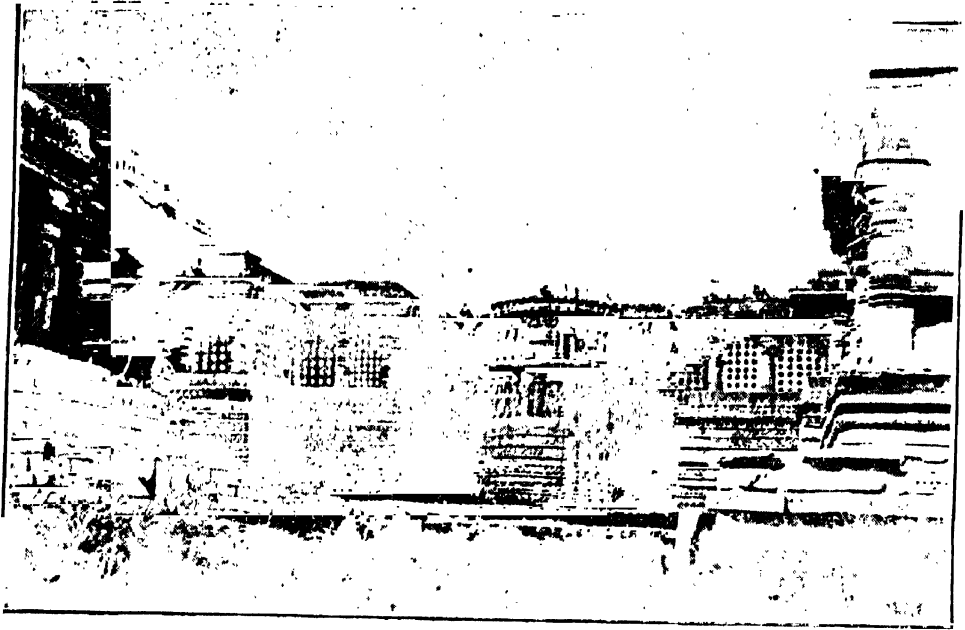
¹ Taluk Headquarters, Hassan District, Mysore.

² Hassan District, Mysore.

³ Mr. Lewis Rice thinks that it is possible that this temple began to be built during the rule of Vinayaditya. Tradition has it that the work of the construction of this temple went on for eighty years.



One of the Bracket figures in the Chennakesava
Temple at Belur



Hoysaleswara Temple, Halebid
(Observe the perforated screens which effectively ventilate and
light the interior)

Vishnuvardhana, but his fame far surpassed that of the latter. He threw off the Chalukyan yoke and successfully repulsed the Yadavas of Devagiri and established his northern capital at Lakkigundi, the modern Lakkundi.¹ This period was practically the zenith of the Hoysala ascendancy. There are about twenty-two temples of this period in Mysore State alone, and so far as is known this seems to be the largest number built by any one of the Hoysala Kings. Of these, the Amruteswara temple (A.D. 1196) at Amrutapura² and the Kedareswara temple (A.D. 1219) at Halebid, are of special interest.

But there are evidences to show that a large number of temples were built by this illustrious ruler outside Mysore in the country conquered and occupied by him. The temple of Kadambeswara at Rattehalli in Kod Taluk of Dharwar District was built during his reign about the year A.D. 1174. Then, after repulsing the Yadavas and as soon as he established himself in his new capital, Lakkundi, Viraballala practically reconstructed or renovated the ancient temple of Kasivisveswara of that place and perhaps effected considerable improvements in the Trikuteswara temple at Gadag. Besides these, it would be difficult to say, at this stage, how many of the numerous temples that have fallen into a scrap-heap of ruins in Lakkundi, Gadag,³ Dambal,⁴ Arasibidi⁵ and in many other places, were not built by him.

The Harishareswara temple at Harihar⁶ was built by his son Narasimha II (A.D. 1220—1235)⁷ in A.D. 1224. This King who was in alliance with the Cholas, seems to have actually

¹ It is seven miles south-east of Gadag in Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency.

² A village near Tarikere, Kadur District, Mysore.

³ Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ On the borders of Dharwar District in Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore State.

⁷ Henry Cousens gives these dates as A.D. 1224—1234 in his *Chalukyan Architecture*.

occupied Trichinopoly in A.D. 1223. Besides the Harishareswara temple there are six temples of his time.

During the reign of his son, Someswara, (A.D. 1233-1254)¹ the Hoysalas were pressed back to the south by the Yadavas of Devagiri. The beautiful temple of Lakshminarasimha and Sadasiva at Nuggihalli² were now built in A.D. 1249. Twelve temples of this period have to come to light.

There are seven temples constructed during the rule of his successor Narasimha III (A.D. 1254--1291) of which the ornate temple of Kesava at Somanathpur³ built by one of his officers, Somanatha, in A.D. 1268, is perhaps the best.

The last of the Hoysala Kings, the temples of whose period have yet been found, is Hoysala Ballala III (A.D. 1291-1342). There are two structures of this period. It was during the rule of this King that Mallik Kafur in A.D. 1310 raided and laid waste the Hoysala Kingdom, destroyed the capital, imprisoned the King and thus abruptly brought about the extinction of this noble line of Kings and the art that they so fondly reared. Another army of Mohammedans marched over this territory in A.D. 1327 and completed the process of destruction.

With his son Ballala IV (A.D. 1343—) the last traces of the Hoysala dynasty are lost.

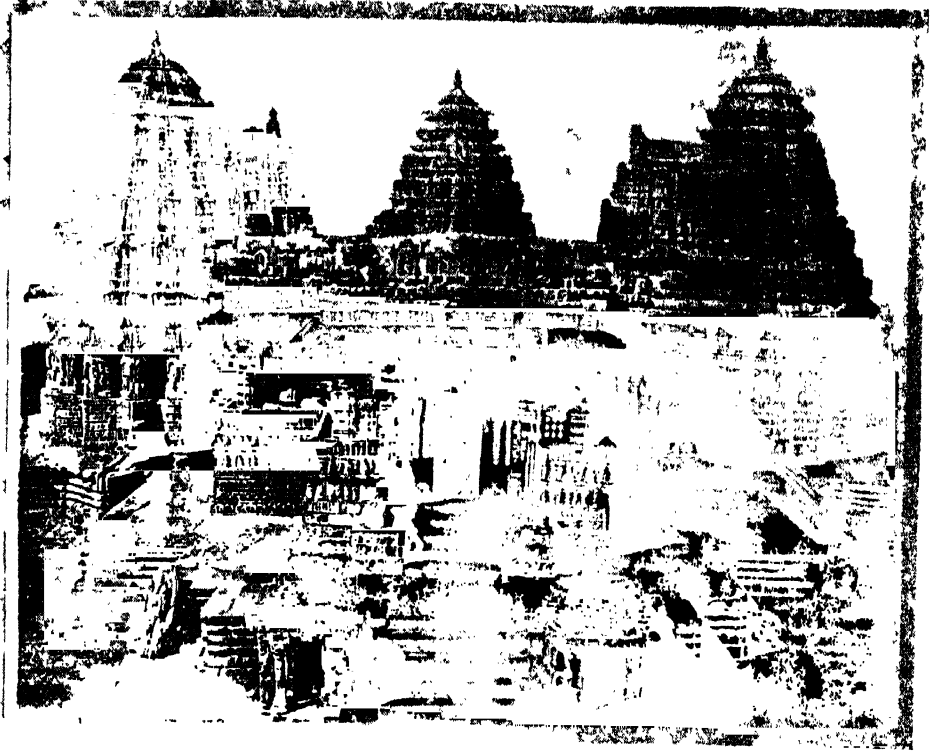
III

The Hoysala School is unique in all Indian architecture and sculpture in that its artists, unlike their brethren in any other part of India, were in the habit of inscribing their names below the sculptures wrought by them. It would perhaps be more correct to say that this feature is a speciality of the Mysore architects and sculptors, from among whom evidently came the moulders of the Hoysala style. For, a few of such signed sculptures have been found even in some of the earlier sculp-

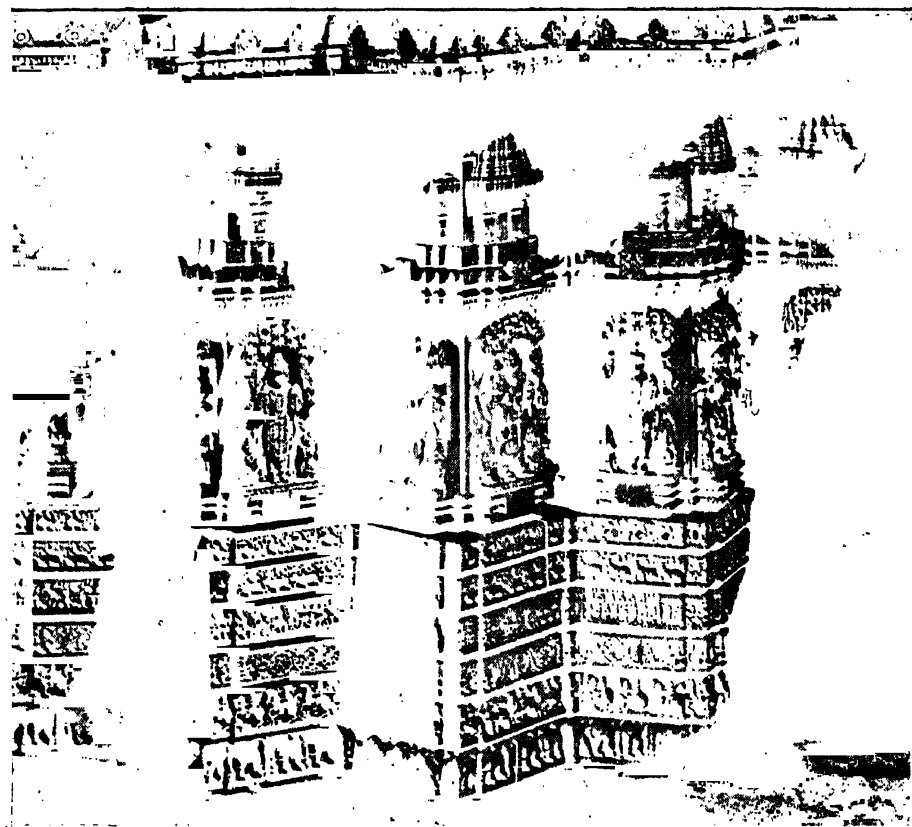
¹ *Chalukyan Architecture* A.D. 1234—53.

² A village in Channarayana Taluk, Hassan Dist. Mysore,

³ 20 miles from Mysore, Mysore Dist., Mysore State.



Front of the Kesava Temple at Somanathpur.



Exquisite carvings on the outer walls of the
Kesava Temple, Somanathpur

tures built in Mysore. No information of any value except the mere mention of the name of the artist is, however, available in most of the cases, though here and there one comes across certain very interesting yet, perhaps, meagre details about some of them.

In the Hoysaleswara temple at Halebid, the names of Devoja, Kasimoja's son Masana, Mayana and Tanagundur Harisha, appear on some of the sculptures wrought by them. The Kedareswara temple of the same place is said to have been built by the artist Devoja. The architects who helped in the construction of the Chennakesava temple at Belur seem to be Dasoja, his son Chavana, Chikka Hampa, Malliyana, Padari Malloja, Kencha Malliyana, Masada and Nagoja. The names of four other artists, perhaps of a later period, are also found in some of the buildings outside the Chennakesava temple here. They are: Bhandari Madhuvanna, Madhuvanna, Bechma and Gumma Birana. Among the sculptors that were responsible for the building of the Kesava temple at Somanathpur, were Mallitamma, Baleya, Chandeya, Bamaya, Masanitamma, Bharmaya, Nanjaya and Yalamsaya. The name of Mallitamma, who appears to have been the principal architect of this temple, is found on many sculptures in the Lakshminarasimha temple at Nuggihalli. This Mallitamma together with Baichoji of Nandi, it is recorded, built the temple mentioned above in the latter place. Malloja Maniyoja was, perhaps, responsible for the temple of Lakshmidēvi at Doddagaddavalli.

Tradition has it that all the Hoysala structures were built by an architect named Jakanachari and his son Donkanachari, natives of Kaidala¹ in Mysore. But credence is not given to the existence of these 'half-mythical' architects and sculptors, as no mention has been made of these persons while the names of so many other artists find mention.

IV

"There are many buildings in India which are unsur-

¹ A village in Tumkur Taluk, Tumkur Dist., Mysore.

passed in delicacy of detail by any in the world, but the temples at Belur and Halebid surpass even these for freedom of handling and richness of fancy," says Fergusson speaking about the most ornate of the Hoysala structures. The temples of this style are especially noted for their artistic design and sculpture and for an exuberance of detail. The figures, the floral and other decorations that have been so freely lavished on all and every side of the temples, are among the most lovely that the skilful hand of man could produce even in the most pliable of materials.

The temples are generally star-shaped structures, built on a raised terrace which follows the contour of the former. The temple itself consists of one, two, three or four cells as the case may be, each cell consisting of an adytum and a vestibule—and often a central hall called *Navaranga* is also added. And it is surmounted by as many elegant towers as there are cells. Usually these sanctuaries are enclosed in a courtyard. Hoysala towers are a speciality of the school.

The Chennakesava temple at Belur, the Hoysaleswara temple at Halebid, the Kesava temple at Somanathpur and the Lakshmidēvi temple at Doddagaddavalli, could well be considered as the best examples of the single, double, triple or quadruple-celled structures of the Hoysala School respectively.

All the temples of this style are built of pot stone¹ or soap stone, varying in colour from greenish gray to bluish gray. The stone is soft when quarried and quickly gets hardened on exposure to weather. It takes polish to a very high degree like marble and is, perhaps, the best material fitted for the ornate constructions of the Hoysala artists.

The outer walls of the structures, their doorways, ceilings and pillars, are the favoured parts that have received the special attention of the imaginative skill of the artists of this great school.

The lintels and jambs of the doorways are generally crowded with carvings of the images of Gods and floral decorations,

¹ It is called *Balapada Kallu* in Kannada.

sometimes almost of a fantastic delicacy. The ceilings in these temples are small cupolas depending from the roof and have been shaped into various geometrical and other artistic forms with a luxurious display of carvings. The largest number of Hoysala pillars are 'turned' pillars which are all highly polished; though examples are not wanting of those loaded with a superabundance of carvings. On a little sprinkling of water on their polished surface, some of these turned pillars¹ produce such interesting and amusing optical effects that they strike one as the most extraordinary feat of skilfulness of the not-much-lettered artists who wrought them with the crude materials of those bygone days.

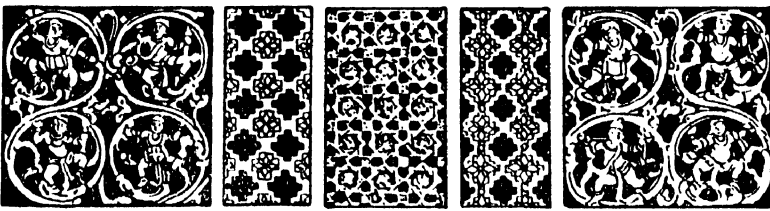
Referring to the work of the Hoysala artists on the walls of the Belur and Halebid temples, Fergusson writes: "The amount of labour which each facet of this porch displays is such as I believe was never bestowed on any surface of equal extent in any building in the world. It may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East." These remarks are true of most of the ornate structures of this ancient style of architecture.

Except in certain Jain temples,² the artist's capacity in very intricate and most delicate handling and for minute elaboration of detail, has nowhere been so well exhibited as on the outer walls of these immortal shrines. Frieze upon frieze of lovely bas-relief, interspersed with beautiful bands of scroll work surmounted by handsome figures of Gods of the Hindu mythology, or pierced screens of various attractive shapes and kinds, with numerous other exquisite subordinate carvings, all differing one from the other and shut in by nice deep cornices, form a magnificent whole displaying such harmony and rhythm as to draw out the most delicate cords of human emotions.

¹As those in the *Nandi* pavilions of the Hoysaleswara temple and those in the *Parshvanatha Basti* in Halebid.

²The Jain temples have generally less of carvings on their outer walls.

It might, perhaps, be well to mention here, that the cruel hand of time has not been laid on these lovely group of structures without leaving its deep marks. The depredations of both man and the elements have left but a few of the innumerable temples of this style in any state of good repair, if only to serve, as it were, as specimens of the architectural attainments of this great school. But most of them are in complete ruins or in very dilapidated and neglected condition. Thanks to the present Administration in Mysore, efforts are being made to preserve in good condition some of the most charming and perfect ornate structures of the Hoysala architecture at Belur, Halebid, Somanathpur and a few other places, and it is but in the fitness of things to express a hope that the same amount of attention might be extended towards other beautiful buildings of this and other schools of art that lie within the State, panting for such relief.



Patterns of Hoysala perforated screens.

Mahatma Gandhi on Tour

BY SRI PRAKASA

I had only read of Mahatmaji's tours from a distance. My nearest view of him was when I drove him through the streets of Benares or when he honoured my home with a few hours' stay now and then while passing Benares. But this year, as General Secretary of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee,¹ I had to share the responsibility of fixing up the programme of his tour; and I never came so near to all that his tour means as now. When first I circularised the Districts asking them if they wanted Mahatmaji, and, if so, what were they prepared to pay, the replies were tardy and halting. But once the tour has started I am overwhelmed with letters: everybody now wants him. Tahsils are angry if they are left out. Every village would like a visit and keep Mahatmaji for ever. Numerous individuals are anxious that he should honour them with a visit under some pretence or other. The last few weeks have been spent by many of us in arranging and re-arranging the programme; trying to fix in as many places as possible consistent with Mahatmaji's health and comfort. Money seems to come to Mahatmaji without asking: places like Benares where workers feared they might not be able to scrape together even three thousand and were nervous in consequence, forked out ten thousand without feeling it, before Mahatmaji finally left the district.²

At Benares and from Benares, for a few days, I had the unique honour and privilege of being with Mahatmaji all the time. It may interest readers to go behind doors and see

¹ Sjt. Sri Prakasa is now General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee.—Editor, *Triveni*.

² I am writing this while the tour is still in progress (Oct. 11th, 1929.)

Mahatmaji at all hours of the night and day. His day begins punctually at 4 in the morning, whether travelling in the train or sleeping under a roof. That is the hour of his morning prayers. He and his immediate party, and any others whose spirit should move them that way, sit down in a circle : Mahatmaji himself is wrapped in utter silence. Some members of the party repeat *bhajans* or cantos from the *Bhagavad-Gita*. These devotional meetings are invariably held in 'dim religious light' almost amounting to darkness : the lamps are lowered or the curtains drawn. After this Mahatmaji plunges in work immediately. A mass of papers, files, etc. loosely tied in a cloth, is always with him—it accompanies him in his car also. He calls this his *daftar*. About 6-30 in the morning, he takes some goat's milk and grapes or just honey and hot water. He is ready to go to meetings if necessary at 7 or even earlier. If there are none he continues his work. In the present tour there is scarcely a morning when he has not to travel or address meetings, or both. At 10 he takes a warm bath followed by his breakfast which consists of curds of goat's milk, in which he would now and then put soda in order that it may be aerated, grapes, oranges and, sometimes, pulp of steamed apples. He prefers to be left after this till 3 in the afternoon, for rest and his editorial work, correspondence, etc. If he has a heavy programme early in the afternoon, he spins in snatches of time ; if very tired he lies down for a few minutes from time to time and gets a little sleep. From 3 to 4 is his regular time for spinning if he is permitted to ; if not, he makes up for lost time late at night, for he will not go to bed till he has done the prescribed amount of spinning. About 5 in the evening he takes his dinner, his last meal of the day. This is a repetition of his breakfast, and is taken very slowly, the process sometimes lasting quite 45 minutes. Then follow meetings, talks, etc. He prefers having his evening prayers about 7 and then being left to himself and his *daftar*. But if necessary he sees friends, talks to workers, grants interviews. He scarcely

retires before 10, even when he has been freed from the incubus of crowds early enough. The last thing he does is to write something in a note-book—that is his diary of the day—and then he goes to rest. He prefers sleeping under the skies unless the weather is particularly inclement.

This is the usual routine. But when long tours are on hand and train timings have to be taken into consideration, when as many as three Districts have to be visited in the course of a single day with about half a dozen meetings *en route* to address, all this is upset and a particularly severe upsettal took place on his 60th birthday, a description of which would be interesting. He left Fyzabad by train at 2 in the morning of October 2, which was his birthday, and I received him at Jaunpur at 5. At 6 he took his milk and grapes. At 7 there was a women's meeting followed by a public meeting and civic addresses. A little after 8 we started for Benares by car. I had promised a three-minute halt on the way before leaving the Jaunpur District, to enable people there to present a purse. When the car was pulled up there, Mahatmaji was fast asleep in his seat with spectacles on nose. A huge concourse had gathered; and such concourses are always noisy. I felt it would be cruel to wake him up. So I filed the assembled persons past the car on both sides. They went jostling one another, shouting and complaining. But despite the confusion he continued to sleep. Then we proceeded and came to Baragaon in Benares where the Tahsil held its public meeting, the District Board presented its address, and purses were given and collections made. By ten we started again for Benares where he was to rest for the day. But there were birthday demonstrations waiting for him and men and telegrams poured in offering greetings. He chatted with a *vaidya* on health and struggled against the enthusiastic secretary of an art and curio collection against giving the impression of his right hand, joking that such things were only wanted by the police from criminals, and laughingly enquiring why he did not want the impression of his nose instead of his

hand ! His *charka* kept whirring all the time. We left about three for Ghazipur. But there was another Tahsil meeting before Benares would see the last of him. Elaborate arrangements were made so that he could cross and recross the Ganga in comfort for this meeting. This over, he had again to cross the Gomti to get into the Ghazipur District. As he sat on the boat on the Gomti he uttered, in almost a piteous voice, "Shri Rama". He was visibly tired. "Shri Rama" is a favourite expression of his. Boarding motors on the other side, we started for Ghazipur. Darkness was gathering fast; and he takes no meals after sunset. So we pulled up the car on the way and "Ba" (Mrs. Gandhi) served out of his box—both Ba and the box are always with him—his frugal evening meal. Then we got on to Saiyadpur (in the Ghazipur District) for a meeting and proceeded to Ghazipur. The stupid chauffeur had not taken sufficient petrol and when we were about ten miles from Ghazipur, the motor began giving trouble. We came to a stop when we were still three miles away. The other cars had preceded us to keep the meeting at Ghazipur going—only one was left behind at Saiyadpur. Mahatmaji offered to walk the distance; but an *ekka* happened to pass and he boarded it and proceeded to the meeting. It was not till late at night that the day's travail was over and he was allowed to rest. When I expressed my deep regret to him at the terrible strain of the day, he replied with a smile: "Was it not my birthday? One must be prepared for these things on one's birthday." And this was by no means a very exceptional day, for he lives like that from day to day. People around him get exhausted and many drop off; but he continues his marvellous march through life undaunted. His fund of humour is inexhaustible and he has always a laugh at his command. His capacity for recuperation is marvellous. A five-minute nap in the most impossible conditions, and after the utmost fatigue, makes him as fresh as a normal man would scarcely be after as many hours of sleep in a comfortable bed after a normal day.

He is a man of very few words. In this tour he almost always delivers a set speech. "Brothers and sisters," he begins, "I thank you for the purse of —and here he mentions the exact figure— that you have given to the *khadi* fund and for all the affection you have showered upon me." Then he repeats the five injunctions of the Congress in a deliberate voice. "The first is: Boycott foreign cloth and use *khadi*. The second is: Give up all intoxicating drinks and drugs. The third is: All Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, all who are Indians should unite. The fourth is: Those of us who are Hindus should abolish untouchability which is a blot on Hinduism. The fifth is: All should deposit four annas in the Congress office and become Congress members and follow all the dictates of the Congress. Thus we shall be ready for the struggle of 1930. May God bless you." After this he would auction any silver dishes, fancy garlands and other things given to him, explaining that as a self-constituted representative of *daridra-narayana* he can have no costly possessions for his own use. He would send out volunteers to collect moneys, saying that all who may not have already contributed to the purse may do so now; and adding that every rupee to the *khadi* fund keeps 16 poor women in work for a day. If the volunteers are late in returning, he would spin on his *takli*, once described by Mrs. Besant as 'a twirligig less than a foot long.'

While spinning in the privacy—if he has any—of his rooms you can get him to talk on lighter topics. When I expressed my surprise at his capacity to go to sleep on a car, he replied—while the wheel whirred: "Why, a car is a comfortable thing. I have gone to sleep on a camel"; and then he told you how he did it on a continuous 24 hours' ride on a camel in pursuit of a scholarship to Porbandar; and he passed on to another camel ride in Sindh when, on the insistence of some friend, desiring to make him a Muslim, he travelled in the interior of Sindh on a camel, to visit a *pir* said to

perform miracles. And he added: "Miracles had never attracted me." When some one would laughingly complain about his strict insistence on accounts, he would tell him how careful he had been about accounts since early childhood; how he would take vouchers even for soda water bottles when acting as the secretary of a deputation; and, above all, he would talk of the solitary penny he has never been able to account for in his life and which he still remembers. He had purchased fruits at Tottenham Court Road in London for twopence; but perhaps paid three pence by mistake. When the balance would not tally at home, he rushed back to the fruit-seller for the overpaid penny, but never got it back. I said to him: "You would be an ideal candidate for a Council election in the matter of returning election expenses. But if you did that, you would be debarred." "I know, I know," he replied, "and among other reasons why I am against these elections, is this also. We have not sufficient numbers of really good people to go to these Councils." Now he keeps no money himself; but his assistants are always hard put to accounting for every pie received. It is no joke keeping these accounts, as sums (particularly small coin) come pouring in constantly and moneys have to be counted up in moving trains and cars.

The devotion that he inspires in the multitude is something stupendous. In moving cars people will attempt to touch him, and the touching very often degenerates into regular hitting; and he has to be constantly protected from the attention of his devotees. I have heard that in Bihar when people were not able to get to him through the cordon of volunteers, they touched his feet with the ends of their long sticks, thus considerably hurting him. I have myself seen him painfully hurt by large marigold flowers and garlands thrown at him by surrounding crowds. If volunteers are not very often harsh and if his faithful companion, Prof. J. B. Kripalani, did not indulge so often in his simulated anger, and now and then, even his very real blows, the crowds would make a pulp of Mahatmaji's frail

body in no time, out of sheer exuberance of affection. In the Gorakhpur District the crowds were immense, mounting up to a hundred-thousand or more at Padrauna. Mahatmaji himself described the meeting there as the largest he has seen in his life, full of immense gatherings as his life has been. All stations in the Gorakhpur District were invariably overcrowded; and at one place he addressed the meeting near a railway-station from the top of a motor lorry, which he mounted with remarkable celerity and dexterity; and then stooped down to pick up pice that people were offering him. Our crowds are always good humoured though always indisciplined. They would sit hours in rain and sun just to have his *darshan*: and in the midst of all this confusion Mahatmaji would take his meals and spin and tackle with his *daftar* as if nothing was happening. And then late at night, after a strenuous day, he would sit down—as he did at Gorakhpur—to write out the arbitrators' award in a labour dispute. His mind is always fresh and clear and ready to attack any problem or plunge in any work at any time of the day or night.

And he can also be angry; but his anger is expressed in language so unutterably loving that there is no reaction of anger in the hearer's mind; only a feeling of shame and sorrow and determination to do better is left behind. He has no patience with avoidable expenses on costly decorations, receptions, rich food, etc.; with mismanagement that, with a little forethought, could have been avoided; with unnecessary risks to life and limb taken in erecting weak platforms that crash down. And if any such thing happens, the workers have to listen to his reproaches and dare not say anything in extenuation of what had happened. I would gladly face a really angry man and have my say at him also: but such moments with Mahatmaji, I should always avoid.

I have written above about his impatience with avoidable expenses. In fact he is embarrassingly economical. I believe a

rich man can be safely defined as one who can afford to waste with impunity and a poor man as one who cannot. As Mahatmaji lives the life of a poor man deliberately, he simply *would* not waste anything. He preserves all pins, and half-sheets of blank papers from letters for use, and writes on the backs¹ of papers written or printed on the other side. I witnessed a scene worth recording. His handkerchief had gone astray. He started furiously searching for it all over the place. We all joined in the hunt. He would insist on having that and would not let us bring another, though he was in a hurry to go to a meeting. Well, at last he went without it, and then discovered it tucked to his shoulder—for he has no pockets—when he retired to bed at night, as he put aside the piece of cloth that lies round his shoulders fastened by safety pins! He would waste nothing. The world, of course, knows that he travels third class; and though railway officials invariably try to provide comfortable accommodation for him, this is not always possible. Very often he may be found cheerfully seated in the most crowded compartments.

Do any of my readers feel that it would be a proud privilege and a source of constant pleasure to serve Mahatmaji? Do any one of them think of the lines of Mira where she pants in language of ecstatic beauty, to 'be taken into Krishna's service? Well, my advice is: give up. It is no joke to serve him; and I am sure it was no joke to serve Krishna or any extraordinary human being for that matter. Gandhiji's secretaries, Pyarelal and Kusumbehen are always at it; and the work never ends. Pyarelal often works till late at night and sleeps wherever he can bundle himself up; and Kusumbehen has always instructions to take. Mirabehen (Miss Slade) and

¹ We know of another distinguished member of the Working Committee of the Congress, who writes not only on the backs of printed pages but also right *across* them! And we are credibly informed that he developed this habit long before he became acquainted with Gandhiji.

Ba (Mrs. Gandhi) are hard put to taking care of his body ; Mirabehen looks after his bath, clothes, etc., and Mrs. Gandhi after his food. Then there is Prof. Kripalani with his cash and his constant anxiety to protect him from devoted crowds. It is certainly a privilege to serve him ; but his service is no bed of roses, as it may appear to those who have never seen anything of it. Then, do any of my readers—human nature being what it is—say to themselves: ‘I wish I were Mahatmaji, with all his glory and greatness.’ Give up again. It is better as you are. For verily Mahatmaji’s life is not worth living, judging from the standpoint of ordinary human needs and desires. Nature can verily stand up and say with pride pointing to him: “Here is a man”; but ordinary men will scarcely like to go through a week of what he goes through week after week, month after month, and year after year. He has promised to give himself a year’s rest and see the sights of India when Swaraj is gained. May that soon happen! Today he practically declines seeing any sight of architectural or other interest, even if put in his way. Jawaharlal was right when he said: “Mahatma Gandhi is our greatest propaganda”; for who else can inspire such devotion and who can be so much respected, loved, and, may I add, feared as he is; and who else could have raised the status of our country and our countrymen, in our present submerged condition, at home and abroad as he has done. Rajendra Prasad was right when he said that no one in all human history has attracted in his own life-time such immense crowds of devotees, on such an extensive surface of the globe, as Mahatmaji has done. I must confess to a feeling of sorrow as I see these scores of thousands of my countrymen and countrywomen assembling for Mahatmaji, for I know it is only for his *darshan* and not to do his bidding. Their attitude here is what it is when they gather for a bath on the occasion of solar or lunar eclipse or jostle one another in their mad rush to get to the God in the temple on a holy day. They feel their duty done when they have had the *darshan*: they

do not realise that, however purifying the sight of such a holy saint as Mahatmaji may be, what he himself wants is that his words should be followed in action so that the goal of India's Swaraj might soon be reached. This they all forget even when they offer him their hard-earned money without stint. But though they might forget this, and though they might not always be able to carry out his simple teachings in detail in their daily life, and though they might think that a *darshan* of him is enough—yet it is unmistakably clear that behind their craving for the *darshan* is the deep-seated feeling that that handful of bone and flesh is inspired by a Beneficent Power which has decided that India shall no longer grovel in the dust; and the figure has become a matter of religion to them, and they will, in emergencies, probably be willing to risk all for his sake, unrecking of consequences as they have always done in the past when they felt their religion was involved. And, therefore, they cry with the ring of true sincerity: *Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*. And—all unworthy as I am—I too cry with the rest of my countrymen what is undoubtedly going to be one of the national cries of the land for ever:

Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai

Poetry of Devotion

BY PROF. T. VIRABHADRU, M.A.

One of the great Krishna-worshippers in Ancient India was Bilvamangala or Lilasuka, the author of *Sri Krishna Karnamritam*, a series of lyrics in Sanskrit in which the poet reveals his great devotion to Sri Krishna. He seems to have belonged to the 11th century A.D.¹ and though no accurate biographical details are within our reach, traditional accounts of him indicate that he was a Telugu Brahmin of Srikakulam² and that a certain woman, Chintamani, whom he loved, was the cause of his transformation from worldliness and dissipation into saintliness and devotion.³ From the poem itself we can learn one very interesting thing : that the poet belonged to a family of staunch Saivites, enthusiastic about the significance of the utterance of *Panchakshari* (the five letters—*Na ma ssi va ya*), but that his heart was ever throbbing to utter the name and see the smiling face, with its dark blue radiance, of the sweet little child of that famous milk-woman (Yasoda).⁴ As the title of the book indicates, the poem is full of a nectar-like music which is a solace to the ear and a solace to the soul. The poet's *bhakti* or devotion to God Vishnu in *this* shape or *Avatar* is most extraordinary. That he is specially in love with this aspect of Sri Krishna's life, His wonderful childhood, can be inferred from this one verse, among others of a similar nature, where he shows how even the image of Rama does not satisfy his soul as much as that of Krishna. Kodanda-

¹ Keith's *History of Skt. Literature*.

² *Sri Krishna Karnamritam* (Anandasrama Grandhamala, Madras.)

³ See opening verse : also the Telugu drama, *Chintamani*.

⁴ S. K. II—24.

Rama (Rama with the bow) one day stood before him, but the poet's reply shows that He was rejected :

'Having given up Thy bow and arrow for a minute, take a flute in hand, and put a peacock-feather in Thy hair. I shall, Lord of Sita, gladly greet Thee.'¹

In the course of his rapturous description of the lovely little Boy, he sings :

Such a childhood! such lotus-face! such love! the charm of those ever-rolling eyes! that enchanting beauty! the wealth of that soft smile! It is true, it is true, I can declare to the world: 'Even among the gods it is impossible to seek!'²

Addressing his God he says:

Thy gait is slow and majestic, Thy words are honeyed, Thy smile sprinkles nectar, Thy embrace is tight and warm; I see, now I see, the reason why the *Gopis* are enamoured so highly of Thy deeds!³

In his opinion his Boy-God is the most lovely object in the Universe and there is nothing else, however beautiful, that can approach it in excellence or charm. He vehemently proclaims:

If there be any, a thousand, who are critics of art, let them be;
If there be any who are images of supreme beauty, let them be;

We have no quarrel with them: we don't want to please them either by flattery;

All we know is, "Perfection of beauty exists only in one place—*Thyself*!"⁴

His enthusiasm reaches its zenith when he, seeing, in one of his mystical moods, a little boy walking in the streets of Mathura, asks:

O, little girl, who is this boy that has just entered the streets of Mathura?

¹ S.K. III—95.

² S. K. I—55.

³ S. K. I—27.

⁴ S. K. I—99.

and recognising, on coming near, the jewel-like peacock-feather on the head, the inviting lips, the smiling face and embodied joy, exclaims in ecstasy:

Oh! What a splendour! Wonderful! Wonderful!

Oh! A wonderful, very wonderful Light!

It is this picture that the poet feels painted on the tablet of his heart. He would sometimes feel that his mind was stuck up in the meshes of Sri Krishna's love and could not be drawn out. Once he would feel that his heart was absorbed into His. Sometimes he would feel triumphant that he could catch Sri Krishna and keep Him in his heart, as when he makes one of the milk-maids say:—

Thou didst forcibly get out when I caught Thee in my hands.

That was nothing. I would consider it manliness if Thou couldst by any means go out of my *heart* !¹

There are also occasions when the *Bhakta* feels depressed, for he cannot see his God-Friend ; nevertheless he eagerly looks forward to the moment when he can enjoy eternal bliss in His presence. He often asks : " Will the time arrive when I can see Him ? Will He ever cast a glance at me ? Can I ever kiss Him to my heart's content with my two eyes ? " and exclaims joyfully, " How happy would I be if I could see Him ! How blessed the day on which I see Him ! " But the thought that the God who has manifold duties to perform and might forget him altogether, often intrudes upon his peace, reminding us of Tukaram the great Maratha psalmist who said :—

So many tasks and cares
Are Thine, while I—
I am forgot thus, alas,
And left to die !²

He admits that Krishna is absorbed in the music of the flute but he often asks himself, " cannot the sounds of my song creep into His ear in the intervals ? " Seeing no way out of the

¹ S. K. III—37.

² *Psalm of Maratha Saints* (The 'Heritage of India' series) p. 59.

difficulty, he makes an earnest appeal to the flute in these words :

Dear Flute, tasting, as thou dost, the sweet honey of the breath of Sri Krishna's smiling lotus-face, grant me one boon. Being so near His pearl-lip, wilt thou, unobserved by others, whisper into the ears of Nanda's son my sad plight? ¹

The devotee's condition is pitiable when, in spite of all his efforts, he cannot see Him or meet Him. His song is pathetic when he sings :

Friend of the helpless, Ocean of kindness, Hari, I have been spending fruitless days without sight of Thee. Alas! Alas! What a pity! ²

Once or twice he tried to catch his friend but was defeated in his purpose, for,

Sweeter than Sweetness, it captivated my heart: Quicker than Quickness, it eluded my grasp. ³

On the other hand, Sri Krishna played the little thief that He generally is :

It was He who stole away the agony in the hearts of pious sages :

It was He who stole away the garments of the love-intoxicated cowherdesses :

It was He who stole away the pride of Indra, Lord of the Heavens :

How powerless I am when he is stealing away the lotus of my heart now! ⁴

This sage, like all other poet-admirers of Krishna, represents Him as one who steals away cream and butter, and whatever is tasteful in the world. Undoubtedly the human heart is

¹ S.K. II—11.

² S.K. I—41.

³ S.K. I—65.

⁴ S.K. I—81.

the most precious thing on earth, and what wonder is there if the Great Stealer carries away men's hearts with Him? The poet says that on one occasion he met Him, but his heart was not satisfied and was longing to see Him again. We are told, 'Love grows by what it feeds on,' and it is certainly a curious stream, for, the more we drink of it, the greater is the thirst. The enthusiasm of the poet for his object of love is so intense that whatever belongs to Him is lovely; His lips, His smile, His feet, His anklets, His flute, His peacock-feather, His blue colour and His sleep. The Child-Krishna is ever the object of his devotion, whose spirit has sunk in him. He is the dream of his dreams and it is enough if his dear God should listen to his last prayer :

Standing, legs cross-wise, with the peacock-feather adorning
the head, singing the flute song with the head turned to
one side, how blessed should I be if this Light, the
Transcendental and the kind, stood before me at the time
of my final parting !¹

or will Sri Krishna remember him at least after his death ? He suggests :

The bamboo on the bank of the Jumna has been blessed by its
association with Sri Krishna's diamond-lip.

Can I have the fortune, in my next birth at least, of my being
born on the Jumna bank to serve as Krishna's flute and
be blessed ?²

He confesses that he sees only one figure, hears only one
sound, and knows only one thing :

Protector of cows, Ocean of love, Husband of Lakshmi,
Destroyer of Kamsa, Saviour of the Elephant-King,

Father of the three worlds, Lotus-eyed God, Lord of the
milk-maids, save me. I confess I know nothing except
Thee—³

¹ S. K. II—22.

² S. K. II—9.

³ S. K. II—108.

A confession which all wise men have made after much travailing. After having read and read, thought and thought, every great sage has admitted, with Tukaram the devotee of Vithoba :

Naught know I but Thy name alone.

(The writer apologises to all lovers of Sanskrit for having ventured upon this 'free translation' of the lyrics of one of the greatest poet-mystics of the world. Apart from the inaccuracy of the translation, in the tame and prosaic language of the translator, one misses the exquisite music and the wonderful lyric charm of the original).

“ Buddha under the Bodhi Tree.”
(Dry Point.)

Two 'Dry Points'

ARTIST: K. RAMA MOHAN SASTRY

Etching is widely practised in Europe at the present day, and 'Dry Point' is a fascinating variety of it. It is a linear method, and generally 'sketchy'. But in the hands of an Indian Artist who is essentially a master of line, it yields a finished and lyrical charm, as may be seen from these two pictures. The feeling of colour is a special feature of the line in this method, but very little of the beauty of the original can be conveyed in a reproduction.

The Buddha's attainment of Liberation under the Bodhi Tree forms the theme of the first picture. "It is beautiful in the restraint and slight drawing and has a great deal of imagination"—('The Madras Mail') A duplicate is in the collection of the Hon. H. G. Stokes, C.S.I.

In the second picture, Omar is represented as seated by his Beloved and asking her to fill the cup to the last drop, for, "Tomorrow, why—who knows?" The falling rose-petals are highly suggestive.



“Omar,”
(Dry Point.)

Dr. Sir S. Subramaniam : Lawyer and Judge

BY K. S. VENKATARAMANI

Ever since the transfer of India to the Crown, many Indians of great talents have played prominent parts in the consolidation and refinement of British rule. Of such eminent Indians, Subramaniam with Muthuswami the Judge and Bhashyam the jurist formed a brilliant trio gaining a special reputation for Madras and a first class name for Indian judicial talents. But Subramaniam was more representative of the Time-Spirit of transitional India, and his work, largely pioneering and humanitarian, reflected more precisely the hopes and aspirations of the people.

Subramaniam was born in Madura on 1st October 1842. After a short but brilliant school life, he passed the B.L. in 1868 straight from the F.A. Subramaniam enrolled himself as a Vakil of the Madras High Court in 1869 but set up practice at Madura, the homeland of his forefathers for over five generations.

Subramaniam enjoyed the golden mean which gives a talented young man a proper start in life. He was neither so opulent as to waste away in ignoble ease, nor so poor as to feel the chill of poverty. He was well-connected and had a wide circle of cultured relations. His father had endowed him with the priceless inheritance of a whirlwind energy, and his own good angel blessed his cradle with a very rare and mobile intelligence.

Subramaniam made his mark very early in his career. He continued to have increasing practice and respect at the Madura Bar of which he became the leader almost from the start.

Law is a jealous mistress. But Subramaniam's splendid energy and versatile gifts led him to take interest in public life, especially municipal work. In recognition of such work he was nominated in 1884 as a non-official member of the Madras Legislative Council. This change of place in the public activity of Subramaniam naturally brought about a change in the place of his professional work. He migrated from Madura to Madras, from the provincial to the metropolitan city.

From 1885 to 1895, his was the most splendid career for a decade at the Madras Bar. Sir V. Bhashyam, the eminent jurist, was his formidable opponent. They mutually kept each other at the maximum of effort and brilliance. Law, as administered according to British jurisprudence, was still an unexplored field and acutely and all embracingly responsive to the subtlety, memory, dryness and logical clearness of the South Indian mind. The joy of pioneering work welded the Bench and the Bar in a comradeship of high endeavour and gave even to mediocre talents the spurts of genius. The legal profession had then the urge of a renascent impulse, the sweetness of law and order coming after a period of troubled political uncertainty. It was still a fresh and fluid thing. It was not yet prisoned and standardised into melancholy digest-work leading to pitiful nervous break-down of the most hopeful and gifted young.

Subramaniam and Bhashyam, ranged on opposite sides in such an atmosphere, had the chance for the full play of creative genius, with something of the quickening which ordinarily the expressionistic impulse of sex alone gives. This largely accounts for the splendid heights to which both Sir V. Bhashyam and Subramaniam always rose and kept also Muthuswami, that eminent judge, at his very highest. The atmosphere had the exciting joy of first class work such as a new farm gives to its young owner-tiller.

Subramaniam as a lawyer and judge owed his pre-eminence to one quality, his acute sense for truth. It was almost an uncanny power with him. His lightning mind took in the whole

situation at a glance and gave him an extraordinary command over facts and the rarer power of grouping them in their proper places in the framework. He had the vision to relate the facts on paper to their relevant setting in the human story of a case. This authentic imagination gave his forensic advocacy the grip and intimacy of a personal narrative.

Subramaniam's forensic eloquence was like a cord of silk, even, soft, slender-looking but strong. It had neither knots nor twists, to assure even the casual and careless touch of its excellence. Its colour was white. It lacked prismatic glow. But it had the living freshness and the sprouting graces of the spring. It was adequate without being hard. It was subtle without being sinuous. It was suggestive without being vague. His spoken word was greater than the written. For, his voice was fascinating and fully charged with the electrons of sympathy.

Subramaniam was a very good scholar in general and an ardent worker in law. But he was not a pedlar who carried his stock ever on his back, showing all his wares at every door. His wide reading he never used merely for crowded display in a single judgment or for an isolated and misleading forensic triumph. He used it only to implement his resources and widen the range of illustrative reasoning. The sense of pity and righteousness dominated every other impulse.

But these very excellences which broadened the river and amplified its majesty, served only to lessen the glory of incisive motion which his great rival, Sir V. Bhashyam, enjoyed. The method of each is worth a careful study. Subramaniam's was a frontal attack well-supported and in full dignity, sensitive to every rule and decorum of the game. But Sir V. Bhashyam's was a flank movement of infinite strategy with dagger and spear, and with the utmost economy of action. It broke the enemy or itself the first few moments. There was no middle position. It was in essence combat of the highest order and deadliest intention. Sir V. Bhashyam had that extraordinary instinct for a

perfect economy of materials resulting from constant test, careful selection, keen foresight and all-absorbed preparation and thinking.

Subramaniam's forensic eloquence radiates like solar energy over all. It spreads itself everywhere for the sheer joy of it. The seeming waste is much. But Bhashyam's, like an X-ray, penetrates to the core and lights the dark interior with a flaming torch. It had all the narrowness, sharpness and strength of an one-pointed and centralised effort. If it wins, it wins by surprise. If it fails, it demoralises the game itself. Both in success and in failure, the whole field is strewn with many a wreckage, doubts and difficulties. It unsettles the existing order. It is a great instrument of power for destruction, and never reckons for a moment that the law is part of life. It lifts as well as debases the science of law into a science like geometry and algebra where the symbols are live men and valuable materials. This subtle and incisive power, Subramaniam possessed in an almost equal degree without his rival's sovereign devotion to the gift. But his comprehension of law was that, as part of life, the smaller game should be controlled by the rules of the higher. He lived as a lawyer for life's own beautiful sake, not for the law's own cruel and jealous exactions, and abstract and tormenting glories, like Sir V. Bhashyam.

From the lawyer to the judge, it was the greatest narrowing which Subramaniam's sunny genius had to bend to out of deference to the unseen but real spirit of the age. But even into the cushioned chair of the judge, warm and velvet-lined, he carried without violence to any sense of propriety or order, the same humanitarian outlook and unified vision of life. The reforming and progressive spirit, constantly kept within proper legal bounds, expresses itself in all his leading judgments.

As a judge he had to succeed perhaps the greatest Indian judge. Subramaniam's contribution of quality as a judge was again in his mode of approach to the law. It was not to him a grand and isolated phenomenon in a waste, but a delicate and

vital minor scheme in the major. He worked at it both from within and without. If he knew its chemistry, he knew as well its qualities as a whole. He conceived law not merely as a system but as an organic expression of a growing society. He was widely read in the systems of other lands, ever equipping his mind with legal principles for ready application. His command of facts was always quick and sure, and at a flash he saw the truth of a case and struggled with unrivalled success, to body it even against technical difficulties.

And not one judgment is below the mark. There is a complete adequacy. The reasoning is close and clear. The facts are well-arranged. There is an all-round satisfaction. The Bench and the Bar acclaim it. There is a very high degree of conscientious work and a sense of high endeavour.

But it is difficult to say more. Even his best judgment is not a classic utterance. It may turn a corner. But it makes no epoch by doing it in the grand manner. It is not inspiring. It declares the law by no new and vitalising process but only by the earnest vigor of the decretal portion which, no doubt, enshrines a sound legal principle. The perception is clear. The conclusion is sound. But the process lacks the intrepid gait and graces, the narrative ease and reasoning of the born judge. For, Subramaniam's genius was essentially intuitive. He suffered from an excessive humility which played false to his own endowments. The reasoning is cogent but parenthetical. The method of narration is by little frog-leaps. The even progress is arrested by intuitive flashes. The presentation is earnest and vivid but not sustained, grand or masterly as it should be. The best portions are under quotation. There is not the customary sweep even of the hand, not to talk of the eyes, with which we are so familiar with Subramaniam as a lawyer or a public man. The truth is that his judicial robe sat tight on him. He wore it as a heavy stuff of honour and never mentioned to any one that he often experienced hard breathing under this excess of drapery.

His knowledge of case-law was ample. All judicial origin-

ality is no doubt usefully controlled by precedents. But to a great judge case-law is but a spring-board for a magic leap of his own. But Subramaniam lost even his own native elasticity on the fatal, narrow board.

Judged by absolute standards, his achievement as a judge falls even below expectation. This is largely traceable to a break in the chord of expression. The psychology of human relationship appraised without ardour or emotion, and viewed with an architectonic and dry mind is the hinter-land from whose shaded and tangled depths spring most of the fertilising legal principles. Subramaniam knew these hinter-lands thoroughly as no explorer had known before or after. He had also a creditable mastery of current legal principles with their historic growth. But the mastery in each domain remained separate and unrelated. The dynamo worked wasting its power largely, as the line of transmission to the actual factory, well-equipped and ready to start, was feeble. In the relating of the two into a self-luminous and growing whole, which he tried with the instinct of a true jurist, he failed for reasons that are both traceable to his own gifts and to the Time-Spirit. He was not a creative artist. He was not a profound thinker. Without these two excellences, it is not possible to do anything first rate, from tennis play to the founding of a religion, whatever your other gifts may be.

Sir V. Bhashyam, if not a profound, was at least a very absorbed thinker within the narrow lines of his own choice and truly a bit of a creative artist, for he had that rare gift of a sense of economy which is of the greatest art. Sir T. Muthuswami excelled both in both the qualities in a great measure. He was only a foot down the peak, yet sufficiently distant and high to obscure the casual eye from the unascended steps.

Subramaniam's synthetic mind was wholly of a different order. It worked with the aid of instinct and intuition and the flash of a kind of genius somewhat unsuited to the arid atmo-

sphere of the law. He lacked the acute, continuous and sustained reasoning, the intense fervour and the reducing power of his great rival, though he brought to bear upon every point a catholic richness of mind and spirit.

Subramaniam felt the atmospheric depression of the age even in his best achievements. He was not a virile creative thinker in law adding the flux of his own daring genius to the vast and irregular materials before him. He was synthetic and intuitive, qualities valuable to a leader of men but not of much use to a judge. The net result is a lack of distinction and of a touch of immortality.

Subramaniam had the insight of genius, the fervour of the reformer and the self-effacing benevolence of a great and evolved Soul. He had all the excellences of a great public worker. Born in the strenuous West, he would have ended as a Liberal Prime-Minister like Gladstone. Born in a non-transitional Vedic India, he would have been a Rishi, a law-giver, and a great ethical preacher. But transitional India under British rule narrowed and kneaded him into an eminent legal luminary and denied him the amber of everlasting fame.

The recipe for immortality is still a secret with the gods. It is a trying trick of Fortune and Fate. It is carelessly given and carelessly withheld. Ages pass by telling hundreds of years and millions of births without one single immortal life. Therefore let none regret that this great South Indian of the last century did not and could not take rank among the immortals of the world. He was almost near it in the sun-lit hours of his highest radiance.

Land Revenue Reform

BY E. V. SUNDARA REDDI, M.A., B.L.

The question of land revenue legislation has, in recent years, assumed considerable importance. It is not proposed here to discuss the historical aspect of our land revenue policy, except in so far as it may be relevant to a consideration of the lines on which reform therein should be secured. The main features of the present land revenue system in this Presidency may be briefly stated and the lines on which the system should be modified considered.

Of the total area in the Madras Presidency, about one-third is held by the Zamindars and Inamdars and the rest is held under the Ryotwari system. At the time the Ryotwari system was introduced in the Presidency, it was obviously within the contemplation of the persons who introduced the said system that, after the rates on the land were satisfactorily and equitably fixed, they should be declared permanent and unchangeable. The recorded opinion of the authors of the Ryotwari Settlement, Col. Read and Sir Thomas Munro, leaves no doubt whatever as regards the permanent character of the settlement contemplated by them. Read's proclamation in Salem in 1796 is clear and unambiguous with reference to this matter. Equally clear and unambiguous is the evidence of Sir Thomas Munro given before the Committee of the House of Commons. In view of the importance of the subject, I may be permitted to extract hereunder the relevant portion from his recorded evidence :—

Q.—Have the goodness to explain to the Committee what you understand by the Ryotwari system?

A.—I shall state what I understand to be the principle of the Ryotwari system, the details will perhaps be too extensive.

The principle of the Ryotwari system is to fix an assessment upon the whole land of the country. *This assessment is permanent; every ryot who is likewise the cultivating proprietor of the land which he holds is permitted to hold that land at a fixed assessment as long as he pleases; he holds it for ever without any additional assessment.* If he occupies any waste or additional land he pays the assessment that is fixed upon that land and no more; his rent undergoes no alteration.

Q.—Is the Committee to understand that in respect to permanency there is no difference between the Ryotwari system and Bengal Permanent Settlement?

A.—With reference to permanency there is no difference between these two systems. But the Ryotwari leaves the Government an increasing revenue arising from the waste in proportion to its cultivation.

In the face of what has been set out above, it is somewhat of a surprise that in the report of the Madras Board of Revenue annexed to the Resolution of the Government of India on the Indian Land Revenue Policy issued in 1902 the Board should say that the words 'fixity' and 'permanency' as applied to the assessment did not, when used regarding the Ryotwari system, connote the idea of perpetual immutability.

During the early half of the nineteenth century the demands on land varied in intensity. The arrangements made for the assessment and collection of land revenue were far from satisfactory. The defects of the system and the hardships they entailed were laid bare by witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committees which sat in 1848 and also during the Parliamentary enquiries of 1852 and 1853. In 1855 a survey and re-assessment of the province was at last ordered. The principle of permanent settlement was not then abandoned. The Madras Government would then state that "one fundamental of the Ryotwari system is that the Government demand on the land is fixed for ever."

In 1861 Lord Canning's Government circulated proposals to extend the permanent settlement to all the provinces in India

and the Madras Government then favoured the old Ryotwari principle of a permanent assessment, that is to say, an assessment based on a certain portion of the crop, and converted into a money payment at a fair commutation rate fixed once and for ever.

Sir John Lawrence, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir Stafford Northcote also favoured a permanent settlement, but in 1883 the then Secretary of State rejected the recommendation for the introduction of the permanent settlement.

In sanctioning the survey and re-assessment, the Secretary of State in his Despatch of 1862 accepted "the principle of eventual introduction of permanency in assessment." The survey and re-assessment that followed had doubtless in the main equalised the incidence of the land revenue on the ryots and made it more equitable, but since that period the principle of periodical revisions of assessment has come to stay.

It is a matter which has been the subject of certain controversy as to whether the early proclamation and Government orders and despatches which declared that the assessment was to be fixed for ever were formally given the go-bye, and whether such declarations should not still be regarded as subsisting and binding on the Government. It is clearly unprofitable to discuss this aspect of the matter in view of the circumstance that, since that period, the system of periodical revisions has been in force and it is now regarded as part of the land revenue administration of the Presidency.

The next step in the evolution of the land revenue system in the Madras Presidency was by way of defining the limits to the demands of the Government and to the enhancements at the time of periodical revisions. In 1883 Lord Ripon made a proposal to the Government of Madras to give to the ryots an assurance of permanence and security without depriving the State "of the power of enhancement of the revenue on defined conditions." In the same year the Government of Madras accepted the said proposal and declared that "there should be no future enhance-

ments of the Government demand except on the ground of a rise in prices." In 1885, however, the then Secretary of State set his face against what was described by him as "the dangerous policy of pledging the Government for ever to a particular line of action." In 1900 in a memorial submitted to the Secretary of State by an influential body of Retired Officials (Indian and European) it was suggested that the enhancement should be made only on defined conditions, but Lord Curzon in 1902 in his Resolution on the land revenue policy refused to limit the enhancement to any such "defined conditions".

Since the day of issue of the Resolution of Lord Curzon's Government on the Indian Land Revenue Policy, and up to the stage of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report in 1919 which recommended that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought within the purview of the legislature, there has been a great deal of discussion of the merits of the land revenue system and administration in the Presidency and the whole policy has come under a careful scrutiny and examination by diverse individuals and organizations. The said committee expressed the opinion that the time had come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land revenue is determined, the methods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the periods of revision, the graduation of enhancements and the other chief processes which touch the well-being of the revenue payers, and they suggested that the whole policy should be embodied in a statute before the next change in the constitution. Yet in this Presidency, there has not so far been any legislation on the subject.

In a thought-provoking lecture on the Land Revenue Problem in India and England delivered by Mr. Montagu on the eve of the War, he said:—

"You will notice that each individual liable for revenue has to pay the proportion demanded in his locality according to the nature of his holding; if this should happen to amount, say to 1/5th of the net profits of cultivation, the big man pays

Rs. 20 out of 100 and the small man pays one rupee out of five. We are getting accustomed to recognise that the hardship in the latter case is a good deal greater than in the former.

"Allowances are made, it is true, for the small man in India; now it is done at the discretion of revenue officers and not on any uniform principles and *one is tempted to wonder whether it would be possible to apply a graduated scale of assessment instead.* There is, of course, the theoretical objection that such a measure would promptly label the land revenue as a tax. But I cannot help thinking that the Government of India's record shows that it is strong enough to look this difficulty boldly in the face and pass it by."

Notwithstanding the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee made nearly a decade before and the volume of influential opinion, official and non-official, in favour of land revenue reform and legislation, the Government have not seen their way to give effect to the same. The Madras Legislative Council declared itself unequivocally in favour of a permanent settlement and a resolution to that effect was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the members of the Council. The Council also adopted a resolution recommending that re-settlements in the Districts should be deferred pending land revenue legislation but the re-settlement in the Districts has gone on. The whole question came up before the mixed committee of officials and non-officials appointed in 1921 and presided over by the then Hon'ble Mr. Habibullah Sahib. The committee were called upon to consider the draft of a bill submitted to the Government by the Board of Revenue for the purpose of regulating the assessment of land revenue. It is a matter for some satisfaction that the committee recognised the existence of very strong opinion among a certain section of persons who had given considerable attention and thought to this question that some form of a permanent settlement should be introduced. The members of the committee were generally in agreement with the proposal to introduce the permanent settlement, subject however to a

recognition of the right of the State to impose, if and when the exigencies of the State may require, additional taxation from land. The committee itself recognised the justice and equity of the proposals to introduce the principles of exemption of smaller land holders and of the introduction of the element of progression in the further taxation contemplated, after the land is once "permanently assessed". The majority of the committee, however, were opposed to their adoption consequent on the difficulties which their introduction suggested. But it is significant to note that even the proposal made by the majority of the committee, whereby the right to regulate the enhancements at periodical revisions was to be vested in the Legislative Council, was not acceptable to the Government and hence such attempts as the Government made to place on the statute book the present procedure, subject only to a restriction of rate of enhancement to $18\frac{3}{4}\%$ and certain improvements in the details, did not rightly find favour with the Council. The Government have, however, by an administrative order restricted the enhancement at any re-settlement to $18\frac{3}{4}\%$. This however does not carry matters far. To the extent it goes, no doubt it is a step in the right direction. But what is necessary is a radical change in the land revenue policy, not a tinkering with it here and there.

The Madras Ryotwari Land Holders' Association, which came into existence with the main object of securing a reform of the present land revenue policy of the Government, has devoted considerable attention to the question of land revenue, and the recommendations of the Sub-Committee appointed to go into the question are set out hereunder:—

1. That the Sub-Committee were agreed that a distinction should be made between the smaller and larger land holders in the taxation of land.

2. That it was necessary to consider whether, in taxing agricultural incomes, any differentiation should be made between

the income derived from the cultivation of food crops and of commercial crops.

3. That the Sub-Committee were of opinion that a fixed rent charge and a tax on agricultural incomes, the same to be so designed as not to alter the existing total amount of the revenue, appeared to be satisfactory methods of deriving the revenue from land. In other words, the committee agreed that the land holder and not land alone should be taken into consideration in any system of taxation of land and that this necessitated a distinction between the smaller and larger land holders. The committee favoured the proposal that, after such equalisation of the incidence in the different districts in such manner as may be just and necessary, the assessment should be declared permanent and *any additional revenue, as the exigencies of the State may require and which cannot be secured otherwise than by the further taxation of land, should be derived by a tax on agricultural incomes.* The latter part of the proposal was subsequently modified by adoption of the suggestion to levy a cess on a graduated scale payable by pattadars or proprietors paying Rs. 100 and above as assessment.

The First Madras Ryotwari Landholders Conference, held at Madras in August 1921, adopted the under-mentioned resolutions:—

(1) That this Conference is of opinion that the idea of submitting for the sanction of the Legislature the re-settlement proposals for the several districts separately and of continuing the policy of periodical settlements on such legislative authority, cannot be regarded as affording sufficient safeguard and protection for the interests of the raiyats.

(2) That this Conference records its emphatic opinion that no legislation which does not provide for a permanent fixation of the Land Revenue can be adequate to remove the existing evils in the Land Revenue Policy of the Madras Government or to ameliorate the sad economic condition of the raiyat.

(3) That this Conference is further strongly of opinion that the basis for such fixation should be that of existing settlements where they are not less than 10 years old, and in cases of

settlements less than 10 years old, it should be by a reduction of at least 15%, provided that the legislature may, when special necessity arises and it could not be met by other sources of revenue or new taxes, impose special cesses (or surtaxes) for meeting such necessity on pattadars paying Rs. 100 and above as land tax.

It may also be of interest to summarise the more important of the proposals made from time to time for the reform of the present system :—

1. After an equitable re-adjustment of the burdens in the different districts, the revenue should be settled and fixed. The idea of periodical revisions should be abandoned. Any necessary increase in revenue which cannot be secured by having recourse to other taxes should be obtained by levying a certain percentage of the existing assessment, with the sanction of the Legislature every year, the same being in the nature of a super-tax leviable by the Provincial Legislature. (See The Hon. Mr. V.K. Ramanujachariar's "Land Revenue Settlement," p. 86).

2. After an equitable re-adjustment of the burden in different districts, the assessment should be permanently fixed at a certain proportion of the existing level, say two-thirds, being in the nature of a quit-rent or rent charge on the land, and the reduction in the revenue thus entailed made good by the levy of an income-tax on agricultural incomes. (See Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar's "Land Revenue Problem in Southern India," p. 16).

3. (a) The ratio of the tax on agricultural incomes should be fixed after deducting a food allowance for the producer and his family and a sufficient sum to enable him to retain a small margin to fulfil the customary social requirements of his country. (b) At periodic settlement of revisions, land rent should never be raised on individual holdings by more than 20 per cent. on the larger holdings, except for special reasons, while, on the smaller, this should be much reduced. (c) Settlements should be definitely fixed for thirty years and enhancements should be spread over six quinquenniums and not have effect at once. (d) The present standard of 50 per cent. of the landlord's assets urgently needs revision to bring it on a level with taxes in civilized countries. (e) The forecast

prepared by revenue officials and approved by Government should be discussed in the Imperial Legislative Council and Local Legislative Councils and sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council or Governor in Council respectively. (See Sir O'Moore Creagh's 'Indian Studies,' p. 184).

4. Abolition of the land tax and the adoption of universal income-tax embracing every income and varying with the size of the family. (See Jack's 'Economic Life of a Bengal District,' p. 189).

It has been suggested that the adoption of this proposal will have the incidental effect of doing away with the Permanent Settlement.

5. The land to be assessed at a certain percentage of land values. Thus, an acre worth Rs. 1,000 will be assessed Rs. 10, at 1 per cent. of its land value. No other charges will be leviable in respect of such land, as water rate or second crop charges. (See also the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachariar's 'Land Revenue Settlement').

6. Taxation of land values to be periodically revised and taxation of agricultural incomes.

The Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee constituted in 1924 to make a general enquiry into Indian Taxation were directed,

- (1) to examine the manner in which the burden of taxation is distributed at present between each class of the population,
- (2) to consider whether the whole scheme of taxation—Central, Provincial and Local—is equitable and in accordance with the economic principles, and, if not, in what respects it is defective and,
- (3) to report on the suitability of alternative sources of taxation.

From a survey of the systems of land taxation in other countries the Committee at p. 37 of their Report observe the tendencies of modern development to be as follows:—

1. The flat rate of tax on annual or capital value is kept comparatively low.

2. The income from, and property in, land are treated, for purpose of income-tax and death duties, on exactly the same footing as other incomes and property.

3. Where an increasing share has been taken of the return from land, it has generally been taken for local purposes.

*The proposals of the Committee referred only to temporary settlements, as the question of permanent settlement was outside their terms of reference. . The Committee were divided in opinion as to whether or not the land revenue should be regarded as a tax on the individual who pays it, but they were agreed that the land revenue should be taken into consideration in dealing with the question of incidence of taxation on the country as a whole. They pointed out that the land revenue is essentially a tax on things and not on persons, and as such it is not a tax to which the doctrine of progression can be applied, but that the land revenue viewed as a scheme of taxation is not only not progressive but actually tends in the opposite direction. It is not possible, they say, in the case of a tax *in rem* to relieve the poorest cultivator by an exemption, but they suggest that the obvious ways of introducing an element of progression in the case of the large holder are through an income-tax on agricultural incomes or through something in the nature of succession duty, or both. In their view the present policy is open to serious criticisms and they lay down that the essentials of a new scheme of temporary settlement are: that it should be made definite as regards both the basis and the pitch of assessment; that it should be as simple and cheap as possible; that it should so far as possible ease or steady the burden on the smallest cultivator; and finally, that it should, in common with the rest of the system of taxation, involve the same element of progression in the case of larger owners.*

The Committee recommended that the above said essen-

tials should be secured by providing that, for the future, the basis of the settlement should be the annual value, *i.e.*, the gross produce less cost of production, including the value of the labour actually expended by the farmer and his family on the holding and the return for enterprise. The functions of the Settlement Officer, they say, should be limited to the ascertainment of this value on an uniform basis. An uniform rate fixed for a whole Province should then be applied to these valuations as they were made on districts falling in for re-settlement. The rate of assessment, they suggested, should be standardised on a comparatively low figure not exceeding 25% of the annual value. They would also suggest that, for the local rate, the maximum of 25% of the sum taken as land revenue should be fixed. These in the main are the recommendations of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee on the subject of land revenue. As regards the cognate question of water rights, they would suggest that they should be kept separate from the charge on the land, wherever possible. This is only consistent with the proposed alterations in the methods of the levy of land revenue. It is unnecessary here to examine the further proposals they make with reference to the charge for water.

From the recommendations of the committee referred to above, it is obvious that the main principles for which the Madras Ryotwari Landholders' Association stood have met with their general acceptance. It is not pretended that there may not be difficulties and objections raised as regards the scheme outlined. The terms of reference to the committee itself were unduly restricted. The whole question has to be examined carefully by a committee appointed by the Government of India with power to take evidence. The committee may be asked to make recommendations as to the exact lines on which the land revenue should in future be assessed and derived by the State with special reference to the financial results of the changes that may be suggested. The principal

thing is that, if we cannot get away from the position that the land revenue is still to be treated essentially as a tax *in rem*, we will have to, at least for the purpose of the introduction of an element of progression, reconcile ourselves to the adoption of a system in which it should be treated both as a tax *in rem*, keeping the rate of assessment comparatively low, and as a tax *in personam*, derivable from the landholder; by introducing therein the principles of exemption of the smaller landholder and of progression, thereby approximating the same to the income-tax. After the committee makes its recommendations, these may be examined by Provincial Committees and, with such local variations as may be found necessary, embodied in the form of a statute. It will doubtless be just and necessary that, pending such legislation, resettlement operations should be suspended and there should be no further enhancements at any resettlement. It is the only method of securing early legislation on the subject of land revenue, as, otherwise, notwithstanding its immense importance, the question of legislation may be deferred indefinitely.

It is unfortunate that, notwithstanding a general recognition that the present system is unsatisfactory in many respects, there has not been any attempt on the part of the Government to constitute a committee specially to go into the question of land revenue. The question was excluded specifically from the terms of reference to the Royal Agricultural Commission. The reference to the Indian Taxation Committee on this subject was fenced with many limitations and restrictions. Their recommendations would easily have been more valuable, if this were not so. It is unfortunate again that the Government of India are contemplating a revision of the policy, not by the usual procedure with which everybody is familiar, of examining the whole policy, after the same is reported on by a competent commission or committee, but by the antiquated method of issuing a Resolution, which is a very unsatisfactory one. If a Resolution is issued at all, the Local Governments may be enabled

to set up committees to examine the whole policy and report thereon, and in the light of their recommendations legislation may be introduced without any further delay.

The issue in Bardoli was of a limited character. In Bardoli the general principles underlying the land revenue policy were not in question. The only question was as to whether the enquiry carried out by the Settlement Officer was in accordance with the procedure laid down in the statute and instructions issued to the officers, and whether the data, the accuracy of which was questioned, justified the conclusions. The importance of the report was the condemnation it contained of the Settlement Officer's methods of enquiry and report on which, in the main, the re-settlements were based. It is however significant that in Bombay Presidency, after the Bardoli Committee's report, the attention of the public and of the Government has been drawn to the land question in a manner in which no other public event in recent times did. As a consequence, we find, in Bombay Presidency today, the movement for the formation of Land Leagues for securing land revenue legislation. Here in the Madras Presidency an association was formed even as early as 1918 for the main purpose of securing changes in the land revenue policy of the Government. A number of Taluk and District Associations have also come into existence. In view of the forthcoming Resolution of the Government of India and the fresh impetus which the consideration of the question has received, it is necessary that the Ryotwari Landholders' Associations both at the Headquarters and in the District and Taluk centres, and the Land Leagues now in their formative stages, should take vigorous and active interest by coming together again and formulating the lines on which legislation should be urged and securing therefor a general acceptance in the country. The question of the constitution of Chambers of Agriculture on lines analogous to the Chambers of Commerce is well worth serious consideration as a further step in the organisation of the landed interests. The subject may be brought under greater scrutiny and examination by such a body. Until this question of Land Revenue Reform is satisfactorily settled, the realisation of the ideal of "a prosperous countryside" will be as distant as ever.

Lahore—and After¹

BY B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

(Member, Working Committee of the Congress)

There are distinct advantages in intervening in a debate early. You can anticipate many points and make a brilliant show. The advantages of intervening late are equally numerous. You can sum up everybody's arguments and smash them. In doing so you can be at once brief and telling and you are sure to make yourselves felt. The dailies had to deal with the Lahore deliberations even before they matured into decisions. They were in such great haste for being the first in the field that they often erred—and erred egregiously, in their 'scoops' and anticipations and intelligent forecasts. A monthly—and more so a bi-monthly, can well afford to wait, sift the grain from the chaff, and garner the life-giving elements in its columns. That is the only justification for reverting to the subject of 'Lahore—and After' so late in the New Year.

But delay in dealing with the momentous issues raised in the Congress session of December last has not made the subject stale. On the other hand several doubts have been cleared,—doubts which the Congress and the Press would have paid anything to get cleared during the Christmas week. For instance, what would not have the Congress given—the Congress as a whole, to know the inner workings of the Viceroy's mind even during the Congress week? It is true that Gandhi got an inkling into those 'workings', and with him Nehru, or they would not have so summarily dismissed the proposal to send representatives to the Round Table Conference. But the following is not always willing to repose trust in the leaders. They want to examine every issue. Their intellects must be satisfied, their

¹ Written on the 9th of February.

doubts must be cleared, and like the Thomases of old, they must put their fingers into the holes of the hands of the resurrected Christ. Now, we are able to judge at first-hand. We need not take our decisions from our leaders, be they Gandhi and Nehru.

There is no mystery as to the question why the Round Table Conference failed. Nor need there be any difficulty about the adoption of Independence as the creed of the Congress. When both of these issues have been settled in the manner the Congress has settled them, the only other issue that arose out of the Lahore decisions, namely civil disobedience, will become an indisputable one. The Round Table Conference failed and therefore there was the change of creed into Independence. There was this demand of *Purna Swarajya*, and civil disobedience is the only of means securing it. It is fortunate that Gandhi himself has, in answering one Mr. Alexander, taken the country into confidence and revealed the secret of his conversations with the Viceroy. Nor is there a difference of opinion in the matter, for Gandhi himself quotes the Viceroy and says: "This is what was asked for."

"On behalf of the Congress Party the view was expressed that, unless previous assurances were given by His Majesty's Government that the purpose of the Conference was to draft a scheme for Dominion Status, which His Majesty's Government would undertake to support, there would be grave difficulty about Congress participation."

Gandhi's data are clear. The Simon Commission is scrapped. The whole problem of the Indian constitution must be approached *de novo*. India is not concerned with the difficulty of Parliamentary Government in England. If the Viceroy meant what the Delhi Manifesto understood to be the purpose of the Round Table Conference, he had only to say so. But he does not mean it. He has never meant it. He has therefore raised in his speech of the 25th of January the study in contrast between the assertion of the goal and its attainment, the definition of the problem and its solution, between the direction of a journey and

its destination. Really, so simple a study of language must more appropriately be the business of a fourth form student than of mature politicians, much less statesmen or masters of language like Gandhi and Irwin.

When once the issue of the Round Table Conference had been decided in the negative, there remained nothing for the Congress but to scrap the Nehru Report and plump for Independence. Even the Moderates have, by this time, undoubtedly seen the hollowness of the offer made by the British Government, though considerations of prestige and timidity forbid their owning the fact or taking the logical steps necessitated by it. The Congress was pulled in two opposite directions when once it decided to reject the Round Table Conference. On one side there were people who advised a wise moderation in conduct, a wise reserve in expression, by not straightway voting for Independence. On the other there were youngmen who would straightway have parallel Government,—and no damned nonsense. We need not pause at the former suggestion, for, as we shall show, the declaration of Independence as the creed of the Congress has raised India in the estimation of the outside world. Men like Mr. Wilfred Wellock and Mr. Brailsford, and Liberal organs like *The Manchester Guardian*, now realise that at last India has discovered her own mind. The second view, that a parallel Government should have been forthwith organised, requires examination. Strictly speaking, such a proposal would have been *ultra vires* of the Congress creed. A parallel Government must rest on force and cannot be brought into existence or sustained by non-violence. For that matter, all Governments rest on force. When a bailiff gives possession of property or a decree is executed or a person arrested, it is the mighty cohorts of Government that come down upon the poor victim 'like a wolf on the fold' and threaten to engulf him unless he did or did not do a certain thing. Of the three great sanctions in life, namely individual conscience, social public opinion, and law, the last is the least civilised—the most inhuman and the worst. Yet, the

world as an organised unit rests upon the exercise of this force and its organisation in the name of Law and Order, Police, Military, Constitutions, and so on. The parallel Government also must have these organs and appendages. The parallel Government in Ireland had them. Its arbitration courts were jumped upon by the Royal Irish Constabulary, and between it and the Irish Irregulars there was a constant exchange of shots; force was met with force until there was a treaty in 1922. The Congress contemplates no such antagonisation. Within the four corners of the Congress constitution, a parallel Government is out of the question.

There remains the issue of civil disobedience. People ask if the country is ripe for it; whether it has not proved a failure, a sad and dismal failure. Gandhi complains that he has not had 'a dog's chance'. The moment he began to mature his scheme of mass disobedience, there was Chauri Chaura and he was made *hors de combat* and put into jail. Ever since his release, the Councils have held the field, until today by a mandate of the Congress, 166 councilors have resigned out of 233,—a magnificent response to the national call. Now for the first time, Gandhi is free to mature a scheme of civil disobedience. Nor is there such a thing as the country being *prepared* for civil disobedience. Civil disobedience is a war on non-violent lines. Every war requires an army, and the army of men and women engaged in the Constructive Programme is the manpower required by Gandhi. He has truly described the Constructive Programme as the drill required by the non-violent army; for it subdues the passions and soothes the angry mind. It compels people to settle down to honest work in a true spirit of service and sacrifice, and brings them into living touch with the suffering poor. That is the training and discipline that civil disobedience demands. But even otherwise, wars are declared abruptly: they never come with notice any more than epidemics. A long notice paralyses war and defeats its very purpose. *Ultimata* have never covered more than 24 hours. But which

country was prepared for war when war was declared? A long period of peace intervening between wars hardly prepares a country for war. Was England prepared for war on the 4th of August 1914? Did Asquith and Grey take a referendum in the country before they joined the Armageddon? Yet Kitchener came into the field and declared it was a war for three years. That dumb-founded statesmen and citizens alike. But citizens had no alternative except to become soldiers at once and participate in the war. So it is with a non-violent war. It comes like a cataclysm. Man cannot stop it. It is Nature's way of subduing evil in the world. The best that the mass of men can do is, not to hinder the march of civil disobedience.

When all is said and done, it must be owned that hostilities between two nations can only be terminated by a Conference. Supposing, by a play of violence, we have destroyed half the Englishmen in India, what should happen to the other half? Shall they continue to remain in India for ever and be a charge on the Nation? If they do so willingly, and be absorbed in the various communities of India, so much the better. But they won't, nor can you keep them as prisoners for life. They must be repatriated. Even that requires organisation, consultation, and a Conference. The evacuation of the Rhineland, twelve years after the Armistice, could only be brought about by a Conference. Treaties of peace and rearguard action in war are the most difficult achievements in life. Ireland had such a Conference in 1922, and so must India sooner or later. How soon it will be, and of what character, depends upon our achievements in the near future. The Conference with Ireland was not "a Conference, the object of which was to explore the means of seeking the widest measure of agreement between the various parties and interests concerned in India for proposals, which it will be the duty later of His Majesty's Government to place before Parliament," but the Conference will be, as it must be, a Conference to effect a Treaty between England and India with a view to terminating hostilities,

Ireland had such a Conference with England in 1922. Lloyd George sent for De Valera. The latter immediately demanded release of prisoners. All the members of the *Dail* had to be released at once, including one that had been condemned to death for murdering the Royal Irish Constabulary and the latter were about to arrest him. After some negotiations the Conference met. The terms were, that Ireland was to have Dominion Status, that the English army of occupation should be immediately removed, and that there should be an adjustment of National debts and a compensation for members of the services who would not care to serve the new Government. The form of oath to be taken by Members of Parliament of the Irish Free State was settled, and the rights of Britain to certain harbours and aerodromes were to be guaranteed. It is such a Conference that we want. Whether we can get it or no is on the knees of the gods. But so far as man's effort is concerned, there is little doubt that we will get it, provided we shall make civil disobedience a success and the Nation follows the lead of Gandhi.

Sittannavasal Frescoes

By M. S. SUNDARA SARMA, B.A.

II

Sittannavasal is a small hamlet about two miles from the village Annavasal, which again, is ten miles to the north-west of Pudukotah, the capital of a small Indian State situated to the south of the Tanjore District. A fine road leads one from Pudukotah to the village, from whence one has to wade through a cart-path to reach the hamlet. A few furlongs from the hamlet stretches a low rocky hill, rising here to about two hundred feet or so, and then going down to about half that height. The hill is not more than three-fourths of a mile long and runs from north to south approximately, so that its two sides are exposed to the rising and setting sun. From the hamlet the western side of the hill is visible and the cave in question could be seen as if it were a window to a huge structure at a distance. Wading through paddy fields, one reaches to the foot of the hill and then one has to climb up a rough, slippery and rocky pathway before coming to the facade of the cave itself. The hill abruptly rises here presenting an almost perpendicular side, the height of the hill at this part being the greatest. The Pudukotah State has taken care of the cave by fencing it completely with iron bars and wire-netting, so that now none could enter the cave indiscriminately. It is provided with a gate which is kept under lock and key. Curiously enough, at the time I went there, although I had obtained the key from the authorities at Pudukotah, I had no occasion to use it, for I found the lock open and simply inserted nominally in its place! On enquiry, I found that the Village Headman in charge who was provided with a duplicate key had kept it so, just to save himself the trouble of

accompanying any visitor to open it! I brought the matter to the notice of those concerned and I do hope better care is now taken of the precious old find, than before.

My first impression of the cave was rather disappointing, for the cave is a small one measuring only twenty-four feet by twelve or so, and the height of the ceiling from the floor is about eleven feet or thereabouts, and the paintings which are intact are not visible at first sight, having become faint as well as dark, partly on account of age and partly on account of age-long neglect and indifference. Further, in addition to the plaster having fallen out at several places, much of what remains intact has been also darkened by smoke from fires lit in the cave by resting *bairagies*. Balls of dung have been freely hurled at the ceiling; evidently the village urchins must have used the picture on the ceiling as a good target for their balls of dung and clay, which can now be seen sticking here and there! Any attempt to remove them brings away the plaster too, so that they are better left there to tell their tale too. Those parts which are visible on the upper portions of the pillars are so faint and broken that it requires some effort to see the paintings. Surely the whole of the cave must have been originally covered with paintings, for traces of them could be seen everywhere as you become more and more familiar with the contents of the cave. Even the sculptured figures that are found in the cave exhibit traces of plaster and colour. What they must have looked like originally, none can say now, except it be a strong imaginative vision of an artist. A small door-way carved at the middle leads one to a cell in the interior measuring ten feet all the way. There are three seated figures opposite this doorway so that light falls directly in front of them through the entrance. All of these carved figures are of life size and are of different facial types. But all of them are seated alike in the immemorial *yogic* pose, with the eyes directed towards the nose, and erect in pose 'like a flame that flickereth not in a windless place'. The place is neither a temple nor a shrine. It is simply a *mandapam*



A Portion of the Ceiling
(Note the work of Age and Vandalism)

that must have been resorted to by those who wanted seclusion from the world for spiritual contemplation and communion, for which purpose it is pre-eminently fitted even now and must have been originally used for that purpose only. Many such *mandapams* are to be found all over Southern India, and, in fact, wherever in the South you see a perpendicular height of a rock you may be sure of finding a similar rock-cut cave. More than a dozen of them have come to my personal notice and observation in the South. This one, being a little more out of the way, has been fortunate enough to escape vandalism and preserve the paintings at least partially. Examining the floor of the cell inside carefully, there is a circular piece of stone right at the centre, which appears to be inverted. Perhaps it leads to a further cell underneath; but nothing definite can now be stated. If there be one as surmised, it should contain paintings too, which surely must be in a state of good preservation.

Such caves cannot be said to be of Jain or Buddhistic origin. Jains, Buddhists and Hindus have all left their marks in such caves. Each cave has to be decided individually by what is recorded in it. Very often the mistake is made of relying too much upon the inscriptions found in such caves. Inscriptions are of later origin in India and began at a time when the real æsthetic sense of the nation had decayed. That such inscriptions do really mar the beauty of a place, there can be no doubt. The people who loved beauty and did wonders on hard rocks could never have condescended to disfigure them with vainglorious inscriptions. The history of inscriptions, their origin, life and death, will be a lively and informing chapter in the history of Indian Art. One thing is certain; the moment of its birth is the beginning of the death and decay of the art of the land. Fortunately there are no inscriptions in the cave we are considering at Sittannavasal, and the kings with inscription-mania must have been prevented from doing anything of the kind here because of the paintings that covered the whole of the interior of the cave. There is,

however, a small inscription but just outside the cave, which had evidently escaped the searching eyes of both Mr. Rao and M. Dubreuil, to which I drew the attention of the press the moment I discovered it. Nobody has, so far as I know, as yet deciphered the same. The five carved figures prove nothing, for such posed figures are common alike to Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. To call all such seated figures Buddhas or Bodhisatwas, belongs to the province of alien critics who know not the deeper under-current of history of this ancient land.

The architecture of the cave is very simple but elegant. It is made to resemble a built structure. There is no display of the tentative efforts of a rising art, but the mature style of a perfected art is exhibited in the carving out of this rocky cave. Leaving a margin of about a foot in breadth on the outside top, there is a deep groove parallel to the top line opening at both ends to easily collect all the water that rushes along the perpendicular face of the hill above the cave during rains, and prevent the same from flooding the cave inside. There are four pillars in front supporting the roof of the cave. Two of them on either end are embedded on the side of the cave, so that only a portion of each juts out. The two in the middle are in the round and are sturdy stout pillars, square in section with an octagonal belt in the middle. They each support a capital which is fluted on either side. Over the capitals rests a long flat beam, which in turn supports a double flexured cornice. The roof is flat and plain, as in all Dravidian architecture. On either side of the cave is a niche in which is seated a carved figure of life size. The back wall is beautifully broken up with symmetrical projections adorned with ornamental pilasters and with a central entrance to which a few steps flanked on either side by *Surulyalis*, lead. The cell to which the entrance leads is, as already stated, cubical in plan, and plain-walled within, showing unmistakable signs of being once covered with frescoes. The side opposite the entrance contains the three seated figures in a row.

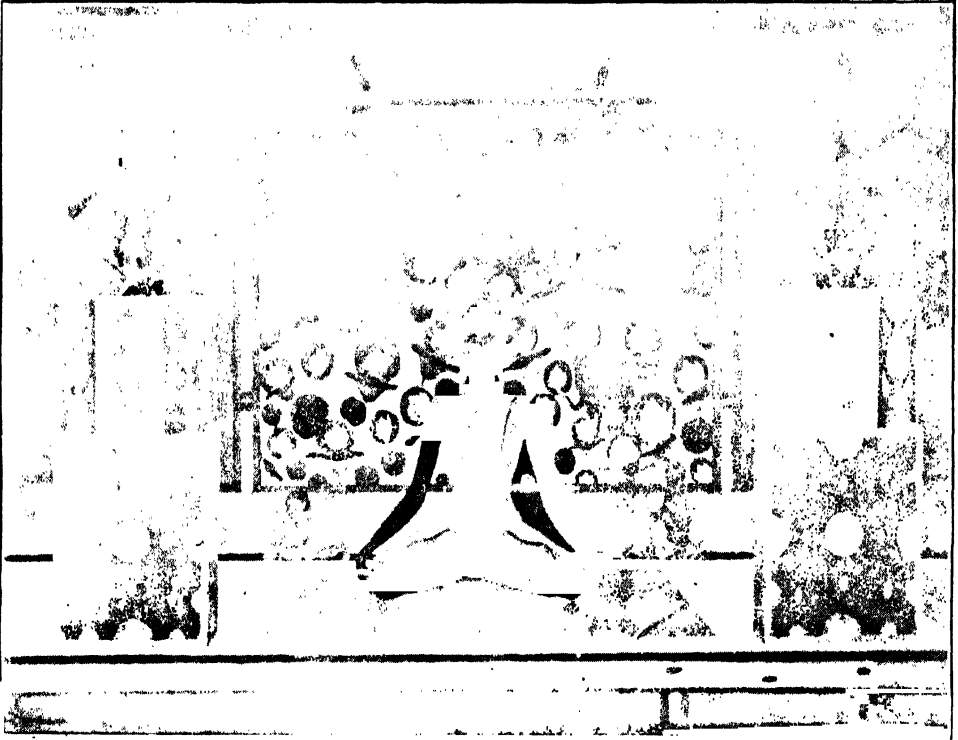
The carving and sculpture of the cave is marvellous for its precision and excellence. The alignment of the pillars and the walls is perfect and not one angle is wrong. The surface of the rock inside has been given a peculiar finish to suit it for the subsequent fresco process. The figures carved are not finished as such, for that was left to the painter's plaster and brush. There is absolutely no doubt that, right from the beginning, the cave was intended to be painted all over inside. The fresco, I mean, is not an afterthought.

The paintings must have, as already suggested, originally covered the whole of the interior, as there are traces of plaster and colour everywhere. The plaster that covers and which served as a primed ground for the paintings is very thin, not being more than an eighth of an inch. The adhesion is so complete that it is hard to remove the traces here and there. Fibres of straw show themselves up in some places and the lime seems to have been well mixed up with fine sifted sand. The colours used are few in number, but they must have in their combination given a wide range to the palette of the artists. Two varieties of red are visible, red ochre and vermilion. Two pigments of yellow too are apparent; one being the ochre while the other is bright and golden. Blue, green, black and white, are the other pigments used. The colours are well soaked into the ground and given a final polish. The colour schemes are simple but very harmonious. Red or green backgrounds dominate. The paintings are essentially linear, every form being brought out firmly by its decided outline. The colouring is natural without any elaborate attempt at light and shade, though that too is suggested. The knowledge of anatomy and perspective is very advanced, as may be evidenced in the fine foreshortening of the forms and figures. It is really painting uninfluenced by modern photographic notions that we encounter here. These paintings began and ended with outlines, and the boldness and firmness displayed in them are really marvellous. None but mature artists could have done so,

Mrs. Herringham and others who have attempted to guess at the process of Indian fresco painting from the examples they have studied at Ajanta have surmised that the first outline must have been made with red ochre. They evidently arrived at that conclusion, because in such paintings everything else vanishes when subjected to long weather and natural decay except traces of a red outline. The true process is really different as may be learnt from living hereditary painters who are still to be found scattered here in the South of India. One such painter, on an occasion when we were together examining a village wall-painting, chanced to tell me and show me the palm-leaf manuscript which has been handed down as a family treasure, in which the old process is recorded. The *cuncuma* stem which Indian ladies use even today in their toilet is the thing that was used for the preliminary outline. The alkaline nature of the fresh ground converted the yellow of the stem into a rich red colour which was then fixed by outlines of different appropriate colours, thus parcelling out the ground for subsequent coats of colour. The outlines then were emphasised with suitable tints here and there. When the surface moisture is gone, but when the ground is still damp, light shading by hatching and stippling is indulged in, and afterwards, before the ground completely dries up, the whole is given a polish with small prepared pebbles. That is how the paintings at Sittannavasal must have been executed.

The chief *motif* of the designs seen in the cave, is the lotus with its stem, leaf and flower. The designs are simple but effectively grand and do not obtrude on the more serious part of the paintings. Some of them must have been relegated to less skilled hands. The ceiling of the inner cell is covered with a geometrical pattern, very complicated and intricate. Most of it has unfortunately fallen out, but traces of it, though faint, are very interesting.

Of the paintings which remain intact, that on the ceiling of the cave is the most interesting but for the darkening by age



The Spirit of the Cave "as I sensed it"

and smoke as well as the peeling away of the plaster here and there. The plan of the ceiling indicates exactly the state of it when I saw it. The whole of it has been parcelled out into three main divisions. The one in the middle is the one which contains the chief picture of the place as seen now. Those on either side are simply decorative panels and look like carpets spread. The upper square facets of the two middle pillars preserve their paintings. On each is to be seen a dancing figure. On the inner side of the right-hand pillar, as one faces the cave, are to be seen also some traces of painting which exhibit some faces. My copies show all of these. Only the panel in the middle of the ceiling has been divided into several parts to facilitate copying. A study of the plan of the ceiling shown opposite will enable anyone to locate easily the positions of the portions shown separately. I am, however, adding on to the reproduction of these copies from the cave paintings, a free reconstruction of them all which is intended, not only to show the panel on the ceiling as a whole, but also to give the readers the spirit of the cave as I sensed it.

Proportional Representation

BY K. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR B.A., B.L.

We are all familiar with the ideas of 'vote' and 'voting'. We vote for or against a measure or a rule which is to be made binding on us. By our vote we signify either approval or disapproval. We vote 'aye' or 'nay'. We *divide* in opinion on the matter. In fact, the result is arrived at in some cases even by a physical *division*. Those who approve stand together, and those against form another group. This division may be expressed by a ballot as well. It is obvious that we *divide* the voters and the majority in the division wins.

We again vote to an office, a Mayor, a town councillor, a chairman or the like. Here we choose between two or more and again *divide* the voters to arrive at the result. When only two candidates compete for the office, an ordinary single shot ballot is all that is needed. But when more than two compete, we may not, by a single ballot, predicate the support of an absolute majority of those that go to the poll in favour of the chosen individual. In order to secure the decision of such a majority, many devices or methods are adopted.

A third object for which voting is resorted to is to constitute deliberative bodies to represent larger groups, like representative assemblies, committees, etc. In such cases the object is to constitute a body competent to make a decision on behalf of the electorate; in other words, instead of the electorate voicing forth its views directly on any matter, their voices are echoed by representatives of theirs. To carry the idea further, the electorate of many views send up their spokesmen, each to represent a view, to deliberate in the smaller representative body. It follows that each representative who is chosen represents a view *i.e.* is the representative of a class of people

having a like view. The object of the voting, therefore, when we are constituting such a body, is to enable the discovery of like-minded people and help them to group together to choose spokesmen. The object is to *condense* together, by some process, all like-minded people, instead of *dividing* them. This object of voting, it will be perceived, is wholly different from its functions in the two other cases we have referred to above, and in order therefore that 'voting' may achieve this purpose, it will be necessary to adopt a system or method different from the one suited to the other two cases. But let us begin by considering first if the same methods would not serve the purpose.

If we utilise the ballot we are familiar with, when we accept or reject a measure or choose for an office, it has to be adapted to suit the conditions existing in constituting a body of many. There are many persons to be chosen, and consequently either the electorate should be divided into as many groups as there are persons to be chosen, giving each such group the right to choose its nominee, or we should retain the integrity of the electorate and give to each voter as many votes as there are seats to be filled.

Taking the second alternative first, it is obvious that we shall not be achieving the result we have in view by resorting to this method. Those among the electorate that form the largest majority among them, will monopolise all the seats with candidates of their own viewpoint, and the result will be that the constituted body will be one that will have nothing to deliberate upon but will consist of persons who are all of one view. It is certain that we are not constituting a body consisting of the spokesmen of the different views that may prevail in the electorate.

On the other hand, in some cases, even a majority rule may not be assured. If the party in majority misconceive their strength and put up too many candidates, it may happen that a discreet minority elect candidates of their own.

Let us now consider the first alternative *viz.*, the system

of dividing the electorate into groups. The first idea that one gets herein is the division into as many groups only as there are seats to be filled. The next and consequential idea is to divide the electorate into so many geographical divisions, each one of which will contain more or less an equal number of voters. That is to say, we divide the electorate into so many quotas by physical, territorial division, each quota being entitled to send a representative. Would this satisfactorily work ? It is submitted it will not.

In the first place, we should remember each quota or division elects by the single-shot system, the representative being the man chosen by the majority. That means the minority who stood for a different representative have really not had their representative. They have not influenced the election. They have wasted their votes. And, as we have seen, those that constitute the largest majority in that group will alone command the election.

Then, in so choosing the several representatives, it may even happen that the party in majority in the constituency as a whole, may not even secure its due share of representation. To illustrate this last statement, let us assume that the total of the constituency is 450 and 5 members have to be elected. We divide the 450 into 5 divisions of 90 each. Suppose there are 4 groups of like-minded people, viz., reds, whites, greens and blues: and the result of the voting is as follows :—

1st division 50 whites and 40 reds.

2nd division 40 whites, 30 reds and 20 blues.

3rd division 50 greens and 40 reds.

4th division 40 greens, 30 reds and 20 blues.

5th division 50 blues and 40 reds.

Now, in the entire constituency, there are 180 reds and 90 each of whites, greens and blues. But the result of the election, as above shown, is that two whites, two greens and one blue have been elected, and no reds, though they are in a large majority. This is certainly an undesirable consequence.

Apart from this possibility, there are also other defects incidental to the single-shot ballot system. Firstly, it does not enable each voter to express his free choice. For example, when one party runs two candidates against a third of another party, the voter in order to win his secondary object, *viz.*, that the other party shall not win, may be tempted to give up the candidate of his own and vote for the other candidate of his party for the reason that he is more popular with the rest.

Then, even those who are not members of a party, subject to party discipline, and who, as members of the electorate, are free to choose the best amongst the candidates, may not be enabled to exercise their free choice. If they feel that a candidate of their own choice has poorer chances than another who, according to them, is only next best, they should be tempted to vote for that other candidate in preference, for the simple reason that no voter desires his votes to be wasted. This is a familiar idea to us, upon which unscrupulous candidates oftentimes play at the polling booth and even succeed. It is a psychology which is easily understandable and if any system should be commendable, it should respect this attitude of mind of the voter, and provide against the wastage of votes. The system must be one in which every vote will tell at the election.

Then there is the possibility of the creation of an immoral atmosphere due to the corruption and undue influence which party machines, and those that work them, are oftentimes responsible for. As we have said, there is a large mass of busily-occupied and fairly-intelligent men who form a respectable portion in any electorate, and these are not allowed to make their free choice but are dragged with the current which specialists in the art of working party machines bring into existence. It often happens that "a little group of pot-house politicians, wire-pullers, busy-bodies, local journalists and small lawyers working for various monetary interests" capture a local organisation and put up a candidate not acceptable to the large unorganised mass above referred to. And yet

these will find themselves almost compelled to vote for them. The system we have been dealing with might also encourage monetary corruptions in divisions in the electorate where the difference in strength between the two strongest parties is very small.

Lastly, it would be obvious that this system does not conduce in the slightest to carry out the principle of condensation of voters into spokesmen, to any extent. Within each division, it may be that many do not go to the poll at all, either by reason of indifference or for any other cause. Another section may vote, but having voted in the wrong way, would have wasted their votes.

We have thus seen that this system cannot yield the result that we seek to attain and we should therefore invent a system which would satisfy the following conditions :—

(1) Each voter must be represented by the man he wants. Towards that end he should be enabled to exercise his free choice in his vote without fear of any kind we have referred to earlier. He must have the assurance that his vote will have its effect in the make-up of the representative body and that it will not be wasted.

(2) Any citizen, not a member of any organised party and busy with his own occupation, must be in a position to make his will effective without much effort on his part or spending much time.

(3) The result should be such that, while majority rule is assured, minority representation would be safeguarded.

(4) The process, as we have seen, must, in order to result in the election of representatives in the electorate in every sense, be to group together like-minded persons and help them to choose spokesmen of their own.

It will be seen that the system of the single transferable vote fulfils all these conditions and we shall endeavour to show how that is.

Taking the idea contained in the fourth point first,

it will be obvious that the representative chosen will not be a representative of the majority of the electorate but only of a share of them. That share would be the group of men of one mind in their choice of the candidate, and this constituency of like-minded voters must necessarily cut across any geographical divisions. They form a constituency by reason of their choice of the same man. Each voter in this constituency is to be reckoned only as a part of a group of persons standing up for one candidate and electing one, and consequently each voter need have only one vote and no more. That is how the idea of a single vote is derived. Each voter, understood and counted as a member of a group electing one, has only to vote for that one, and therefore has one and only one vote. If each voter can only vote for one and does so vote, all those who vote for the same candidate will be grouping themselves together by this expression of common will, though they may be miles apart and not members of any common, or even any, organisation.

Having developed the idea of the single vote, the conception of its transferability is an unavoidable consequence. Where groups are very large, the one man representation is obviously wholly inadequate. We cannot for that reason go back upon the single vote to give multiple votes to some alone of the larger electorate. Consequently the idea of the same single vote being available, and of validity to elect other candidates as well, had to be thought of and the result was the giving to it the character of transferability at the option of the voter.

Now these two characters, the single vote and its transferability, satisfy also all the other conditions we have set forth above. The single vote ensures that minorities, while they get representation, can never rule. The transferability of the vote provides for the proportional representation of majorities. Majority rule is assured and minorities are not, at the same time, ignored.

Each man has his representative, for, either his first or his second or his third, etc., nominee will be chosen. He is free to exercise his choice without any fear that he is advancing the interests of a rival candidate or even of a candidate whom he does not prefer to his own favourite one. He would not be marking a preference for the rival candidate and so there is no fear that his vote will influence his rival's election. In fact, the rival has to depend on his own strength. As between two candidates of one's own party, the voter by giving his first preference to his favourite, but the less popular candidate, will not advance the interest of the rival, for, when the favourite is found to have no chance, the vote will go to the popular candidate who will be the second nominee. He may be certain he will never split the party vote.

The voter will not be hustled by any party machine or those that work there. His vote must tell in the election and the representative chosen is the representative of his choice. He is assured that his vote will not be wasted, as it must count for some one of his nominees and he has therefore the incentive also to go to the poll and thereby discharge his duties of citizenship.

No organization is needed amongst the voters. The organisation arises by reason of their voting for the same man. No time need be spent in ascertaining the chances of candidates or deliberating how one's vote will operate. You may vote as you will, and your will will have its effect.

The Choice¹

BY R. L. RAU

"But, my dear, you *did* receive my cable from New York. Didn't you?" "Yes."

"Then why on earth did you leave by the earlier boat, pray? Surely you could have waited for another fortnight before you booked your passage. Don't you think it would have been nicer for us to have returned to Bombay together? We left India together, and had we also returned likewise after the fine friendship we had between us, don't you think it would have gone a long way in . . .?"

"How do you mean?"

"Look here, Malati, don't let us deceive ourselves. We got to know each other on board the *Viceroy of India*, and you know well how ripingly we got on during those three or four weeks we were on board the ship, and how much we enjoyed each other's company: how we discovered we had many things in common, and how we resolved to dedicate our lives to some cause—to some ideal worthy of our aspirations; wasn't that so? and then supposing we had returned together and landed in Bombay likewise, what a difference it would have meant?"

"In what way, Shantaram?"

For the first time in his life, Shantaram was puzzled. He wondered what this girl who stood before him, and who had known him so well for these many years, could possibly mean. Perhaps it was all a joke. Just like these women, he thought: always paradoxical and contradicting themselves.

He felt a little funny and not a little worried as well.

¹ The characters in this story are drawn from the author's imagination, and the names bear no reference to living persons.—R.L.R.

“Malati,” he began, “what could you possibly mean by such replies? Surely you know well.”

“I can’t help it, Shantaram; you talk of understanding: but tell me first if you have been able to understand yourself.”

“My dear, do not for God’s sake torment me thus. I can’t argue out these things at length—these things that I feel in me. As regards the ‘understandings’ you speak of, well—what shall I say to you . . .” “I am very sorry indeed, Shantaram, you completely misunderstood me. I wish I could make things a little more plain.”

“Good God,” he whispered huskily; and this was his Malati speaking! This was the same girl who lived in his memory and to whom he had given the very best in him for these four precious years!

“My God, Malati,” he spoke again somewhat sadly, “you little realise what your words convey, and how terribly they hurt me too.”

A strange sternness of expression ran over the girl’s face suddenly. She moved her chair a little closer and said,

“I tell you what, Shantaram; what is this scene you are trying to enact, and what words have I spoken to you that they must needs have wounded you, as you say? And still do you mean to suggest you have understood my mind?”

Shantaram collapsed.

“Surely! You love me, dear Malati,” he implored, “and you have been joking all this time. Was that it?”

“Stuff! You have committed an awful mistake, Shantaram; and so if you are going to mistake my openness and a certain amount of intimacy for love, well, you have to thank yourself; that is all.”

* * * * *

Suddenly her soft childish face underwent a slow change. A steady determined look came into her eyes as if she were deciding something, and deciding it too once for all. “You must promise me, Shantaram,” she began, “that you won’t look

up to me in that.....way. I am sorry I can't be anything to you but a warm affectionate friend. Nor must you refer hereafter to all my previous letters; for I am afraid I have been quite misunderstood. You see it?"

So saying the girl had waved her *saree* in that old old way, and left the hall; whilst the poor young man was left alone, speechless and stupefied.

For a long time he sat thus alone, miserable and forlorn, thinking over the extraordinary events of that summer afternoon.

Presently somewhere in the shrubbery a little bird began to sing; and the long summer afternoon were on . . .

II

Malati flung herself over the soft padding of the settee in her room in a paroxysm of uncontrollable grief and despair. It was one thing to talk so harshly to a genuine lovable soul like Shantaram, and another thing to feel the glaring injustice of it all. "Oh Baba, Baba", she cried burying her face in the cushions—"forgive me, darling—only God knows how I love you and adore you, dear one: forgive me my harsh, cruel words—oh, why was I born to make other people so wretched?" and so on.

Presently she grew calmer; and curiously went over the bundle of letters that lay before her. Poor broken things! They were the outpourings of a simple young soul, in all the passion of his first genuine love. What right had she to spurn such adoration, such sincerity and the utter sacrifice of the young man, who had lived on her assurances, hopes and goodwill?

But, no, no, it could never be: what would Nasiruddin think after all? What would her own friends say? What really mattered was the principle and the duty and her ideal. All other things must needs be in the background. People had to suffer, and if Shantaram was going to be a victim, well, it was not her

fault. She must make good her promise to Nasiruddin. For a moment she lazily thought of Nasiruddin's household. She wondered what sort of thing it could be. Of course, Nasiruddin had given her such a graphic and dainty description too of his Mahomedan household and said to her that it was absolutely hers; and Malati had taken every word of it for granted. She was going to show a waiting, stupid world how even a Hindu girl could manage a great racial problem—Yes: she had met Nasiruddin quite casually in New York, one day at the college buffet, and after an engaging conversation, had responded to his invitation to while away a lazy autumn afternoon at his flat in the 47th street. Nasiruddin was at the Polytechnic and Malati at the Social Training School. Both of them had met for the first time; both of them were very young and impetuous and loved excitement. The topic of that afternoon tea was all about the Hindu-Muslim rioting in Bombay. "One way out of all this muddle, Miss Malati," Nasiruddin was saying, "is to try to have an understanding and try as far as possible whether a cultural and intellectual union is possible between the two people. Do you think it is impossible?" "No, no," she had answered, "it might be,—but probably with certain limitations. Do you see, Mr. Nasiruddin, the giving in must be on your side as you see. It is true the Hindu girl is quite docile and adaptable; but I see no reason why she should be compelled to forsake her religion. Nor do I see any reason why a Mahomedan should forsake *his* religion if he wanted to marry a Hindu girl."

"Quite so," returned Nasiruddin, "but where are the girls, pray? You might be prepared, let me grant it for the sake of an argument—but show me a girl who will do it—who will be prepared to sacrifice for the sake of an ideal and bring about such a union."

"I do not know, Mr. Nasiruddin," the girl replied somewhat reluctantly, "but you people—you must give us a chance. What do we know of your culture, of your attitude and of

your instincts? What we gather is from the outside generally; and to that extent our knowledge is either highly coloured or prejudicial."

"Very true," he said, "the fault is ours, madam. But supposing there was a chance, do you think a Hindu girl will rise to the occasion?"

"Oh, yes, why not?"

"I am not quite so sanguine, Miss Malati. Take your own case—if you will excuse my pressing the point—will you be prepared to marry a Mahomedan, and think of him just in the same way as you would any other young man of your race?"

"With the greatest pleasure, Mr. Nasiruddin—provided of course, he is a clear honest sort—you catch what I mean?"

"Precisely, Miss Malati."

So that was the conversation that afternoon; and after that they had met pretty often, just as acquaintances, and later on as friends. Malati was battling furiously within herself. She wanted to do two things simultaneously. She wanted to be loyal to her first attachment to Shantaram who was away in England—and secondly she wanted to show that it was not impossible for a Hindu girl to have the same cultural outlook with a Mahomedan. The conflict of loyalties was terrible to bear. But she did want to show to the world the grit in her, with the result Mr. Nasiruddin became a premanent factor even like Shantaram. But what answer could she give to that lonely boy over there—who had staked his faith in her; who had answered her eyes, as he alone could; who had whispered into her little pout of a face, all those dear, dear things—and who had left her alone—yet absolutely his? What could she say to him?

And Nasiruddin? He began to like her in a brave way and admired her too for her courage. What could she tell him?

These were the thoughts that confronted her as she landed in Bombay one late afternoon in October at the Ballard Pier,

alone : Nasiruddin had already arrived in India, and Shantaram was due by the next home-coming boat.

And the very first interview that took place between the young man and the queer girl ended as described above—in her giving way to a paroxysm of helpless grief and wanting to be true to herself, and his speechless amazement at the turn things had taken.

III

The engagement was announced in P— ;and P—is a place which eats gossip with its breakfast. Then came the talks, the discussions, the silly protests and the jeering of the young men at the college. Shantaram had the exquisite misery of hearing her discussed, and of course criticised by a score or so of men and not a few women. He heard her gravely discussed because of her great versatility. He heard her torn to tatters by high-born dames who would have been wiser to remember the fragility of the houses they themselves sheltered under. Yet the men admired her in a subtle way. No passing word had dropped from the lips of *man* regarding any levity in her conduct or lightness in character. But the women spoke and they did consign her to the bottomless pit wherever that might be ; but that amounted to nothing, and harmed no one. But the agony of the young man was terrible to bear. Yet the sense of loyalty he bore to the girl he loved made it impossible for him to think of her in that light-hearted way or to blame her. But one thing for the life in him he could not understand ; and that was how the girl could completely draw a curtain on one aspect of her life. That sort of detachment was something wonderful. He did not know Nasiruddin—but of course had heard of him as an elegant young man but of a very frivolous type ; gay, pleasant and emotional, but thoughtlessly cruel in many small things. That was what they said of him ; and it might have been so, for aught he knew. But he did not meet Malati again after that interview. He had written to her a short note tell-

ing her of his presence in P—and if ever she wanted him, she need never think twice about it. He had few friends and he did not want to show to the world his lacerated heart as it were. And so he tried to bear his burden, yearning to be of some use to his beloved and feeling very unhappy.

One evening he had passed her, as she sat alone on the huge boulder behind the old Vetal temple; and his heart had become like a lump of lead to see her so seated alone. Evidently she was very unhappy; and the mute eyes were full of a sadness which he could not understand. He had made some commonplace enquiries about her health and her future progress, and then had walked away down the hill towards the colleges below.

Whilst alone on the hill-top, the girl had wept with a gnawing sense of grief and failure.

IV

Nasiruddin's friends made capital of the affair. Here was a Hindu girl becoming a *Bibi* and in such a fashionable way too! The only point they insisted was that the marriage must be a regular swell thing, a Kazi and all that. Great heaps of the costliest garments that Inayatullah's Zenana stores could supply, were lying in Nasiruddin's bungalow; his mother, an old mumbling dame, and her sister, a pretty young kid, were busy sorting out the *sarees* and the brocades: for there was barely a day between the blessed day and that afternoon, whilst from inside the kitchen, came the smell of dainty *Pulaos*, and *Kabobs* and *Kacheris* and sweets. Nasiruddin was feeling very happy and was inclined to be a little jocular too with his coarse subordinates and friends. Everyone congratulated him on his moral courage, on the fine choice he had made. Men spoke of their marriage as a grand event and as one ushering the millenium to come. Prominent people winked slyly and with a great deal of portence. And Nasiruddin enjoyed it all.

The marriage was a simple affair. First there was the

Nikka, and then the pair drove to the Registrar's where proper witnesses signified their consent to the union and signed as such in the book. Later came the midday dinner, the clothes, and finally the mysterious meeting at night, when Malati became Nasiruddin's wife.

It all seemed to choke her : the meaningless ceremonies, the coarseness of the people around, the want of consideration on the part of Nasiruddin himself, when he had pressed for the marriage to be done in the Mahomedan way ; and then the sense of possession he began to show the very night of their first meeting. How different, how polite, how sweet he had appeared a month ago, whilst he was at New York in the lounge room ? Was it the same Nasiruddin who spoke to her, on the very first day of their married life, about her duties, her business and so on ? Were men always like that ? she wondered. Why did they wallow in this sense of possession ? Was a common healthy normally-developed life impossible between two people ?

"What is it that you are worried about, dear," Nasiruddin drew close to her, "won't you tell me" ?

"No, Nasiruddin," the girl replied, and turned her head to the wall, longing for her lost girlhood, and longing for the one man whom she loved above all things, in spite of herself ; and wanting to throw herself in his arms. She wanted to cry aloud, to weep like a little girl and tell Shantaram how much she needed him at that moment . . .

But the world is a dull place ; and the tragedy in our daily lives is in the fact, we do not get what we long for.

V

Little Fatima came into the world one December morning with pink cheeks, and eyes like the blue of the cigarette smoke. And when the pink little mass nestled into her, crying out for the nourishment, Malati's heart had warmed to a new feeling ; suddenly the world changed for her : she forgot all things, excepting the little one near her. How frail it looked, the little

creature which had come there to stay, and which had been the result of a most fantastic union! Into this little mass of dimples and pretty smiles, Malati poured out her words, her thoughts, her longings, and watched it grow day after day, little caring what happened to her household and what happened to Nasiruddin and the rest of the world. By and by, the household assumed its normal aspect: Nasiruddin was a busy man with his great engineering schemes, his club life, and his sneaky contempt for his young wife who seemed to devote all her life and soul to a brat of a baby girl. But he held his peace: somehow he had lost all the romance of his life. He could not tell why there seemed to be such a barrier growing day after day between himself and his wife . . .

One day the little baby had a raging fever; and it rapidly developed into an acute attack of pneumonia. Malati's heart sank within her as she saw her dear one gasping for breath and struggling for its life. She was helpless. The doctor had said it was a pretty serious affair and only proper nursing could bring the little one to life. Days and nights followed, and long tiresome weeks of agony and despair. Malati's world was the little sick room and the pretty balcony outside: she had chosen to forget all other things besides.

Nasiruddin was not a bad man at heart; but he did resent this apparent neglect. Was he nowhere in her scheme of things, he asked himself several times; and must a dying child need such unheard-of attention, as if there were no children born and that died in the grim world outside? Why should his wife take it to heart like that—a common sickness. Did he deserve all this really? Thus did he feed himself in his own way upon the imaginary wrongs; until one evening, when the sun was sinking in a riot of crimson and gold and little birds were yet singing, the child passed away.

Then Malati's heart revolted; her soul recoiled in horror at the things they did with the dead one. They said she could not have a look even at the dead child. Much less could she

touch her. That was the custom. Everywhere custom, tradition and misery! As they took the lifeless little body away, out for its burial, Malati fainted, and for the first time in her life became aware of it all—the horror of her situation, and the ghastly discrepancy in their outlooks! Life was over for her. She fled.

And Nasiruddin took it all in quite a business-like way. 'Just these women,' he thought, 'sentimental fiddlesticks!'

. . . .

VI

One afternoon the clouds had gathered thickly and the river was beautiful to behold, with its banks full of the big lilies and the wild sunflowers. Somewhere under the spreading branches of an Asoka tree, a little boat had been moored and two people sat there enjoying the grave beautiful silence of the evening.

By and by, the clouds cleared away. The sun sank down tired and wistful behind the long low line of the Ghats in the distance.

"Tell me, dear," the girl was whispering huskily, "I am forgiven. Tell me I have you yet, here . . . thus." A man feels like the dog of a god, when a woman tells him how she came to place him on her altar. That is exactly what Shantaram felt. "There was nothing to forgive," he blurted out, "my dear . . . ". And then Shantaram took up the oar. Malati looked at him proudly. He was hers, after all! . . . Let the world say what it would. . . .

Iarpakai Nayanar : A Play

BY K. N. SUNDARESAN, M.A.

(Concluded from the previous issue)

[In the earlier part of the play, Siva, in the guise of a *Sanyasi*, has won the Nayanar's wife, Nalinai, as a gift from him.]

SAN: Most blessed I am by your gift, what a woman she is!

NAY: Speak not about her.

SAN: Why? How devoted she is to you! I spoke only innocent words! How stormily she took herself away, shining through it all a glorious wreath of lightning glare! O, how my heart rejoices—to know that a heart will anon beat for me with similar love and faith.

NAY: I will call her. You shall lead her away.

SAN: Go, tell her, slowly, softly, with care; don't put her out of her cheerful face!

NAY: I will not go and speak with her. She is no longer mine.

SAN: Bounty indeed! Yours is true bounty, only yours in all the world! Bounty, bounty! Call her, then.

NAY: Sarada, Sarada!

SAN: The girl went outside: perhaps to call others. Make the gift before your kinsmen's hands cut off yours with their swords! Quick! Call Nalinai, quick.

NAY: Let the whole world stand guard over her, yet you shall have her. What! she has not come!—Nali . . . no, I will not call her by name! Sarada! Sarada!

(ENTER NALINAI)

NAL: Sarada is not within, I thought she was here.

NAY: Let her come. Meanwhile put on your rich dress of peacock-blue and green and gold! And all your

jewels. Dress, come, return in a trice, you must plait your hair—ah! where is Sarada gone?

NAL: It is not now seven days since our Sumanai lost her calf, —how can you ask me to dress as for festival? Have you forgotten the calf?

NAY: I have not forgotten—how can I?

NAL:—then—I obey! (Goes in)

SAN: I fear, she will prove too much for me—a good mother indeed, she would be, lulling my tongue to eternal slumber within my beard! Yet, meseems, she would make a good wife! How she obeys you!

NAY: What! Is such a thought thine?

SAN: Which?

NAY: To call her wife? Can you deign to that?

SAN: What for, then, do I wrest from you the boon?

NAY: No wresting or wringing! I give you of my own free will; methought, she would only serve you like a servant, . . .

SAN: Never! She shall be a queen unto me, the queen of my heart.

NAY: Alas! then I am deceived—alas!

SAN: I don't want this gift of yours! I deceive you! I cheat you? and rob you? No, no, let me go!

NAY: Stay, stay!

SAN: I have not asked you for this earth's gold or for the crowns of kingdoms—a simple thing, your own, so easy to give—for this you speak so windily! What is a wife! an empty bubble!

NAY: I know it. You shall have her—but yours must be the care not to let it burst.

SAN: That is my concern!

(ENTER SARADA)

NAY: Sarada! where have you gone? Come.

SAR: Why? to sing that song!

SAN: She offers to sing, let us hear!

NAY: Not now. Go in, dress yourself in your fairest and best, return soon!

SAR: Mamma?

NAY: She will, too. Go soon!

SAR: I will return in a trice. Ah! Mamma is coming.

(EXIT SARADA INTO THE HOUSE)

SAN: She went out crying "Woe, woe!" Now she skips in a mood of delight!

NAY: She too knows the spoken word is gone, the self-same breath never to be recalled. She will bow to the inevitable!

SAN: Inevitable—not a sad one, I hope, for you!

NAY: I rejoice I have the strength to do this! But this human gift. . . .

(ENTER NALINAI)

NAL: Sarada too shall come! We will go to the temple with her.

SAN: She has not plaited her hair, yet she looks most fair!
Better than the plait. . . .

NAY: (FACE BENT DOWN) Has she not?

NAY: For this you have asked me to come here—to feed his doting, gloating glances?

NAY: Blame him not. You are no more mine, you are his!

NAL: I don't hear, my lord! Lift up your face and speak—what did you say?

NAY: I must not see you. You are no more mine. Call him
"My lord", him, him!

NAL: Woe, me! Has this wizard been working you to madness?
Alas—alas!

SAN: You are the wizard, Nalinai—

NAY: I am not mad. Every guest goes with a gift—and you are his! Go with him.

NAL: Woe the day! shame! My father! My kith and kin—oh—

Sarada! go, call them, save me yet from the death of a shameless life! From the very first, his ogling glances eyed me. I knew! I know him!

(ENTER ANANTHAN)

ANA: Am I too late? My Nalinai! Has it been done?

NAL: Not yet! There is yet time! Save me!

ANA: What, villain! Out with thee!

(ENTER SARADA)

SAN: Draw not your sword upon me! I only asked! Turn to the man who would give, of himself!

NAY: Leave him alone!

ANA: But thou hadst the hardihood to ask, thou foul-lipped Rakshasa!

SAN: He urged me to request him—I was going away in peace—away from an insolent door!

SAR: He persists in *that*! I thought he had consented to take *me* instead!

ANA: Is that why you are in your wedding dress—not even expecting it from the bridegroom's hands. Sarada, you are a fool, you are mad too!

SAR: Why did papa ask me to come dressed thus?

SAN: Poor girl! poor girl! her heart will break with grief.

NAY: She is not sick with love for you! Come, my dear! you wanted to save mamma! Weep not, child, weep not, go in. Let me wipe your eyes.

NAL: Oh! how she sobs! Sarada, Sarada!

SAR: Nothing, mamma! when you go—what shall we do? That is why I weep.

ANA: Mamma goes? Not while I live or the city-lamps burn to-night!

SAN: Why should he urge me to request him—I was going away in peace from an insolent door! I repeat!

ANA: Insolent door!—I know it. Sarada has told us all—thou

throwest longing eyes on guileless faces! The city must hang thee at the entrance gate—thy eyes will come out of their sockets then, to look upon the many mocking eyes! And you, brother! what folly is yours? Your madness still rages wild! What are you but a taunted merchant, and you would turn the taunt to a praise.

NAY: It has become a vow with me. I could not give it up
today.

ANA: Vow! Vow!

SAN: You are a good actor! You bark well for a dog!! (Laughs)

ANA: And can bite too! (Springs upon him, Nayanar holds him back and speaking gently)

NAY: None is mine, none is yours, none is his! I mind not if men come, take and drink at this great Ocean of milk—this world. All are His, who, for our sake, drank the poison Himself. . .

ANA: Vow! what vow is more inviolate than that sworn seven times before the fire, chanting the eternal bonds of man and wife?

NAY: That is not more sacred.

ANA: And to hear profanation is more sacred! And to do this more sacred!!

NAY: It is not profanation to keep one's word!

ANA: And the seven-times chanted words?

SAN: He might have refused. I promised to go away, but he offered the gift.

NAL: Now he seems to feel that wife is dearer than soul!
Thank Heaven, I am saved!

NAY: Surely, what folly was mine! There is a limit to bounty—and this was not mine! She is above and beyond me.

SAN: Say so, and I shall put out the light in my heart somehow!
How she shone there!

How I clothed her with my fond longings—how the bare white clouds were lit as a golden canopy for us both!!

ANA: Silence, rogue! you speak of my sister thus!

NAL: Brother, avenge him!

NAY: Let him enjoy his sin! I will deny him vengeance!

ANA: Sister! give me leave—I will silence the mind that thinks evil thoughts about you! Come, shall I?

NAL: No, no, we will not murder a guest.

SAN: You would kill the mind? In death too, she will, for me,—

NAY: Swami! Uma is half Siva—sooner can Siva tear himself from Uma than I could hand thee my Nalinai.

SAN: What do you know? Siva is wholly himself, as I am! A fair excuse yours! I will go.

NAY: I cannot give her. God is against it. Ask anything else.

SAN: And you will as cunningly refuse, quoting all the Vedas against me.

NAY: Take my Sarada!

ANA: Are you mad? The villain to take her!

SAN: Hug that ugliness to yourself!

ANA: Thy shadow falls fairer on these walls than thy tottering deformed self!

SAN: I go!

ANA: None asked you to come, you may go.

SAN: Say what you will, behind my back—I curse none of you for it. But I will keep my promise. This base mean house shall not have my blessings. I recall whatever I have blessed you with.

NAY: Will you not ask of me anything? Anything that I can grant under the smiling, approving eye of God?

SAN: Grant that I may go away, and that you debase me no more with other boons. It has pleased the Most High that I should live through such a day of insult, of dishonour, of shame! (GOES OUT).

ANA: We praise Him the more lustily, because He has saved us from you.

SAR: At last we have escaped! Mamma! Mamma! Baby sleeps, what does she know of our abysmal fears, now past!—poor thing!!

ANA: Nalinai, I must go and tell father—He was coming—though unable to stir from the bed. Such is a daughter's name to a father—I will tell him. You too must come to see him and assure him with your presence.

NAL: I will come anon.

ANA: And brother, beware! Even God cannot part you both. Only by death he can sunder, and then the dead wakes to double life in the living! Watch her, zealously! She is thine own! (GOES OUT)

NAY: Mine own! Mine own! Never!

NAL: Why not, my lord! Why not yours?

NAY: Because I cannot dispose of you as I wish!

NAL: I am ever at your command!

NAY: But why did the Sanyasi go empty-handed today with anger in his eyes? Could I grant his desire? Something ill brews in the air. I scent it now.

SAR: Papa! Just now you confessed to uncle repenting your folly! Do you retract now?

NAY: I have retracted enough—its doom will not fail to seek out my head. My vow is broken—not my pride but my piety gone! Why? Because I could not command as I wish! Nalinai, from today let us expect the home to sink to its ruin.

NAL: I can never bear that you should complain thus of your wife. Go,—bring him. I will away with him!

NAY: Sanyasi?

NAL: Yes. Bring the Sanyasi, or shall I go to meet him there? He could not have gone far! Quick, haste!

SAR: Mamma! Mamma!

NAL: Do you come for a last embrace? God bless you!

NAY: Now, now, you are my own!

NAL: I have a will, and a heart and a head—I will go with him to return to you one day! If not, we know where to meet. Haste, my lord!

NAY: He has not turned the corner of the street! I will make the *Danam* with due ceremony! I will run.

(GOES OUT)

SAR: Because uncle has gone, you begin thus again!

NAL: Let him come, still I will do this!

SAR: I will go and call him!

NAL: You must not! Let this pass in peace! Already it is good fortune that the street has not gathered in rage at our door!

SAR: It will, now! Grandpapa, uncle, all—all shall come and witness your crime and papa's!

NAL: You will undo our will? and spill the holy alms? Silly—mischievous girl! You were ever thus!

SAR: If you love us less, I love you more. Your name will become a byword! Nalinam will no more be sacred for worship: it will desecrate our poetry! And Sarada must hang her head down, struck by the arrowy finger of public scorn! The morning shall not see me deck the portico with *kolam* and with golden *parangi* blossom! The spider's cobweb will throw its sepulchral veil over my uncombed locks! Mother, will you do it?

NAL: Perhaps the Swami has gone away rapidly. He may not return. Then there is hope. Let us wait.

SAR: But papa will seek him out!

NAL: No, no, it is night—he may not trace his footsteps. Methinks, even if found, the Swami will not consent to return!

SAR: So may it be!

NAL: (Beaming) Is it not papa's voice?

SAR: (Sadly) Alas, alas!

NAL: They come!

(ENTER NAYANAR AND SANYASI)

SAN: I wonder if you mean it! The other fellow would insult me again!

NAY: He has gone home. There is none here.

SAN: Is she willing?

NAY: It was she who asked me to bring you here! It is Siva's pleasure that you have returned to honour me again.

SAN: Quick: the street will assemble—don't put me to public shame, to vociferous clamour and scandal!

SAR: He knows it is a sin and still does it! How far is knowing from doing, alas! in this naughty world.

NAY: None will come!

SAN: If they come! You will give me up to their tongues!

NAY: There she is ready! Daughter; come, prepare!

SAR: Why? What to prepare?

SAN: She comes forward! She: for this you called me!

NAY: Why, my Swami, this rage? Is not another's wife my daughter? Hence I addressed her thus. It was Nalinai I meant!

SAN: A fair excuse! So fair of you!

SAR: The last hope is fled! Alas! (GOES OUT INTO THE STREET)

NAY: That sounds like a wail! Not a good music at a wedding!

NAL: Swami: forgive him—he is still not dead to honour. He gives me to you.

NAY: Pour water from your jar! With this *Arghya* of water I give her to thee.

(POURS THE WATER INTO THE SANYASI'S HANDS)

SAN: She shall be dearer to me than myself, enthroned on my soul. I take her by the hand.

NAL: Why, I would not escape from you! I would follow behind, as constant as a shadow!

SAN: Look! she refuses already!

NAL: My lord! Must I do this?

NAY: Give your hand into his!

SAN: She still calls you "lord"—not me!

NAL: Forgive me, I have changed hands too suddenly, I forgot!

NAY: Father, stay here with us tonight or as long as you wish!

SAN: Not a moment more! A clever man indeed! You must claim her presence no more!

NAL: (ASIDE) How revolting! How cruelly they fall on my ears!

NAY: Shall I have music brought to lead you out of the street?

SAN: That would wake up the street: I tell you truly I would be ashamed to meet them. So, give us leave—let us go. Come, Nalinai! We have to walk a good distance before we can rest for the night.

NAL: Farewell, my lord! a long farewell! To Sarada, to all!

SAN: I forgive the word again. Farewell, good Nayanar. Take another wife. Live not a desolate life—I have known how desolate. Come Nalinai! Slowly, mind the steps!

(DESCENDING THE STEPS)

NAY: Forgive all my sins: forgive my words!

NAL: Farewell, home! farewell! How silent lies the street in the faint moonlight which faintly shows the unwilling path! (ABOUT TO GO)

(CRYING OF CHILD WITHIN)

NAY: Nalinai! the child cries! it has waked! go, quick.

SAN: What is this? Do you mock me?

NAY: Alas! alas! I forgot!

NAL: I will bring the child too.

SAN: You must not step across that door! Even after the 'arghyam'! It was a simple wedding ceremony—no long slave's rope and five days together—still a wedding—you shall not go!

NAL: But who will nurse and suckle the child? I must take her too.

SAN: Leave her her own fingers to suck, which will be sweeter far than milk!

NAY: In the name of motherless children I fall at your feet, —take the child too with you, let her be your child. She brings with her a choir of celestial lullabies to make more beautiful the starry night! If wife be light, a child is a fragrance—what can I do with a child? Woman's is the soft coaxing voice and soothing touch to still a baby's cries!

SAN: She is not my child. I will not have a burden on my shoulders. Yours for you, and mine own for me!

NAL: Be it so! let us go—her cries will not pierce your ears nor pierce the calm night for long, Sarada will return soon.

SAN: So we must speed fast!

NAY: I will go to the child! farewell both! Nalinai: I need not tell you—He is your God. Attend him with reverent love.

SAN: One word more! I fear the street, I fear assault and attack. You too must accompany us till we reach the sheltering cocoanut grove by the temple.

(CRYING OF THE CHILD)

NAY: Who dare touch you! Ha! she cries; let me go.

SAN: Come with your sword, and keep guard as we pass.

NAY: Let every long-drawn cocoanut leaf in the grove be forged to a sword by the bright glancing moonlight —under them you shall pass on, sound, safe. I will return presently . . .

NAL: Give a good swing to the cradle ere you come.

(NAYANAR GOES WITHIN)

SAN: Come, dear, my Nalinai—at last I am with you, alone—

the crescent moon shines not bright—I barely see your face.

NAL: He saves my good name still—He throws the veil on me and on thy blind old eyes.

SAN: Will you not give me your hand? Let us go. He will come behind.

(THEY SLOWLY MOVE AWAY)

NAL: Let him come. I will be as long with him as I can. Your cowardice delights me.

SAN: Then you are ashamed of me.

NAL: No, I am proud of you. I longed to accompany you; holiness commands more respect than wealth—He who commanded me so far—I rejoice that he will be a servant now to obey every whisper of yours and therefore mine.

SAN: A queen indeed!

NAL: Yet a servant to her king—the great sage who sits on his throne!

SAN: Oh! My choice—I am blessed for ever! Don't lag behind. There is no fear now.—Let us go. He will come behind.

(A VOICE):—Yes, coming sooner than you wish.

SAN: He comes running, I never thought so well of him!

(ANOTHER VOICE):—Ananta! Ananta! touch them not!

ANA: The sword must have been at work earlier. It will, now. Nalinai! Ah! They have gone.

SAN: Anantan is dashing at me! Oh! my life, my life! Nalinai, run away! Nayanar! protect us—catch him, fell him down.

(NAY'S VOICE):—It is done! Wail no more. Let them go! I will not leave my hold on thee.

NAL: He holds him.—Let us pass the corner soon.

SAN: It is Sarada, she has done this.

NAL: A daughter, she is a daughter. A daughter indeed!

SAN: Let me never have such an one for me.

NAL: I prophesy you will never have.

SAN: Come, let us speed. We want no sentinel or guard to guard our obscure lives!

NAL: Look, my lord comes running. My brother has returned home. All will be peace ever more.

(A VOICE) Nalinai! Nalinai!

NAL: Ananta! Is it you? Where is he?

(ANANTA RUSHES IN)

ANA: He drips here from the sword!

SAN: You have killed him!

ANA: I have cut down a shameless man. Now to you!

NAL: Alas! Alas! He is dead for this—let the floods go rush the dam that was broken! Let his purpose grow for which he shed his blood! Ananta!

ANA: You speak thus: Nalinai! you will live this life. My sword touches no woman; speak, thou Sanyasi, hypocrite!

NAL: Harm him not! Leave him free!

SAN: Lift not the sword against a woman!

ANA: Nalinai, you will not die; would rather live in hell, here and hereafter.

NAL: I would not die—never when this bosom is not dried of its milk and a mouth is hoarsened with thirst and cries. I must live!

ANA: Then, live! I go—let the dead walk to its own funeral pyre! Let vice call itself honour, and hypocrisy wear a beard, dye its black self in blood and call it Kashaya! Ye lips! seal yourselves on the shameless deed of this ashamed night!

(EXIT)

SAN: Let him pour a torrent and fill the feeble Kaveri, who cares?

NAL: My husband is dead. Come, sire, teach me the funeral

rites to him; what holy *mantrams* are they which I should chant when I ascend the self-same pyre.

SAN: Speak no more about him; come, rise up!

NAL: Who do you think I am?

SAN: The Usha of my bright new days! Come, Rise!

NAL: You may lift the fourteen worlds with thy hands—heavier far than fourteen times these fourteen is a woman's heart—

SAN: Will you not follow me?

NAL: Beware, here is a fire that glows like burning gold that would beam on thee to ashy crumbling at a rude touch by thee! beware!

SAN: I must go and tell him this—he has given—but in vain! Alas!

NAL: I shall praise you. Go wake him to life, show your holiness in a chanting again, and make my prayer your own! Go—the wife asks you to wake him up. Husband, go!

SAN: Alas, I am deceived!

NAL: You wanted flesh and blood, not a picture—good Sanyasi!—you wanted a throat to speak with you! listen to the music.

SAN: Alas! Alas!

NAL: You wanted not lifeless clay, you wanted a heart whose beat you would feel with thy palm—it beats too fast for thee, kicking thee right to the ends of the sky.

SAN: He gave up his life and embraced death to fulfil the deathless vow. Will his good noble wife undo his will?

NAL: He fulfilled his, I will fulfil mine—as he asked!

San: He asked? Was there treachery?

NAL: Treachery against treachery on the very wedding day. Do you see this? (SHOWS HIM SOMETHING)

SAN: No, what is it? Ah! He must have cut it off before I touched thee.

NAL: Not he, not he!

SAN: It is the *thali* of his hand—your *mangalyam*! I will break it now.

NAL: It is the ready halter about my neck—my husband's gift and command.

SAN: I will give you mine!

NAL: Put yours round your own neck. Mine own for me!

SAN: I will tear it from off your neck!

NAL: Not before it tears away my neck also. You dare come and touch me! My heart's nearest! which I have worshipped day by day with ornament and jewels! Come, do your work! Come, my *mangalyam*, my noose.

SAN: It won't suffice! It is too short! look, look, it is broken!

(VANISHES—A PAUSE)

NAL: Light! Is it so near the dark—does death wake so soon into moon-light on the other shore? Ah! No—it is the street. Alas, I live! I am not dead!

(ENTER NAYANAR)

NAY: Where is he?

NAL: Who are you?

NAY: I returned from Kailas. He is not there. He is come here in the guise of a sanyasi, they say. Where is He?

NAL: Who?

NAY: Swami, Swami! Where are you?

NAL: Is it you, my lord? my husband?

NAY: Is it you, Nalinai? Then, where is He? You must know!

NAL: He must have gone this way.

NAY: No—not to the east. Ah! There He is in the west. The crescent moon has set. Oh, me—He has vanished. But I will seek Him.

NAL: Alas, Alas! I stretch my hand to him in vain! In vain!

(A VOICE FROM ABOVE)—Nayanar!

NAY: The call has come! I know whence calls the voice, I go.

NAL: Why? Where?

NAY: To the forest, beyond the dark fringe of the horizon.

(RUNS OUT)

NAL: I come, too!

(THE END)

The Arche-type and Intrinsic Beauty

By K. C. VARADACHARI, M.A.

There are many problems of æsthetic value that find solution in as many ways, but there has not been a question of importance raised with regard to the arche-types and intrinsic beauty. It is interesting to find the relation between these two.

Intrinsic beauty is that beauty which depends upon itself and does not rely for its unique character on the variant influences of the age in which it finds expression, of the age in which it receives its appreciation, and of the age in which it continues its influence. Being thus indifferent to time in its effect and in its character, it acquires a unique value. Is there such a realisation of beauty? At first thought it may well be affirmed that such a complete realisation of beauty is well-nigh impossible. It is impossible, because we move in relation to objects, and objects are in a sense of our making. To seek a complete realisation of our beauty or our concept of beauty, of the arche-type as it is sometimes called, in actuality, is a thing made impossible by the necessity implied in existence, which is a world of changing forms and names. However much we may seek to make the expression full and whole from our point of view, it remains relative from the point of space-time in which it was produced by one placed at such a space-time point.

Whatever is absolutely beautiful is intrinsic, as it does not depend for its existence on other points of view and exists for itself. Our question then is: Are the arche-types intrinsically beautiful?

But before we answer this question, we are also aware of another question pertaining to the nature of the arche-type. In

the first place, our ordinary notion of the arche-type is something that is behind and beyond all forms, a form that is the complete exemplification of the particular kind or genus that is expressed by the active, fleeting particulars. In the second place, as they are behind the fleeting and vanishing particulars, they are eternal. We are now faced with the question whether these are active or passive, or is their exemplification in the nature of reflection as Plato describes in his parable of the cave, or is it the inexhaustible activity of the Universal or essence which these arche-types are said to be, which descends into matter to make it beautiful and good and harmonious?

In considering the dual nature of the arche-typal conception, we see that the arche-type is a general idea. And to be a general idea is to be merely a conceived descriptive label or symbol given to a perceived form exemplified by particular objects. This is the psychological standard stimulus, namely a general idea of a form. General ideas thus are invaluable to thinking and acting in the world, and therefore the general ideas ought not to be taken to be either the arche-type or even existence. We never reach the idea of the perfect except through the intuition of it. We can never get at it by an observation of the passing and evolving forms, even though the latter have sufficient vitality and tenacity to persist as race-traits or characters so as to appear unchanged through even æons of ages. The general idea is a psychological product and a biological instrument. It is the conservative influence of Life-activity, and is also an expression of the evolutive influences of Life. The general ideas or concepts are merely the average of certain types of forms that recur in evolution, substantially accurate and consistent amalgams of the chief characters that persist in evolution through a long period of time or experience in innumerable representations, rather occurrences, of particular types. The general idea is the psychological conception of the evolution of the arche-types in existence. Though we should not say that the general idea is

not the conception of the arche-types, yet it is identical with the arche-type, since arche-types are evolving entities *in the world*, and though by themselves perfect, their exemplification or mirroring being timed, the general idea of such series of representations is vitiated rightly by the character of evolving of the former.

Therefore the general idea is not identical with the arche-type, but is merely the subjective composition of the innumerable occurrences of the representation of the arche-type, an amalgam, an average arrived at by taking the common features of different numerically distinct objects, and therefore a reduction of the unique quality of the single. For, quality or significance or meaning is individual intuition and never general.

No amount of experiments with the geological and biological reconstruction of the history of the evolution of a particular type will yield the arche-type, which is unique, individual and single in its perfection. The arche-types, undoubtedly conceived products in the sense of being capable of intuition and realization in intuitive experience, are not amenable to inductive treatment and composition. They are realizable only by an imaginative effort, and are objective visualizations and perceptions.

It is true that the attainment to the levels of the archetypal vision is preceded by a careful scrutiny of the variant manifestations of the same, but that is different from the really intrinsic imagination of the arche-types. The scrutiny of the several manifestations of the arche-types is not absolutely necessary but it serves a useful purpose, namely, that it marks out for us whether our intuition is absolutely flawless and unvitiated by the several manifestations. After all, what we speak through the inductive treatment is a unique single, the arche-type, but what is had is something that is a mongrel offspring, which is neither the one, nor the other. It is not the actual perceived unique single, nor is it the unique beauty of the perfect which

is purely ideal and intuitional. In the distinctive measure the mongrel offspring is one or the other, any artistic product is judged and ranked.

It is held that artistic products are universally appreciated or universally condemned. It is true for the reason that the general actual occurrence of the several manifestations of the arche-types in the world makes the general populace get the idea of the perfect in some degree through them, and initiates their own hankering for perfection on such lines, though that is not the perfect in the absolute sense of arche-typal perfection. For them, the general mode is the criterion of judgment. Therefore, there is a standard called the general idea which is a social æsthetic criterion, but that is not really the absolute. The absolute criterion is the intuitively realized, but unexpressed in manifestation, of the truly single experience of the arche-typal.

The artist's creation is the artist's effort to arrive at the true and the real, released from the merely factual (which are merely the instances or snatches of the really perfect at a moment of its manifestation) and the accurate and exact picturing of such a concept.

In one sense, the arche-types remain merely the spectators of the world, and as it is (in a second sense), mirrored by a too willing and accommodating existence, it becomes the ordinary man's general idea—or particular as the case may be. In the former sense, they are, as Plato fully stressed, absolutely impeccable forms, full and therefore passive in their perfection, as Spinoza held them to be the case with his Dei, with no development in their character or nature. If they occur, it is by a process of reflection or mirroring. But in the second sense, they are, as Aristotle enunciated, the forms that are never absent from existence and the mere matter. The merely formal are never available in existence. The second heaven is therefore an unnecessary appendage. But we find that both are legitimate conclusions, and none of them are absolutely true by

themselves. Plato, as the æsthetician *par excellence*, suggests the utter perfection of the single and the impeccable form; Aristotle, as the metaphysician and logician *par excellence*, is the exponent of the general idea, and only acknowledges the final perfection of God as a necessary, free, formal existence. In both cases, if they stressed, as they did stress, the final reality of absolute form of arche-typal perfection, then they expound the *non-existence* of the Absolute, and therefore truly become idealists of the first degree.

Our problem now is, is there such a thing as the absolutely beautiful, and if there is such a thing, is that identical with the arche-type? On the first issue there can be no doubt that we do hold that there is such a concept as the intrinsically beautiful and that this can be found only in the individual who recognizes and evokes in himself the beautiful. On the second issue we have to hold that it is because the arche-types are intrinsically perfect and absolutely *Ideal* according to definition, (and in conclusion to the argument advanced already)—a definition that is as fallacious in the same degree as the definition of straight line by Euclid—they are capable of being brought into existence and within manifestative limits by Life which animates us, because Life is intrinsically simple and sympathetic. It is the perfect character fulfilled by the intrinsically simple experience of Life that gives to artistic products the appeal of Beauty. For, the Beautiful is that which has the intrinsic capacity to soothe and make one sympathise with Life and make us one with all that it pervades or manifests. The Beautiful is not the mere perfect representation of the arche-types, though it is not without the power to make us be in admiration with Life. But admiration is not sympathy or at-oneness with Life, though it may happen that ere we sympathise with an object, we invariably admire or pity, which latter is an inversion of the same feeling or emotion. Brilliancy or striking quality is the stimulus to appreciation, an agreement, and finally recognition, of the Beautiful. Forms, either arche-typal

or imperfect, are thus the stimulus to feeling, being in their character desirable or ugly according to the perfectness or imperfectness or disproportionateness of the original. They do not form the essential *significance* of the object. This *significance* is an exclusive character of Life which manifests the forms and evolves them and weaves them into the woof of the world.

In fact the unity with Life that is displayed in an artistic product by an artist, who in his turn calls us to the unity of ourselves with that Life, is the characteristic mark of genius and beauty. This characteristic is not individual and finite or even personal; it is the unique quality of reality, and it is our freedom from the bondage of the foci of individual perceptions, though the creation itself is an absolute creation of an individual artist.

In any future development of art, then, this question should be deeply borne in mind, that the artist should not be bound to the arche-types, to the desirables, not even to the personal expressions, but to the ideal awakening of the sympathy with all Life in all its harmony and divergence, of all Life in emergence and evolution. Holding to the creative ideal of fulfilling Life by drawing inspiration from its variant phases and manifestations, should the artist create art for the sake of art and the universe. In the intuition of Life consists the future development of true and harmonious art. That alone is the truly and integrally beautiful, the intrinsic beauty.



SRI-LAKSHMI

School of Mathura, Circa 2nd Century A. D.

Collection Bharat Kala Parisad, Benares

Selected Examples of Indian Painting and Sculpture

BY O. C. GANGOLY

V. SRI-LAKSHMI

School of Mathura, circa 2nd century A. D.

(Collection of the Bharat Kala Parishad, Benares)

By the somewhat exaggerated attention given, (by a class of antiquarians inclined to see wonders in everything connected with Greece), to the debased and bastard school of Hellenistic sculpture which prevailed in Gandhara, the vital and original qualities of the contemporary School of Mathura has not earned the recognition that it should amongst connoisseurs and lovers of Indian Art. The clouds of controversy that had been raised over the so-called indebtedness of the Mathura School to that of the Gandhara had completely obscured the fact that the prolific products of the School of Mathura represent, in the main, a direct development and continuation of the older native Indian Art of Bharhut and the still older art of Besnagar. The most obvious evidence of this has been furnished by the characteristic series of female types, nudes and semi-nudes, represented on railing-pillars, recovered from many old sites in and near Mathura. They have been identified as Yakshis, Apsaras, Devatas or Vrikshakas (dryads, demi-Goddesses, or tree-nymphs). Whatever they may represent, they reveal indigenous conceptions of Indian artists expressed in the plastic language of old Indian Art, untouched by any influence of foreign

technique or formula. No more convincing example illustrating the indigenous and original character of the School of Mathura has yet come to light than a wonderful caryatid or pillar-statue—representing a female figure—now in the collection of the Bharat Kala Parishad, Benares. It is in spotted redstone of *sikri*, and is in a perfect state of preservation. It furnished a decorative motive for a pillar carrying a vase, and obviously belongs to an era when sculpture had not yet evolved a life independent of the construction that it decorates. Indeed in all phases of Indian Art, sculpture has never fully outgrown its intimate association with architecture. Anyhow, this quaint and dignified figure represents the Indian conception of beauty of the female form—as interpreted by the old Indian sculptors. Carrying a basket of wickerwork in her left hand, containing perhaps food, and a jar of water in her right, she stands exquisitely poised—in a noble and dignified repose. Related to many cognate and contemporary fragments of the same School, it adheres to a definite iconographic formula and has been identified as the popular old Indian Goddess Sri-Lakshmi,—whose cult dates from pre-Buddhistic times. The figure seems to echo a passage in the *Taittiriya Upanishad* (i.4) where Sri is said to bring garments, cows, food and drink, “therefore bring me Sri”. She wears the suggestion of a happy smile on her face, which is the very reverse of the coquetry of the smiling *yakshinis*. The upper part of her body is bare—but hardly touched by any kind of erotic suggestion, and she is the very picture of a naive simplicity and unstudied grace. The heavy anklets on the legs seem to rivet the figure on the pedestal, and emphasize the static repose with an inevitable plastic logic and also help the figure very happily to perform the function of a caryatid. Lakshmi with her gifts of the sweets and abundance of Life, is here incarnated in a form which typifies a grace and a dignity and a static exquisiteness of repose which somewhat recalls but completely rivals the Lemnian Athena of the Pheidian school.



SHIVA & PARVATI

School of Kangra, Circa 1800 A. D.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

VI. SHIVA AND PARVATI

School of Kangra, circa 1800.

(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

It has been well remarked that the School of Kangra, the latest phase of the old Schools of Indian Painting, offers to the un-initiated an easy and a graceful entrance to the Temple of Indian Art. The quaint anatomy and the forbidding iconological features of Indian Sculpture, offer even to our 'educated' Indians today (somewhat spoilt by an accidental contact with the questionable phases of European Art), formidable barriers to a right understanding of the æsthetic values of Indian Art. But the Hill Schools of the Punjab Himalayas, particularly the miniatures of the Kangra School—in their picturesque yet profound presentations of religious themes in a pleasant and attractive dress, offer an inviting gateway to the treasures and the glories of Indian Art. To the un-initiated, no better approach to the subject can be furnished than the deeply emotional themes and the entrancing colour schemes of the Kangra miniatures. Of all the masterpieces of the School, which the apathy and ignorance of Indians have driven to permanent exile in foreign countries, and are utterly lost to India,—none is so typical of the depth of feeling and grandeur of treatment, and permeated with the essence and spirit of Indian mythical themes—as the magnificent 'Shiva and Parvati' in the Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The story of the picture is borrowed from an episode in the *Bramha-vaivarta purana*, known as "*Ganesha-purana*" and is current in the popular Hindi version of *Ganesha-purana bhasa* by Tulsidas (Benares Edition, Bhargava Press). It is a dialogue between Shiva and Parvati who was informed that each of the skulls on the garland of Shiva represented an incarnation of Parvati. She thereupon asked for a boon or a *vijamantra*

(magic syllable, the quintessence and seed of great potentiality) by which she could be released from the tiresome cycle of the necessity of birth and death (*tate mora hota nahin nasha*) and she begged of him to confide to her the secret of immortality (*dasi jani kripa ava kijai vija mantra hamahum kahan dejai*). And Shiva started confiding the great secret which took more than 12 years to recite, and in the meantime the fair auditor fell asleep exhausted—while Shiva, engrossed in His tale of narration, did not perceive that Parvati had fallen asleep—and the great secret was overheard by a pair of birds on the neighbouring tree. This picturesque *paورانic* myth is visualised by the magic brush of Kangra—in terms of a familiar Himalayan landscape—in a lonely corner of which, sentinelled by an array of decorative trees, Shiva has spread His carpet of leopard-skin and planted His *trisula*, which is at once an emblem of asceticism and an offensive weapon for the deadly demons—for which Parvati has woven with her deft fingers a little pinion which points to the rows of lotuses in the distant *mana-sarovara*. In the foreground the stately Nandi mounts guard, and his bovine but forbidding looks are enough to chide away all intruders. The outlook as well as the treatment, offer a complete identification and a deep absorption of the artist in his theme which is unparalleled in the history of any Schools of Painting. The artist has put within a few square inches of paper, an amount of Unity, Vitality, Infinity and Repose which we will vainly seek in miles of Renaissance canvasses. In one sense, the Giants of the Renaissance are Pigmies in the treatment of religious themes so profoundly felt and interpreted by the Giants of the Indian Renaissance—whose names are unfortunately left unrecorded by any Indian Vasari but are anonymously commemorated in these miniature monuments of the Kangra School.

Sudhir Khastgir: the Sculptor

BY V. R. CHITRA

Though very little understood, the Art of Painting is admired and appreciated by a number of the more cultured in our country. But unfortunately her sister art, Sculpture, appears to appeal only to the few who, possessing a certain technical knowledge, have also developed a taste for its more sober attractions. It might almost be said that it requires a natural aptitude for Art—a keen appreciation of things of beauty and of the aims of the artist. Yet I believe that there are many without special gifts who love Art; this love properly directed may lead to knowledge and the sympathy necessary for its understanding.

There are excellences in Art beyond what is generally called the imitation of Nature. Whatever is produced from principles and rules only, added to the most exquisite craftsmanship, is yet no more than mechanical work. The essential element in any great Art is *Rasa*. *Rasa*—the vision of Beauty—is the life and soul of fine Art; without it, there is no Art. And appreciation of great Art depends on the capacity of the spectator, his knowledge and intellect.

In the wake of the modern School of Indian Sculpture, young artists are rising and devoting themselves to new methods with enthusiasm; and it is pleasing to note that Santiniketan is concentrating on this Art of late and quite distinctive work is being done by young artists working there.

The two reproductions published in this number of 'Triveni' are from photographs of the original clay models done by Sjt. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir of Santiniketan. Sjt. Khastgir, with a natural aptitude for Art, was fortunately sent to Santiniketan before his creative impulse was stunted. It was not long

before his genuine artistic feeling ensured a high quality of work, both in painting and modelling. His work has a certain robust individuality, its special quality, and he also has been able to express in his creations the spirit of the Indian life. For instance his "Mother and Child" is a powerful composition and original in its character. The head of the woman is of remarkable beauty combined with the intimate tenderness and affection of a mother. In the same style is "Offering" characterised by delicacy of form and exquisite expression. Though the drapery in both the works reveals a slight influence of the early Greek Art, the conception is entirely Indian and original.

"Winter", an old woman sitting near the hearth, is a typical expression of a winter morning. It reveals no influence of any definite School. On the contrary, we see in it an original style, very bold and impressionistic, and dignified composition.

"The Daughters of the Soil" is, in my opinion, the best of his works produced up till now. There is tremendous force in the whole composition. Simple in its theme, it pulsates with life. The latter two are excellent in sentiment, style, simplicity and beauty. For originality of expression and form, his works are in a class by themselves. It is not out of place to mention here that Sjt. Khastgir has only begun his studies two years ago and these works are the result, and he has now undertaken a tour to study South Indian Sculpture. His works were exhibited at the recent exhibition of the Madras Fine Arts Society, and his "Daughters of the Soil" was awarded the first prize for Sculpture.



Mother and Child



The Daughters of the Soil

A Vision

BY SRIMATI NILIMA DEVI

It was the hushed hour of midnight,
All living creatures had gone to sleep and restful repose,
Save one traveller on a mountain road.
The faint moon lightened his fair brow,
Soft breeze rippled over his wavy hair;
Of a sudden he heard a sweet voice,
And a wond'rous fragrance wafted o'er to him;
He looked up and beheld a glory of light
Which nearer and nearer came
And revealed itself in the form of a woman.

Never in dream nor in life
Had he beheld a woman so beautifully divine:
"Who art thou", quoth he,
"What want'st thou of me?"—
"Knowest me not?"—said she,
"And that my path spreads across and over thy heart?"
Her voice was like a song
That never was nor could ever be.
Thus the traveller's soul was filled with a peace
That never was nor could ever be.

Verily 'twas the Spirit of the Earth
Who came and spake to him that loved Earth so
The brimming life that was in all her living beings.
She it is that made all life grow—
Fuller and richer at every instant of eternity.

Suddenly the traveller felt an unaccountable thirst,
And she, divining his desire,

Beckoned him to a spot

Where, from the heart of a bare rock,
Gushed forth a spring of bubbling crystal clear water:

He drank and instantly all the thirst of his life
Was quenched by the water that was sweeter than life itself.

"Wilt thou not ever again come to me?"
"To appease my thirst",—then he gently asked:
"But", she said, "I am never away or far from thee,
"Thou dost see me in the dust of thy path,
"Hear my voice in the song of birds,
"Behold my face in the blossoming of flowers,
"In the dance of the sunlight on tree-tops,
"In all manifestations of growing life."

She then put her two lovely, gentle hands on his brow:
Her touch was like a benediction.

An exquisite rapture filled his soul:
He closed his eyes and when opened them again,
She was gone.

Only the fragrance of her touch

Lingered in the hushed silence of the dying night,
And a peace deep as the unfathomable depths of the human
heart

Flowed over the path of the waning moon:
The stars quivered and lighted the path
Of the lonely traveller
Towards the journey's end.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least **SIX WEEKS** in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

ENGLISH

Pre-Mussalman India, Vol. I.—By Prof. V. Rangacharya, M. A. (Price Rs. 5/- Printed at The Huxley Press, Madras, and published by the Author)

The present book is the first of a series of nine volumes in which the author proposes to describe the history of India from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest. Although much material has been accumulated during recent years by the investigations of epigraphists and scholars, no attempt has been made so far to incorporate it in a comprehensive treatise on history. Prof. Rangacharya deserves to be congratulated for attempting to provide the public with a work of this kind for performing which he is most eminently fitted.

The present volume, in which is described the history of India from the time almost of creation down to the advent of the Aryans, exhibits the author's great erudition and capacity for skilfully marshalling the facts, and lucidly expounding the views of other writers. Unlike other historians, who usually commence their works with the description of the cave men, the learned Professor begins his history with the creation not only of man but the earth which he inhabits. Although it is true, in a sense, that events connected with all spheres of human activity come within the scope of history, it is to be doubted whether they should be included in historical treatises properly so called. The present work is a compendium of various theological and anthropological theories, and one feels a genuine doubt regarding the propriety of devoting one whole volume for their consideration. However, it must be admitted that the author has done his work with great skill and ability. He devotes much space for determining the racial elements which make up the present population of India. The scholars, whose views he cites in this connection, fall into three classes. Some hold that the present Indian

population consists mainly of two racial elements, Dravidian and Aryan. Others believe that it is made up of three or four elements, Kolarian, Dravidian, Mongolian and Aryan. According to some others, the people of India are homogeneous, and the distinction between the Aryan and the Dravidian is cultural and religious, and not racial. They also believe that the people of India are autochthonous, and that theories of Aryan and Dravidian migrations are false. Prof. Rangacharya is not an adherent of any one of these schools. After a careful and searching examination of the various theories, he arrives at the conclusion that in the present Indian population, two dominant racial types are seen, *viz.*, the Kolarian and the Aryan. The majority of the population of the country, including the so-called Dravidians, belongs to the Indo-Germanic race. He points out that the term 'Dravidian' denoting a distinct race is of recent origin, and it has been coined by the Western savants for certain purposes; and therefore, it should not be allowed to mislead us in discussions regarding the origin of our race. Although the origin of the Aryans and the Dravidians should be ultimately traced to the Indo-Germanic people, it must be understood that they belong to distinct branches, the Nordic and the Mediterranean respectively. The Dravidians migrated to India from the shores of the Mediterranean earlier than the Aryans, and settled down in the Punjab. Later, the Aryans also migrated thither; and it is the conflict of these two peoples that is described in the Rig Veda. The views of the author on this subject are probably nearer the truth than many others, but one would like to get more evidence in support of them. Regarding the antiquity of the Indo-Aryans, Prof. Rangacharya treads a middle path. After carefully examining the position of the writers of both the extremes, he is inclined to accept the theories of Dr. Winternitz and Mr. Haraprasada Sastri.

The volume under review attempts to satisfy a real want, and Prof. Rangacharya deserves the thanks of all students of Indian history for making the attempt. We hope that the other volumes, which are soon to follow the present, will come up to the expectations raised by it.

The printing of the work appears to be careless. An enterprising firm of printers like the Huxleys ought to have bestowed greater care on the printing of a work of this description.

N. V. R.

Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District.—By Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M. A., Archæological Assistant, Madras Government Museum.

(Price Rs. 2 as. 12. Printed at the Government Press, Madras, and published as a bulletin of the Madras Government Museum)

What that veteran scholar, Robert Sewell, prophesied as early as 1882 in his "Lists of Antiquarian Remains of the Madras Presidency, Vol. II," regarding the two sculptured slabs of white marble, similar to those at Amaravati, in a mound in a field near Mallavaram, Palnad Taluq, Guntur District, has proved to be very true today. While considering that the discovery might be one of great importance, he wanted that the place should be carefully watched and examined. Nearly half-a-century has elapsed since that discovery.

In 1926 Dr. G. Jouveau Dubreuil, who has contributed not a little to the Ancient History of South India and South Indian culture, and by whose profound interest in archæology the excavations at the above-said place were done, unearthed some portions of the Stupa—some sculptural slabs and friezes—from that mound. With his aid they were acquired and removed to the Madras Government Museum.

A long frieze in seven panels, illustrating mostly from the Buddha's life, from the southern side of the Stupa, two small slabs, one showing a small stupa and the other the footprints of the Buddha, and lastly a slab containing a very big representation of a seven-hooded *naga* are still on the site. They could not be removed to the Government Museum, as the villagers "had taken to worship Nagamayya" and the other three "were fixed on the walls of the room constructed round the *naga*."

The site, which yielded these important art-treasures is, according to Sewell, near Mallavaram, *i.e.*, three miles to the east of that village and only a mile and a half south-east of Goli, another village near by; so much so these are styled as "Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near the village of Goli."

Three friezes, one from the west of the stupa, one from the east of the stupa and the other from the north of the stupa and six slabs—all from that place, are now preserved in the Government Museum. The sculptures on these friezes and slabs are ably described in detail in this bulletin under review by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Archæological Assistant, Madras Museum.

As in Amaravati and Sanchi, here in Goli also, most of the sculptures are illustrations of scenes from the Buddha's life and

Jataka stories or stories of the Buddha's previous births. The temptation of the Buddha, Sujata feeding the Bodhisattva, the Sermon in the Deer Park, the Buddha's visit to Yasodhara, subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri—these are the representations from the Buddha's life that we find in Goli. We have here sculptural representations of four jatakas—the Chaddanta (Sans. Shad-danta), Vessantara (Sans. Vaisyantara), Matri-posaka (Sans. Matri-poshaka) and Sasa (Sans. Sasa) jatakas. Of all these, Vessantara jataka is the most profusely illustrated. It has eight scenes. Chaddanta is sculptured in two scenes; and Matri-posaka and Sasa jatakas in one scene each. In differentiating one theme from the other, human pairs making love and Yakshis are represented. Illustrations of Chaddanta, Vessantara and the subjugation of Nalagiri, are in a very good state of preservation; but the temptation of Mara, and Sujata feeding the Bodhisattva, are in a damaged condition. The author's accurate identification of all the sculptures and the detailed descriptions of the various scenes indicate his keen powers of observation and study. His identification of Matri-posaka jataka, and his explanations of the presence of several women besides Sujata in "Sujata feeding the Bodhisattva" and the presence of a bird on the tree in the Vessantara jataka exhibit the instinct of a keen archæologist.

In these sculptural representations we see the village bullock-cart, 'Kavadi,' the water vessel, the umbrella and the fan of olden days. With the exception of the last two, all the rest are not a whit different from the same objects in vogue, at the present day in the Andhra country. Though not in the Andhra country, we can even today see such umbrellas as we find in these sculptures in the Tamil country. The study of the ornaments, head-dresses, the various modes of hair-dressing and wearing garments, will not only prove to be of immense value to the Andhra Buddhist sculptural art but give us also the clue to know the state and tastes of the society in the Andhra country, in the age of the sculptors of these scenes.

It is a matter for regret that we are not in a position to know exactly the date of these sculptures, as there are no inscriptions on the friezes and slabs, except one of six letters, which is by itself useless for this purpose. However, the author by making a comparative study of the styles of the sculptures and the treatment of the subjects therein, both at Goli and Amaravati, quite ingeniously determines the date of these sculptures to be third century A.D. In this connection, he cleverly presses the six-lettered inscription into his service and comparing the forms of these letters with those of the

Jaggayyapeta inscriptions of the Ikshvaku dynasty, arrives at the same conclusion as before.

We have great pleasure in recommending this book to all lovers of Buddhist sculptural art and especially to the Andhras, who are fortunate enough to recover their ancient art-treasures. It is their sacred duty to take the greatest possible care to preserve such valuable monuments of ancient Andhra art, wherever and whenever discovered. We hope that these sculptures will inspire in the Andhras a genuine interest and enthusiasm in the study of the ancient Buddhist art of the Andhra country, which brought them undying name and fame.

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA

Bhagavadgita.—A fresh study : By D. D. VADEKAR, M.A. (Poona Oriental Book Depot.)

The author of this little book is well-versed in the works of Western philosophers, and has attempted to interpret the *Gita* in terms of Western philosophy. He does not lay claim to strict originality, but only to freshness of treatment, and welcomes criticism "in all earnestness and humility, as the only human pathway to truth."

It is patent that the author has taken great pains in the composition of this work ; he has studied all the principal earlier works on the *Gita*, as a norm to guide himself by, and he has established innumerable interesting parallels between Western thought and the *Gita*. For this reason, the book has a certain usefulness. However, on the other hand, we cannot help suspecting that he is not as much at home in Hindu metaphysics as in Western philosophy, that he is unable to think directly in terms of Sanskrit concepts, without first rendering them into their proximate or incorrect English equivalents. For instance, in page 57, he translates *Apara* and *Para Prakriti* as Nature and Spirit, and coolly identifies them with *Kshara* and *Akshara Purusha*, apparently following Telang's translation ! Seeing that the *Gita* has come historically after the *Upanishads* and the *Sankhya*, one wonders if this is a specimen of the 'historical method of interpretation' advocated by the author.

The 'mythology' of the book as explained in Chapter IV consists of a rather superficial application of the Hegelian Dialectic. The point which the author wants to make is that the *Gita* is a synthesis, not simply between *Pravritti* and *Nivritti*, as the author would have

us believe for the sake of bringing in the Dialectic, but between several well-marked spiritual tendencies ; but this is as good as a truism, and might be more effectually said directly, as it had been said by earlier writers. To fit the head to the cap, the author is obliged to characterise the vedic thought as ' a theologic Pluralism with a practical Hedonism', and the Upanishadic thought as a ' Metaphysical singularism with a Philosophical Asceticism', both of which judgments are, at the mildest, extremely questionable.

R. V.

The Metaphysics of Sri Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya—

By K. C. Varadachari, Adyar, Madras.

This booklet represents the work done by the author as a research student in Philosophy of the University of Madras. The Visishtadvaita system of philosophy is not as well known or studied as it ought to be. Attempts like the present are very welcome for that reason. The writer seems to have a correct comprehension of the central position of the system he expounds. It is a great pity, however, that he does not aim at greater accuracy of thought and expression. It is not correct to say " to Samkara, the world is a hallucination"; nor is there any philosophical justification for " not making much of its phenomenal reality" (p. 102). The central tenets of rival systems require far more careful consideration than is evidenced in such statements. Again, the writer may have a perfectly tenable theory of his own about the creation of the Universe, that it is for the sake of *kaivalya* and for the *lila* of God (p. 16). It is a grievous error, however, to foist such a view on the Vedanta Sutras or on Ramanuja's interpretation thereof. " Lila Kaivalyam " was never meant by Badarayana to be disjoined and interpreted in this fashion. A Graduate of the University of Madras may be expected to achieve greater clearness of expression than in: " Though one has to suffer for anthropomorphism beliefs one is bound to hold, and which as Prof. Schiller says, everyone is confined to, the only alternative being to prefer a good one to a bad one" (p. 30), or in " Subtler and never gross, Paramatman and Atman are, than Prakrti, being spiritual " (p. 31). There are, however, sufficient indications of promise to make us wish that the author had devoted a little more time to the work and been in less of a hurry to seek publicity.

S. S. S.

The Silken Tassel—by A. F. Khabardar. (Mount Road, Madras).

The knowledge of the psychology of the poet's mind is at once an advantage and a danger to the task of criticism. If one writes verses (not to call oneself a poet), and can introspect, remembering fully the process of writing, one knows the psychology; and such an one may rise to the highest levels of criticism of poetry, and may even make his art creative, in the highest sense in which Oscar Wilde talked of "creative criticism." But knowing this psychology, knowing where the fancies meet and metaphors mix, where the vowels merge and consonants clash, syllables jostle and ring in rhyme and rhythm, knowing the starting point of a poetic fancy whether enshrined in the chaste phases of a Sonnet or in many-burdened Lyric, knowing all this, one is in imminent risk of seeing too much, more than is necessary for evaluation of Art; and consequently the enchantment which distance lends and inspires may be lost to him. Petrarch seated on Mount Venteaux, was struck with the beauty of the Alpine peaks; and within himself questioned, "when the Creation is so beautiful, how much more should the Creator be". I do not suggest that the critic like the poet or the painter should adopt a distance-enchantment method of evaluation; but it is obvious that brick by brick scaling, and plummet and plumb-line judgment, cannot make criticism a creative art. If criticism is not creative, it cannot function its point-duty to beauty and truth. It is my endeavour to do this point-duty in my review of Mr. Khabardar's little book of poems, though I may be tempted to go into details, as I know the poet's psychology a little.

Mr. Khabardar is one of the most well-known Gujarati poets and is the author of about twenty books therein. The present work, I have to say at the outset, is not the translation of his Gujarati poems. He has got a distinct capacity for English poetry which the 'Silken Tassel' can easily establish.

In 'The Silken Tassel' there are thirty pieces; and any one of them, to the true poets' eye, even as to the true critic's, can give the sample of the author's remarkable will to verse.

Every poet has his or her own philosophy; and Mr. Khabardar indeed has his own, but it is not easy to gather it. I might take him for a Hedonist when he sings:—

"Fair is the weather, light is the boat,
Life must have its merry sweet note;
Flesh for flesh and wine for the throat;
Who could then enslave us?"

Yet, is he not a moralist and thinker when he sings in his "Riddle of Life"

"Life is virtue, life is duty,
Life is but one painful beauty;
Then in all your circled pleasure,
Keep for eye its central measure!"

Passages like the above, culled for the purpose of maintaining the critic's view-point, may not show the mirror of the poet's mind. But even as they stand in their culled state, they have an individuality; and if in that state they have beauty, that is sufficient to prove the poet's genius.

Problems of life and love are the themes in "The Silken Tassel." The poem "Wheels of Time," is reminiscent of Browning's "Toccatta," on account of form and Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" on account of metre.

It begins with,

"O! My dreams come back minute!
What! no more now, that is all?
Here I sit beside the sea shore,
Hark, there comes a lightning call
Through the long forgotten moments,
Where Time's changing curtains fall"

The poet's dashing mode of expression is well illustrated in this piece. Consider the following:—

"False is all the green that glitters,
On the heaving noon day sea,
False is all the red that furrows
Heaven's own blue simplicity,
Yet man roams behind this mirage
Or these sufferings cannot be"

"Radhika's perplexity" is a sweet little lyric. Some lines gently recall Sarojini's poem, "I carry my curds to the Mathura fair." Perhaps both were inspired by the old Bengali Song. Pray listen to Mr. Khabardar;

"I carry my pots to the village well,
When the dawn has lifted her veil,
Slowly and slyly he comes behind,
Like a chittah and suddenly there I find,

His shadow before me trail.
 I fill my water pots on the well,
 When stealthily he comes nigh
 He lays them on my head uncalled,
 "Oh ! Radhika , it is too high."
 I turn my face, but he looks in my eyes,
 And laughs and passes by !
 He blocks my way with a wayward spring,
 And asks of me there many a thing,
 But I do not care to yield,
 I walk away with a gentle push.
 As the Sun is high in the sky,
 I hear my name through some magical flute,
 And I turn behind to spy,
 My curds fall down and he looks in my face,
 And laughs and passes by !"

Mr. Khabardar has unquestionably acquired the capacity to write clearly without the slightest tinge of uncertainty and immaturity usually found in poets of the Indo-English School. I find beauty and taste in many poems in this book. Felicity of style and completeness of language make one feel a sort of pre-acquaintance with almost every poem herein.

It is my faith that with fifty lines of very good poetry, one may aspire to the highest rank in literature and get it. A dozen lines of the late Bengali poet, Manamohan Ghose, (whose book was reviewed by Oscar Wilde in the *Saturday Review*) would make one feel that Manamohan could be classified along with the true poets of the world. So too James Elroy Flecker who wrote only a little. His "November Evenings," some critics are of opinion, and rightly, place him along with the greatest of English poets. Here too in Mr. Khabardar's case, I have judged him not from the volume of his writings, but from the few very good lines that have haunted me. Those lines may not contain sublime ideas nor high-strained figures of speech. But they have the true ring of poetry ; and that perhaps is the greatest tribute to the poet's art. Cosmic reflections, stars, moon and sun, and hills and valleys, and rivers, have all become hackneyed. Yet in the hands of the true poet, they have their inexhaustible charms. I daresay, in "The Silken Tassel", these subjects are not in the least hackneyed, nor in the least disgusting.

Before finishing my point-duty which is all that I have

attempted here, let me quote a few more lines. Here is a stanza from "Sita Rama."

"Like the flying pansies wheeling
Flutter while the butterflies,
And the busy moments gather
All the fruits of toiling skies,
While the full-blown flowers are gleaming
In the noon-tide's golden dreaming
Of the hopes that ever grow ;
Hark ! the words there, loud and streaming
In the long street flow :
"Sita Rama ! Sita Rama,
Sita Rama, Ho !"

Again, in "the Release", consider the beauty of the terseness of expression :

"Soft tenderly
O ! lesser world ! I seek my larger love,
One breath is here—one last and winning move,
Another—where is He ?"

Poetry is infinite in its scope and inexhaustible in charm and appeal. Each reader finds his favourite, according to leanings and crotchets. In "The Silken Tassel" there may be enough to suit many-coloured tastes. But I have only dealt with portions that impressed me. The book apart, one word of general appreciation of the poet. The poet is more than his poetry. Mr. Khabardar is a great store-house of knowledge. Besides being a first-rate poet and scholar, he is a first-rate businessman, and an advanced astrologer.

P. NARAYANA KURUP

Seventeen Silhouettes :—By Kanu Desai, with an introduction by N.C. MEHTA, I.C.S., (Published at the Kumar Press, Ahmedabad.)

We welcome this beautiful little publication of some silhouette studies from the brush of a young, promising artist of Gujerat. So far we have had only reproductions, and that too of a cheap kind, of Indian painting in colours, but this, we are inclined to think, is the first of its kind. Sketches and cartoons have been published before, but not studies in shadows cast against a monochromatic background. We are also glad that the works of an younger artist were chosen for this pur-

pose, and we congratulate Mr. Raval of Ahmedabad on this happy publication. We know Mr. Raval to be not only an artist but an enterprising publisher and journalist. He is a silent worker, and it is interesting to see him shine through his pupils. Kanu Desai is one of the most promising of the younger generation of Indian Art students. He is a sensitive young lad with dreamy eyes and gentle expression. We see something of them reflected in these works of his. There is poetry, imagination, repose and freedom in his works. Mr. Mehta has summarised the artistic qualities of these silhouettes very ably in his short Introduction. He remarks, and rightly too, that "the one thing noticeable through all these pictures is the quality of poetry and the power of imaginative interpretation."

The cover design is a bold and interesting piece of imaginative work. The setting sun forms the halo of the figure of the "flute-player" and the cosmos suggested by the rhythmic waves below, reveals the poetic soul of an Indian artist. "Evening shadows" is a successful rendering of a pleasing typical village scene where life is full of Arcadian simplicity and Oriental repose. "Sakuntala" is, in our opinion, the best, because the artist has caught the serene atmosphere of a *Tapovana*—where the flowery, tender, creeper-like Sakuntala with her deer moves about with exquisite grace. "The Spring of Life" another typical work of Mr. Desai is certainly a rare piece of imaginative sketch. "Pandu and Madri" is a clever piece, but the lotuses in the pond are poor in drawing. "Leaves and Rain" is another splendid picture wherein the artist's vigorous and masterly strokes are in evidence.

This volume makes an excellent gift-book and will be "a joy for ever"—as all real Art is. We recommend this delightful publication to all lovers of Art and we shall watch the future career of young Kanu Desai with interest.

R. K.

Mirror of Indian Art.—By G. VENKATACHALAM, [The Bangalore Press, Bangalore. Price Rs. 2/—]

A book of the kind under review is what is wanted for popularising Indian Art. It does not pretend to be very scholarly nor does it deal with abstractions. It deals with a variety of phases of Indian Art—folk-art, wood-carving, Indian textiles, Rajput Painting, stage and screen, and even dress reform and colour schemes. Most of them have appeared before in various journals, and are now collected in book

form for wider circulation. The book is well-printed and beautifully bound. We know the author as a critic, writer, lecturer, and above all as a friend. He has come into personal touch with the Indian artists in different provinces, and by his appreciative yet discerning criticism of their works and the organisation of Art Exhibitions, he has done a great deal to rivet the attention of the public on to the Artistic Renaissance during the last two decades. We look forward to more books of the same kind from Mr. Venkatachalam.

R. K.

Asiatic Nation Builders Series :—i. King Amanullah, Price, Re. 1. ii. King Nadir Khan and Bacha-i-Sakko, Price, As. 8. By Mr. J. Sambasiva Rao, B.A. (33, Akbar Sahib Street, Triplicane, Madras.)

The awakening of the Orient since the commencement of the twentieth century constitutes an important chapter of world history. The recent developments in China, India, Persia and Afghanistan, deserve to be studied carefully along with the biographies of the individuals responsible for the upheaval in each country. We therefore welcome this series planned by Mr. Sambasiva Rao.

The life of King Amanullah, with which the series opens, is a story of absorbing interest related with genuine enthusiasm. Mr. Sambasiva Rao has taken great pains to collect all the available material and to present a faithful picture of the Afghan Revolution and of Amanullah, the citizen-king and hero of modern Afghanistan.

In the second book, the narrative is brought down to the fall of Bacha-i-Sakko and the accession to power of Nadir Khan. The author gives a graphic description of Nadir's triumphant march to Kabul and his attempts to reorganise the administration.

The volumes are well-worth a perusal.

K. R.

NEW PERIODICALS

The Aryan Path :—(Published Monthly by the Theosophy Co., (India) Ltd., 51 Esplanade Road, Bombay. Annual subscription Rs. 10-].

We have received with pleasure the first three numbers of this brilliant Journal which seeks to interpret the cultures of the East and the West. Keeping strictly aloof from controversial politics, the Journal emphasises the need for a better understanding between

nations. To this end, it invites contributions from writers all over the world who are eminently qualified to deal with literary, philosophical and economic questions of lasting interest. Disarmament, the Colour Problem, the League of Nations, the Religious Tendency in Japan, and systems of thought like Saiva Siddhanta and Buddhism, are among the topics included in the earlier numbers. A Journal like the present, with an international outlook and a touch of idealism, is bound to be a great force in the world of culture. We wish our contemporary a long and useful career.

K. R.

The Quarterly Journal of the Music Academy, Madras : (Vol. I No. 1).

The Journal of the Music Academy is a welcome addition to Indian periodical literature. It is devoted to topics pertaining to the Art of Music and is calculated to serve as "the most useful medium of expression for the best minds engaged in the study and practice of Music." In the present age which is full of indications of the throes of a rebirth, all our cultural heritages from the old world have got to be reweighed and revalued, preparatory to a progressive reconstruction. Music has been for long stiffly lingering in the traditional coves and is the last of the heritages of our past to submit itself to be ushered into the broad daylight of modern journalistic criticism. The articles which have appeared in the first issue of this pioneering Journal indicate the programme of work which lies before the servants of Music who are to take part in the remodelling of the Art for the purpose of inaugurating its great future in this country. Apart from the few articles which, in a speculative vein, propose to theorise on the difficult questions of the origin and the history of Music in India in prehistoric times, there are a good number of instructive and learned discourses on technical topics connected with Music which have already prepared the ground for laying the foundation of the Renaissance Temple of Music. The diversity between the Karnatic and the Hindustani Music and the variance between the practice obtaining today among the experts in the field and the theories preserved in the ancient texts, are among the many problems the solution of which will be a service to this ancient Art. We wish the Journal all success in its noble endeavour. The publication of the authoritative ancient works on Music in the Journal has been very properly conceived by the learned Editors

as an invaluable auxiliary to the great task of standardising the science of Music and placing it on a permanent basis. This issue gives us a portion of the *Sangita Sudha* purporting to have been written by Rughunatha Naik of Tanjore who was a disciple of the illustrious Govinda Dikshita.

Our only regret is that the Editors should have published advertisements even on the cover pages. This might mean a little more money, but imports ugliness into an otherwise beautiful Journal.

SUDARSANA SASTRI

KANNADA

Mayura :— Part I. By Mr. Devudu Narasimha Sastri, M.A., Bangalore.

This is the first part of a beautiful historical romance. The author has indeed set out to tell the most fascinating 'lies' as he himself has said in the preface. But these 'lies' are grafted not only on the fundamental truth of life, but also on historical truth. The restoration of the Kadamba dynasty of Karnatak at Vaijayanti—the modern Banavasi—forms the main theme of the book.

The story is stirring and full of new interest at every moment. It makes a peculiar appeal to the dreaming of youth. We vividly see how one born to be great attains to greatness; how fate endeavours, and companionship conspires to make 'Mayura' one of the greatest kings. Mayura has all the gaiety and confidence of a favourite child of Fortune. The mysterious people that crowd upon him from all quarters of the forest,—his guru, minister, general and soldiers—are also beautifully drawn. On the other side are portrayed the Pallava king and his court, his princess and his princes. The heir-apparent is quite a lovable youth.

The author's philosophy also makes its mark. It is inextricably woven into the texture of the plot. The moving appeal that the heir-apparent makes to Mayura to shake off his ill-feelings and the *Prava-chanas* of the guru are all finely brought in. The guru's remark on the omnipresence of Fate, which by itself is nothing, unless that Fate be shaped into action by its recipient, is indeed striking by its appropriateness.

But the author has lavished his highest art on the setting of this romance. The work will live even if it were only for the interest it will create, if it happens to be filmed. The alternate appearance of

night and rugged mountain scenery alongside of urban magnificence, moves us to genuine admiration and delight.

V.K.G.

SANSKRIT

Bhasa Katha Sara, Vols. I and II :—By Y. Mahalinga Sastri, B.A., B.L. Published by R. Subramanya Vadhyar, Bookseller, Kalpathi, Palghat. (Price 8 As. each)

One recalls vividly the sensation which came over the world of Sanskritists some fifteen years ago, when Ganapathy Sastriar discovered the lost dramas attributed to Bhasa. They were found to possess high literary and histrionic merit, and have since then easily taken a permanent place in classical Sanskrit literature. However the controversy about their authorship may be decided in the future, these dramas will always retain their hold on the affection of Sanskrit-readers, by their freshness, their charm and chastity of style, and their original handling of classical themes.

These two booklets of Mr. Mahalinga Sastri are a welcome attempt to re-tell, in simple prose, the tales of Bhasa's dramas, for the benefit of younger students of Sanskrit. They are akin to Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare," not only in their object, but also in the fact that they attempt to preserve the flavour of the original, by retaining Bhasa's characteristic expressions, and here and there his slokas. We hope that these books will meet with the appreciation which they deserve, and will find their way into Sanskrit schools and the translation classes of colleges.

R. V.

TELUGU

Jivanasmruti :—A biography of the late Desiraju Peda Bapayya Garu, by Kamaraju Hanumantha Rao [Olcott Gardens, Rajahmundry. Price, Re. 1.]

It is difficult to peruse a book like the one under review without emotion. Bapayya was cut off even before he was thirty, but the love and admiration he evoked amongst his contemporaries was extraordinary. Even at this distance of over two decades since he passed away, people speak of him with bated breath and with tears in their eyes. He was among the earliest adherents of the late Viresalingam Pantulu, and a passionate rebel against the tyranny of social conven-

tions. He was practically an outcaste during the later years, but like a hero he held fast to his convictions to the end. Scholar and patriot, reformer and servant of God, Bapayya left the impress of his noble personality on Andhradesa. There were two other Andhras worthy of ranking with him, and who like him created a profound impression on those who were privileged to come into touch with them. We refer, of course, to the late Kopalle Hanumantha Rao of the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, and Digumarti Hanumantha Rao of the Pallipadu Ashram. It is a pity no biographies of these have been published.

The author was intimately associated with Bapayya almost from his boyhood. He writes with commendable enthusiasm and as one that is performing a sacred task. The style is simple and flowing. We wish some more letters of the illustrious deceased had been interspersed in the biography, but, as usually happens in India, Bapayya's friends did not preserve all his letters. The art of biography-writing is yet in its infancy amongst Andhras, but we trust that this splendid book will stimulate similar efforts. We wish to add that every Andhra ought to read the book and commune with the lofty spirit of Bapayya.

Nelavanka :—By Avantsa Venkata Ranga Rao, B. A. [Vizianagaram. Price, As 8.]

A small collection of verses contributed by the author to various Telugu periodicals like *Bharati*, *Jayanti* and *Sujata*. We have come across similar collections by young Andhra writers which are, nearly always, valuable for the promise they indicate than for actual performance. This is undoubtedly an era of literary revival in Andhra, and we have abundant evidence of the inner urge for self-expression.

Mr. Ranga Rao has a talent for verse, but neither in style nor in sentiment, does he touch the higher levels of true poetry. Mere descriptive verse as in *Muttaiduvalu*, or a laboured and long-drawn simile like *Gali Golladu*, belong to the journey-man work of literature. Then again, the classification of trees according to their castes in *Vriksha Varnamulu* indicates 'fancy' but no imagination, and the lines "Her Hair" are a feeble imitation of Sri Krishna Sastri's magnificent poem *Ame Kanulalo*.

There are few lines that haunt our imagination or linger in our memory. But, after all, the author is young and at the beginning of his literary career. He has in him the makings of a poet and we hope he will blossom into one ere long.

K. R.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ENGLISH

The Indian Constitution	...	...	<i>Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.</i>
Renascent India	...	...	<i>K. S. Venkataramani.</i>
The Eurasian Problem	...	...	<i>Kenneth E. Wallace.</i>
Imprisonment	<i>Lt.-Colonel F.A. Barker.</i>
Philosophy of Art	<i>D. Raghuttama Acharya.</i>

KANNADA

Purandardas	<i>Raja Rao.</i>
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TELUGU

Prachina Sanghika Paristitulu	...	} <i>K. Rangachari, M.A., B.L.</i>
Bauddha Jataka Kathalu	...	
Andhra Vangmaya Suchika.		
Andhra Bharata Vimarsana	...	<i>K. Ramakrishnaiya, M.A</i>
Panikesvara Mahatmyam	...	<i>R. Seshagiri Rao, B.A.</i>

Current Topics ¹

THE TWO PATHS

If a violent revolution is ruled out as impracticable or unworthy of India's cultural traditions, the choice must lie between the Patro Committee and the Round Table Conference on the one hand, and Satyagraha and the great march of Mahatma Gandhi on the other. But after the delivery of Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy through Mr. Reginald Reynolds and the exodus from the Sabarmati Ashram, we doubt if the chances of a Round Table Conference are at all bright. British statesmen might affect to ridicule the Satyagraha campaign involving the defiance of the salt laws and other laws, but as practical men, they ought to realise that a conference without Gandhiji and the spokesmen of the Congress is no better than the proverbial play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out. The communal settlement sought to be achieved by the Delhi conference is as far off as ever, despite the much-vaunted goodwill and harmony said to have prevailed. We do not deny either the patriotism or the ability of the members of the All-parties conference, but the communal problem inevitably sank into the background the moment the great march began. The attention of the whole of India and of the world is directed to that thin frail figure that emerged at early dawn on the 12th of March from the Ashram at Ahmedabad, to conquer or to die. Government is playing a waiting game and is evidently resolved to strike down Gandhiji's lieutenants in the first instance. But it is widely rumoured that sooner or later Government intends to come to terms with Gandhiji, because he is indisputably the one man that can deliver the goods. But how soon that settlement will be forced, depends on the country's response to Gandhiji's call to arms. Judging from the reports received from the different

¹ 15th March, 1930.

provinces, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Gandhiji is by no means the 'spent force' in Indian politics he was fondly imagined to be, but the acknowledged commander of the Nation in its final fight for freedom. This is indeed a struggle unparalleled in the world's history, and its triumph will inaugurate the new era of soul force as a factor in the settlement of international disputes. A first-class fight with a first-class General to lead it!

THE BHARAT KALA BHAVAN

It is indeed a long leap from Gandhiji's Satyagraha campaign in Gujerat to the permanent Art Gallery at Benares. But, in our view, the establishment of cultural Swaraj is not less important than the winning of political Swaraj, though, for the time being, Gandhiji's movement overshadows everything else. Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Vice-President, the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and Editor of the famous Art Journal—the 'Rupam'—performed the epoch-making function of opening the first National Art Gallery in India under the auspices of the Bharat Kala Parishad, Benares. In his beautiful language, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha "took in loving embrace" the Bharat Kala Parishad, so that the two sisters, Literature and Art,—the written texts and the painted pictures—might "live and grow, arm in arm, to attain to richer, newer and more fruitful fulfilments." This happy juxtaposition, Mr. Gangoly reminds us, is expressive of the spirit of Indian culture, for, "in the dim sanctums of our old temples, the chanted prayers of the priests have been echoed and re-echoed, in harmonious unison, by the chiselled hymns of the image-makers." Mr. Gangoly also emphasizes the truth that the visual arts have made for inter-provincial harmony in a country like India broken up into different linguistic areas. "The beauties of the *Mani Mekhalai* are as much inaccessible to our Northern cousins as the treasures of the *Ramacharit manas* to our Southern cousins." But, on the other hand, "the Gupta images of Saranath, the stones of Varendra, the rock-cut

caves of Mamallapuram . . . offer their messages to the representatives of divergent linguistic cultures." We congratulate the Bharat Kala Parishad and its President, Mr. Sitaram Shah, on their pioneering efforts and their contribution to the Art movement in India.

THE 'JAYAKARNATAKA'

"Somebody told me that poor Mr. Bendre executed a pronote for a few thousand rupees in connection with a Kannada Journal, and that took my breath away." That was how an esteemed friend spoke of the *Jayakarnataka* of Dharwar and its new Editor, Mr. Bendre. But to those who have inside knowledge of the chequered history of most Indian Journals, the news need not cause any surprise. It takes a long time even for a first-rate Journal like *Jayakarnataka* to become a sound financial undertaking, but the idealism and the fervour of the workers make themselves felt even at the start. During a little over seven years, the *Jayakarnataka* under its distinguished founder, Mr. Alur Venkata Rao, rendered excellent service to the cause of Kannada culture, and now it has been taken over by Mr. Bendre, a leading poet and public worker of Karnatak. We understand that a number of the younger literary men belonging to the *Galeyer Gumpu* are associated with Mr. Bendre in the conduct of the Journal. The Journal has been improved considerably in the matter of illustrations, short-stories, poems and songs, all indicative of the new life that is pulsating through young Karnatak. It is the duty as well as the privilege of all Kannadigas to support this admirable venture.

RELIGION WITHOUT CHURCH

The dissolution of the Order of the Star by Mr. J. Krishnamurti caused a profound sensation in certain circles, and his incessant appeals to drop all 'forms and ceremonials' as being 'unnecessary' and 'limitations of Truth' have set people think-

ing furiously and re-arranging their mental make-up. Men's minds are being very much exercised over the question as to whether he is or is not a manifestation of the World-Teacher, and if he is, whether the entire consciousness of the World-Teacher or only 'a fragment' of it is expressing itself through Mr. Krishnamurti. But, strangely enough, the person least worried about these problems seems to be Mr. Krishnamurti himself. He emphatically denies any intention on his part to found a new church or a new religion. He does not want any followers. He merely claims to have 'attained' and he proclaims that it is possible for everyone else to attain likewise. He does not seek to *lead* anyone to Truth, for Truth is a 'pathless land', and each has to struggle in his own way and with the aid of his own inner strength. We give below two significant passages from a lecture by the Rev. J. T. Davies who feels that, "we must estimate his messages quite apart from any claims advanced on his behalf, but simply on their own merits."

"In reading his poems, in reading his addresses and his parables and his rhapsodies, I seem to hear once again the voice of Kabir; I seem to see the penetrating wisdom of Yajñavalkya; I seem to hear again the tenderness of Buddha; I hear again the harshness of the Galilean speaking to the Pharisees; I hear again the simplicity of Ramakrishna. I do not know who he is, or what he is, but I hear that ancient voice repeated again. That is the first, that is the last message of all religions: 'I am He.'"

"In throwing you back upon yourself, in depriving you of inspired book and inspired teacher, of master and lord, of priest and prophet, of holy writ and holy church, in stripping you naked to the storm, in flinging you bare upon the mosaic pavement of the temple of life, he is giving you back a million times more than he takes away. He is giving you back your greatest treasure, because he is giving you back your freedom and your lost self. He is giving you back your strength and your fortitude. He is giving you back your God whom you thought to be outside you, your universe with all its stars and wonders and vast spaces.

He is giving you back your heaven, your dream of ages, your quest of myriad lives. He is giving you back the joy of the morning stars. He is giving you back the goal of æons of strife. He is giving you back the Beloved, God, That, the Whole."

KRISHNA RAYA AND SHIVAJI

The third centenary of the birth of Shivaji was celebrated in 1927, but according to a different calculation, the tercentenary falls this year. By a fortunate coincidence, the fourth centenary of the passing away of Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest of the Vijianagar Emperors, is also being celebrated this year. The names of Krishna Raya and Shivaji will be associated for all time with the last of the Hindu Empires in Indian history. At the commencement of the Christian era, the table-land of *Dakshinapatha* was ruled by the great Satavahana Emperors, and throughout the subsequent history of India, the eastern and western portions of the Deccan witnessed the rise and growth of powerful monarchies, which conserved the art and culture of the Nation and left a precious heritage of achievement. We refer to the Eastern and the Western Chalukyas, and after them, the rulers of Warangal and Devagiri. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Andhra-Karnataka Empire of Vijianagar, and the Maharashtra Empire under Shivaji and the Peshwas, should have risen from the ashes of these old Hindu monarchies and stemmed the tide of foreign conquest. Today we are once again witnessing the birth of a free and yet mightier Indian Nation, which embraces the different sub-nationalities. And the hegemony—not in power, but in service and sacrifice,—passes to Gujerat and to Gandhiji.

THE SAMSKRITA ACADEMY, MADRAS

Among the few institutions that bear witness to the lingering love of Samskrit culture in modern India, mention must be made of this excellent association. Started a couple of years ago, the Academy has drawn unto itself the love and

the regard of the aristocracy of culture in South India. The Report speaks of the celebration of the Valmiki and Kalidasa days, the staging of Samskrit dramas and the holding of elocution contests. A fine collection of valuable books has been secured through the generosity of Messrs. Thandalam S. Ramaswami Iyer and R. Krishnaswami Sastrigal. All this is to the good, and the energetic secretaries must be congratulated on their achievements. But while the Academy has a name, it has no local habitation. A strong committee has been formed to collect funds for the construction of a suitable building. We rejoice to learn that the proposed Hall will be named after that illustrious patriot and lover of learning, the late lamented V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. We earnestly hope that this supremely noble cause will meet with adequate response.

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Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī

By Dr. N. Dutt, M.A., D.LITT.

THE Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. VIII

SEPTEMBER, 1932

No. 3

Some Problems of Indian Philosophy

In a most interesting discussion¹ Professor Jacobi has endeavoured to date with a measure of precision the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and to assign it definitely to the period between 300 and 200 B.C. It would be so satisfactory to have a definite date for the *Sūtra* that it is well worth while to consider how far the evidence adduced is adequate to establish the principle contended for.

Professor Jacobi's contention rests essentially on comparison of the *Sūtra* with the doctrines of the grammarians Kātyāyana and Patañjali, his view being that there is evidence to show that the author of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and Kātyāyana were of the same period, and that the *Mīmāṃsā* is definitely earlier than Patañjali. A certain element of doubt, of course, would remain as to the cogency of the upper date assigned, for the date of Kātyāyana is still not wholly certain, and there are those who believe that Pāṇini must be ascribed to an earlier date than even 350 or 400 B.C.² But the essential question is whether there is proof of priority to Patañjali as is claimed. We may at once admit that the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* shows close affinities with the doctrines

1. *Indian Studies in Honour of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (1929), pp. 145-165.

2. Compare Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 425, 426.

of the grammarians. Professor Jacobi stresses the three doctrines common to both, the natural and permanent connection between the word and its meaning (*autpattikaḥ śabdasyārthena sambandhaḥ*, *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*, i. 1. 5) the eternal character of the word and of sound, which on utterance is manifested, not created (i. 1. 6-23), and the view that the word denotes, not the individual (*dravya*), but the species (*ākṛti*), which is set out in i. 3. 30-33. That these issues were first discussed in the schools of the grammarians may not be possible of strict proof; Kātyāyana is clearly familiar with issues which busied the Mīmāṃsakas such as Vedic prescriptions (*codanā*), which he deals with in his observations on Pāṇini i. 2. 64 (vv. 44 and 47), and in the same discussion of what the word denotes, mentions (v. 39) the Dharmaśāstra. But the suggestion is made by Professor Jacobi that weight attaches to the fact that, while the *MS.* and Kātyāyana use in their discussion of the denotation of the word the terms *dravya* and *ākṛti* for individual and species, later usage in philosophical works prefers the terms *vyakti* and *jāti* (*sāmānya*); now Patañjali has both sets of terms, and it may thus be held that he wrote later than the *MS.* This argument, however, can hardly be ascribed any weight. The fact that grammar and Mīmāṃsā are two distinct sciences renders it impossible to argue with any confidence from terminology; the *MS.* may well simply have adopted the terminology current in the school, and that terminology may have persisted long after the date of Patañjali. If any conclusions are to be drawn much stronger evidence has to be adduced.

Such evidence Professor Jacobi finds in the arguments used to establish the doctrine that the word denotes the species, not the individual. Kātyāyana, in his discussion of Pāṇini, i. 2. 64 meets the objection (v. 48) of an opponent of the view that the word denotes the species: *naikam anekādhikaraṇasthaṃ yugapat*, i.e., if there were only one, the species, it could not appear simultaneously in all the individuals pertaining thereto, which is elucidated by Patañjali by the observation that the one Devadatta cannot be at once at Srughna and Mathurā. The reply of Kātyāyana to this objection appears in v. 56 *ādityavad viśayaḥ*. This means, as Patañjali explains, that the sun is perceived simultaneously in many places. But Patañjali continues with the

observation that the application of this principle to the argument is inadequate; the sun is not seen contemporaneously by the same spectator in different places. He prefers, therefore, the explanation *Indravād viṣayaḥ*. Indra, invited to many hundreds of sacrifices, is perceived simultaneously at each. Patañjali thus shows himself dissatisfied with an explanation which Kātyāyana found adequate. Now in the *MS.* the issue is discussed not in respect of the meaning of the word but in respect of its eternity. The objection is raised that the same word is heard in different places (i. 19), and thus we have the same dilemma as in Kātyāyana; if the word is one, like the species, how is it present at the same time in different localities? The answer is (i. 1. 15) *ādityavād yaugapadyam*, that is, the simile of the sun is held sufficient to explain the simultaneous apprehension of the sound in diverse places. From this Professor Jacobi concludes that the *MS.* is older than Patañjali because it remains contented with the old, imperfectly thought-out, contention which satisfied Kātyāyana, while Patañjali throws it aside in favour of another version.

The contention is ingenious and interesting, but the immediate point arises; is there anything superior in the view of Patañjali which would cause the *MS.* to adopt his simile in place of that of Kātyāyana, assuming that the *MS.* was later in date? Clearly, unless the new explanation is obviously more helpful, there would be no ground for the *MS.* accepting it in place of the old. And it seems quite impossible to see any good reason for preferring the comparison with Indra to that with the sun. Patañjali does not seem to have noted that his new comparison is just as imperfect as the old; his objection that the sun simile does not assert that one spectator sees simultaneously the sun in different places applies precisely to the case of Indra. The god is seen at each sacrifice by the worshippers, but he is not seen by any single worshipper simultaneously at the many sacrifices, and, this being the case, there is no reason whatever why the *MS.* should adopt a different simile from the standing and effective one of the sun. On this score, therefore, the posteriority of the *MS.* to Patañjali is clearly incapable of proof, even leaving out of account altogether the absence of any reason to suppose that the *MS.* must have followed Patañjali if it was composed after his work. It must be added that it is by no

means clear that Kātyāyana did not know the simile with Indra; if we trust Professor Kielhorn's view, we find it expressly set out by Kātyāyana in v. 40 in the earlier part of the same discussion, and Professor Jacobi is driven to assume that that *vārttika*, and probably v. 41 also, are later additions to the text. What really is curious is the inability of Patañjali to see that his own objection to the simile of the sun applies as well to that of Indra. What, however, appears clear is that the arguments for the age of the *MS.* derived from comparison with Patañjali are inadequate. It may be the case that the *MS.* goes back to before 200 B. C.; it remains, however, without any valid support from the new evidence suggested.

On the other hand, there is every reason to accept the view that the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* represents a definitely later stratum of thought. The primitive magic view of the essential connection of the name and the individual thing is found in the grammarians and in the *MS.* refined into the doctrine of the essential connection of word and meaning, and of the denotation of species by the word. On the other hand, in the *VS.*, vii. 2. 14-20 we find physical arguments adduced to destroy the doctrine of the natural connection of word and meaning and of the eternity of sound. While the *VS.* is far from lucid, and the absence of any early commentary adds to the uncertainty of its interpretation, it seems clear that Professor Jacobi is right in rejecting Professor Dasgupta's³ ingenious effort to read into *VS.*, ii. 2. 36, 37 the doctrine of the eternity of sound, and his suggestion that the Vaiśeṣikas represented a school of Mīmāṃsā thought which supplemented a metaphysics to strengthen the grounds of the Vedas. The Vaiśeṣika again marks a definite advance beyond the standpoint of the Mīmāṃsā in its attitude towards Dharma. The Mīmāṃsā confines its attention to Dharma as the source of *abhyudaya*, the attainment of temporal benefits whether in the present or later lives; the Vaiśeṣika concerns itself (i. 1. 2) also with the summum bonum, *nīḥśreyasa*, and in v. 2. 16-18 with the idea of release (*mokṣa*); in this connection (v. 2. 16-18) we find also the doctrine of Yoga, and it seems quite legi-

³ *History of Indian Philosophy*, i. 284. See also Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, pp. 229-232.

timate to accept the view that the Vaiśeṣika no less than the Nyāya accepts Yoga practices (iv. 2.46) as an essential part of the road to salvation. In this tendency the Vaiśeṣika shows itself essentially in harmony with the movement of spirit which marks all Indian⁴ mysticism, and stands out as a worthy exponent of the Jñānamārga as against the Karmamārga of the Mīmāṃsā. Another characteristic which can be adduced to support the early date of the Vaiśeṣika is the fact that it accepts the authority of the Veda, though it may be that Kaṇāda did not admit the existence of an Íśvara to reveal it, and was content with ascribing its revelation from time to time to persons distinguished from ordinary men (ii. 1. 18) by the fact that they were not enclosed in normal human bodies, but were *ayoniḥ* (iv. 2. 5-10) and possessed complete insight. This acceptance of the Veda indicates clearly that, while the impetus to the introduction of ideas based on natural philosophy may conceivably have come, as Professor Jacobi assumes, from the Lokāyatas, that movement was not the dominating factor in the evolution of the Vaiśeṣika school.

The new evidence, while it does not help very definitely to date the Vaiśeṣika strengthens the impression that it is anterior to the Nyāya. The distance between it and the Mīmāṃsā induces Professor Jacobi to place the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra* in the first century B. C. or the first century A. D. The latter date is probably not illegitimate, for the Nyāya was clearly aware of the doctrines of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, even if we cannot be certain that it knew Nāgārjuna, or that in turn Nāgārjuna contended against doctrines which are preserved in the existing *Nyāya Sūtra*.

The Vaiśeṣika is well aware of the doctrine of the multitude of souls and of their distinct existence, which remains in Mokṣa, despite the fact that there is *aikātmyam* (iii. 2. 19), which must denote that there is unity of character and no difference of species among souls, despite their being many. This doctrine, together with that of Yoga, is a significant reminiscence of the importance of that older Yoga philosophy which Professor Jacobi has striven to reveal as

4. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Le Dogme et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme* (1930), pp. 209, 210.

underlying the later Yoga⁵ known to us from the *Yoga Sūtra*, which with the *Yogabhāṣya* makes the *Pātañjala Yogaśāstra*, whose close relation with the Sāṃkhya is attested by the style *Sāṃkhyapravacana*. That the *Yoga Sūtra* is late has always been claimed by Professor Jacobi and it is difficult to resist the cumulative weight of evidence which he has adduced. The attempt to hold that Patañjali is identic with the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is regarded as quite possible by Professor Dasgupta,⁶ he has met with a philological argument of great interest,⁷ and in all probability of decisive weight. He has compared the vocabulary of the *Sūtra* with that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the result shows that, when we pass over technical terms of the Yoga which might quite well be missing in the *Mahābhāṣya*, of the 491 words left over, only 204 are found in the latter text. So marked a divergence of linguistic usage is frankly incredible if the author of the two texts were identical, and the identification, which rests on no early evidence—for the Maṅgala of the *Yogabhāṣya* is not explained by Vācaspati Miśra—no longer can stand in the way of the frank acceptance of Professor Jacobi's view that the *Yoga Sūtra* is the work of a period when the doctrines of Vasubandhu and Vijñānavāda of the Buddhists were well known and powerfully influenced the Yoga school. The view that Pāda IV of the *Sūtra* is a later addition as held by Professor Dasgupta⁸ is certainly difficult to accept; apart from the fact that Pāda naturally implies a fourfold division, it is clear that the polemic included in IV is a natural part of the work, which could not properly have been omitted, while the subject matter covers points which could not easily be included in the first three parts. More serious is the suggestion of Professor Dasgupta⁹ that the critical section of the *Sūtra*, iv. 16 which proves knowledge of the Vijñānavāda is not really a part of the text, but merely a sentence of the *Yogabhāṣya*, since Bhoja does not treat it in his commentary as part of the *Sūtra*. But this view will not

5 *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1929, pp. 581-624; 1930, pp. 322-332.

6 *Yoga Philosophy* (1930), p. 59.

7 *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VIII (1931), 80-88.

8 *Yoga Philosophy* (1930), p. 52.

9 *op. cit.*, p. 59, n. 1.

stand examination of the text; iv. 15 runs *vastusāmye cittabhedāt tayor viviktaḥ panthāḥ*; 16 *na caikacittatantram vastu; tadapramāṇakam tadā kiṃ syāt?* The sense is clear; 15 asserts the difference of thought and thing because one and the same thing affects the different *cittas* in various ways; 16 denies that a thing can depend for its existence on a single *citta*, since, when it ceased to be the object of that *citta*, what would become of it? It is clear that the *na ca* connects the two *sūtras* indissolubly, and that it is far more difficult to interpret the text if an effort is made to relegate 16 to the *Yogabhāṣya*. Exactly how Bhoja took the sentence may be disputed, but Professor Jacobi seems right in holding that his mode of dealing with the passage can be explained without assuming that the *sūtra* 16 was not part of the original text. Bhoja, however, it must be admitted, is not an authority on whom to rely implicitly, for his own profession of purpose in composing the commentary implies that he exercised an independent judgment as to the soundness of his predecessors' views of the text, so that we cannot rely on him as expressing the authoritative tradition of the Yoga school. No doubt this merely proves that the Sūtra knew the doctrines of the Vijñānavāda, not that it used Vasubandhu, and, if this is to be established, further evidence is necessary. Professor Jacobi suggests that this can be found in the mode in which the Bhāṣya, and presumably the Sūtra in view of iii. 13, handles the doctrine of *pariṇāma*, the issue of future and past, in view of the Sāṃkhya principle of Satkāryavāda. He sees in this treatment the deliberate adoption of a Satkāryavāda. He compares the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu¹⁰ where four theories of *pariṇāma* are set forth, with those of Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣa, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva. Dharmatrāta's view recognises no change of *dravya*, but of *bhāva*; thus, when a golden plate is broken, there is no change of substance but of character. Ghoṣa holds a doctrine of time characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of a *dharma*; a *dharma* in its present existence is not wholly removed from contact with present and past characteristics, as a man who is enamoured of a woman is nevertheless not without capacity of love for others. Vasumitra's

10 V. 25, trans. by L. de La Vallée Poussin; Stcherbatsky. *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, pp. 78-80.

doctrine is one of change of *avasthās*; when a *dharma* is in a condition in which it does not exercise its function, it is called future; present when it exercises it; past when the exercise is over; but its essence remains unchanged. This is illustrated by the fact that on an abacus a ball has different values according as it is laid in the place for units, hundreds, or thousands.¹¹ Buddhadeva holds that a *dharma* is named on the principle of its relation (*apekṣā*) to the preceding or following *kṣaṇa*; a woman can be called mother with relation to her children, but daughter with relation to her own mother. The *Yogabhāṣya* on iii. 13 follows closely these views, as is proved by the use of the same illustrations; the opinion of Buddhadeva is not indeed expressly dealt with, but his illustration is combined with that given for Vasumitra's doctrine of *avasthāpariṇāma*, which is the accepted doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins. The *Yogabhāṣya*, which recognising the three aspects of *pariṇāma*, *dharma*-, *avasthā*-, *lakṣaṇa*-, *pariṇāma*-, is clear that they all can be reduced to a *dharma-pariṇāma* in the widest sense, for all mutation in the Sāṃkhya view, which the Yoga adopts, may be treated as the rise of another aspect (*dharma*) in a permanent matter (*dharmin*) after the suppression of an earlier aspect.¹²

Though the *Yogabhāṣya* thus cleverly enough fits in the Buddhist views with the essential Sāṃkhya doctrine of the permanent substrate, it is clear that it is Sāṃkhya doctrine of mutation to a different form, which is preserved in the Bhāṣya on ii. 19. Here we have (1) *guṇānāṃ śoḍaśako viśeṣapariṇāmāḥ*, a view based on the five elements as *viśeṣas* as opposed to the five *tanmātras*, and the five organs of intellect and those of action with mind as eleven *viśeṣas* as opposed to *asmitāmātra*; (2) the *tanmātras* and *asmitāmātra* as the *ṣaḍ aviśeṣapariṇāmāḥ* as opposed to Mahān or Buddhi; (3) Mahān as the *aliṅgamātrapariṇāma* of *prakṛti*; (4) the last as the *aliṅgapariṇāma*. The essential feature

11 This is a very important piece of evidence as to knowledge of the place system of the value of numbers, on which see W. E. Clark, *Indian Studies*, pp. 235, 236.

12 *avasthitasya dravyasya pūrvadharmonivṛttau dharmāntarotpattiḥ pariṇāmāḥ*. So also *Nyāyabhāṣya*, iii, 1. 15, which, however, is not the source of *Yogabhāṣya*. See *SPAW.*, 1929, p. 585 n. 1.

of mutation in this sense is the development of another entity (*tattvāntara*), but in the case of the *viśeṣas* there can be no mutation into another entity, and to the *viśeṣas* applies the doctrine of iii. 13. It is clear that the Buddhist doctrine has been superinduced, not very cleverly, on the Sāṃkhya foundation, and, though it is possible to dispute the view that this had happened by the time of the Sūtra, it is certain that it is most natural to assume that this was the case. The Sūtra shows other signs of contact with the *Abhidharmakośa* doctrines; its account of ignorance (ii. 3, 5) is parallel to the *Abhidharmakośa* view of the four *viparyayas* (v. 8), and it uses the curious Buddhist terms *ālambana*, 'object of *viññāna*,' and *asampramoṣa* in the definition of forgetfulness. Moreover, its set of *bhāvanās* (*maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣāḥ*), and its five *upāyas* for the attainment of Yoga (*śraddhā*, *vīrya*, *smṛti*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*), have close parallels in the *bhāvanās* or *brahmvihāras*, and the *pañcendriyāṇi* or *pañca balāni* of the Buddhists. Of more uncertain value is the suggestion, based on a notice of Vācaspati Miśra in the *Bhāmatī* (ii. 1. 3), that Vārṣaganya, an older contemporary of Vasubandhu, was the introducer of the Sāṃkhya doctrines into the Yoga as a precursor of Patañjali, while the author of the *Yogabhāṣya* is held to have used Dignāga in defining inference.¹³

On the whole, the evidence certainly favours the use not of an indefinite Vijñānavāda but rather of the doctrine of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. We may readily admit that Vijñānavāda ideas were current before these authors, and of course the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda* has an idealistic monism. But there is weight in the view current in Japan¹⁴ that the text cannot safely be assigned to a period before Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, seeing that Nāgārjuna does not combat its doctrines and that its standpoint seems more advanced in the direction of Vedantic doctrine than the views of the great masters of the Vijñānavāda. On the whole, therefore, it is probable that the *Yoga Sūtra* criticism of idealism is due to the currency of the conception in the developed Vijñānavāda school. It is only in the light of the Mahāyāna doctrine of *tathāgatagarbha*, and the Yogācāra use of the term *bīja* in this

13 SPAW., 1929, p. 590 n. 1; 1930, p. 329 n. 1.

14 See R. Grousset, *Les Philosophies Indiennes* (1931), ii. 7. and for other reasons, Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 228.

connection, that we can understand the statement of *Iśvara* in *Yoga Sūtra*, i. 25; *tatra niratīśayaṃ sarvajñabījaṃ*, "in him the germ of the omniscient reaches its highest stage."

How far is it possible to go beyond this comparatively late doctrine of Yoga, permeated by the influence of the Sāṃkhya and of the Buddhist schools? A most interesting suggestion is made by Professor Jacobi on the strength of an assertion ascribed in the *Yogabhāṣya*, iv. 10 to the Ācārya: *ṛttir evāśya vibhunaś cittasya saṃkośavikāśinī*. The sense of this seems to be that it is only the function of the all pervading *citta* which expands and contracts. The context suggests that this is parallel with the action of the lamp which can illumine a pot or a palace alike. The natural meaning of this statement must be that the Yoga of the Ācārya recognised a single *citta* of a cosmic character, not as the classical Yoga a multitude of individual *cittas*. Vācaspati Miśra tells us, no doubt rightly, that the Ācārya here is not Patañjali but Svayambhū, the mythical founder of the Yoga. Clearly we have an old doctrine that has passed away from the classical Yoga, which no longer uses the term *ṛtti*, which with the acceptance of a multitude of finite *cittas* became out of place. This cosmic *citta* is clearly allied to the cosmic Mahān or Buddhi of the Sāṃkhya and the equally cosmic Ahaṃkāra, and, like these, it points unmistakably to the derivation of the Yoga and Sāṃkhya ideas from the *brahman* speculations of the Upaniṣads. The Brāhmanical doctrine of the primeval being, whence develops matter, which then is permeated by Hiraṇyagarbha, is the source of the series of the Sāṃkhya, Puruṣa, Prakṛti and Buddhi, though the classical Sāṃkhya departs from this vitally by the doctrine of a multitude of spirits. Whence was this new doctrine derived? The source, it is held by Professor Jacobi, was popular religious feeling, which introduced into the intellectualism of Brāhmanical doctrine two vitally important principles, first, the doctrine of the personal immortality of the soul, and, secondly, the demand for moral doctrines as opposed to the unmoral attitude of Brāhmanical speculation. This popular feeling developed, in his opinion, towards the end of the period of the older Upaniṣads, when it reached such an intensity as to make a mark in philosophical thought. The nature of this popular belief may be guessed in part from the conception of the

souls in Jainism, where the *jīvas* are either bound in transmigration (*saṃsāraṇaḥ*) or freed and perfect (*siddhāḥ*). The *jīva* in transmigration is essentially of the same dimensions as the body, a fact which is parallel to the expansion or contraction of the *vṛtti* of the *citta* of the early Yoga. The Sāṃkhya and Yoga, however, had to make fundamental changes in their views which were not necessary in Jainism with its adherence to primitive popular opinions. They had to discard their universal spirit and to replace it by innumerable individual spirits, *puruṣas* or *cittas*. To the *cittas* belong the capacity of equating themselves to their material framework, as with the *jīvas* of the Jains, while the *puruṣas* are accorded the *sūkṣmaśarīras*, composed of the *tanmātras*, with psychical elements added.

The introduction of moral elements is parallel to the insistence on morality which appears in Jainism, in Buddhism, and in Bauddhāyana. The *Yoga Sūtra* list (ii. 30) of the *yamas* includes beside *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya*, the peculiarly Jain virtue of *aparigraha*; moreover, the Yoga agrees with Jainism in its view of truth, in its stressing *ahiṃsā*,¹⁵ and in the distinction of *anu-* and *mahā-vratas*.

The period of this working of the popular religion on philosophy is dated by Professor Jacobi on the strength of the view that Pārśvanātha, the founder of the Jain religion died in 727 B.C., and so must have been working about 750 B.C. In this point, however, it is impossible to feel any certainty; the tradition which places Mahāvīra's death at 477 B.C. is itself uncertain; but far more dubious is the assignment of 250 years between that event and the death of Pārśvanātha. This point, therefore, is valueless. Moreover there arises, it must be confessed, one serious question regarding the alleged influence of popular religion on Sāṃkhya and Yoga. The popular view demanded immortality for individual souls, but it can hardly be said that either Sāṃkhya¹⁶ or classical

15 The suggestion (C. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, p. 32) that *ahiṃsā* was not in the original Jain teaching is wholly unsupported and quite improbable. Buddhism is much less rigid; L. de La Vallée Poussin, *La Morale Bouddhique*, pp. 61-65. Yoga and Buddhism agree in subordinating truth to non-injury; Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy*, p. 303.

16 Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.) pp. 97-98; Dasgupta, *Yoga Philosophy*, pp. 310-11.

Yoga gave their souls any real existence after death. In both systems the fate of the soul is far from being such as to gratify the popular feeling whose existence is asserted. Yet another difficulty must be pointed out. Professor Jacobi holds that the Yoga from the first was theistic, but he does not explain how this element developed consistently with his view of the growth of the belief in the multiplicity of souls. No doubt various ways of reconciling the ideas are possible, but none exactly commends itself, as a logical and deliberate construction.

Professor Jacobi again holds that the Sāṃkhya in its classical form with a multitude of *puruṣas* is older than the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, which in i. 4-6 enumerates the chief objects of the Sāṃkhya and in v. 2 refers to Kapila. He admits that this Upaniṣad, like the *Kāṭhaka*, accepts the *brahman* doctrine of the Upaniṣads, but regards this as a modification of the true Sāṃkhya view. It still seems to me that is unnecessarily ingenious,¹⁷ and that the true view is that *Śvetāśvatara* is anterior to the period when the Sāṃkhya adopted the view of independent souls. If this is correct, then we cannot place the evolution of the classical Sāṃkhya before the composition of the "middle" Upaniṣads, but must assign it to the close of that period at soonest.

One further point of great interest is made by Professor Jacobi in his effort to show that the remarks of Vātsyāyana in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*, i. 29 as to the distinguishing doctrines of Sāṃkhyas and Yogas really nised that souls had distinct characteristics (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭās cetanāḥ*).¹⁸ The name of the latter should, it is clear, rather be Yaugas—whatever its origin, and a very interesting case is made out for believing that we here have a valuable piece of evidence that the early Yoga recognised that souls had distinct characteristics (*svaguṇaviśiṣṭās cetanāḥ*).¹⁹ Such a theory, of course, would accord excellently with the idea of *Īśvara* as soul possessed of complete knowledge and complete power, conceptions strange to the Sāṃkhya, where a soul can only attain *samyaj-jñāna* or *vivekakhyaṭi*, and where *aiśvarya* is concerned with the supernatural powers (*siddhis*) of Yogins²⁰ and is very different from the power

17 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.) pp. 11-14.

18 See K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 855.

19 The Sāṃkhya view is *niratīśayāś cetanāḥ*.

20 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72.

of God, who guides nature, allotting to each man his deserts, and who is full of compassion.

If we accept this doctrine, it strengthens greatly the view that the Yoga differed essentially in inception and character from the Sāṃkhya by reason of the fact that it was essentially theistic. We need not seek outside Brahmanism for a parallel movement, for we have the root of theism in the doctrine of Hiraṇyagarbha or Brahman or Prajāpati, on the one hand, and the development of the religion of Viṣṇu and Śiva, on the other, as seen in the *Śvetāvatara Upaniṣad*. The Yoga thus reduces to philosophical form one aspect of current doctrine, just as in the recommendation of processes of Yoga it takes up one side of the life of the day, which again need not have been non-Brāhmanical, and in its meditation of Īśvara it takes up the *Śvetāśvatara* meditation on *brahman*. The whole conception of Yoga processes is doubtless ethnic in character; it may have been current in non-Brāhmanical circles, but equally it may have appealed to Brahmans as well. These doctrines, if combined with a belief in the qualitative distinction of souls, would make Yoga of a strong popular appeal, explaining the stress laid on it in the Epic. On this view the Yoga conception of soul is far more popular than that of soul in the Sāṃkhya, which should be taken as representing not concession to popular feeling but the development of philosophical speculation.²¹ The Yoga accepts pretty much the normal idea of a soul, which accords sufficiently with its theistic outlook, but essentially in its early form we may take it that the Yoga school was not distinguished by careful thought, but by its Yoga practices, which remain valid whatever metaphysical doctrines may be held. In short, the Yoga may best be understood as a merger of Yoga practice with popular theology, and its affinity with the Sāṃkhya may be deemed to have been later superinduced.

This view of the original independence of the Yoga may be supported by other facts. Professor Jacobi²² has pointed out that the *Yoga Sūtra* in Pāda IV contains a doctrine of great significance for our

21 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, pp. 87, 88.

22 *SPAW.*, 1929, pp. 611-615, Vācaspati (*Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭikā*, p. 6) adopts the doctrine to the Nyāya, citing apparently another work of Patañjali; *SPAW.*, 1930, pp. 322, 323.

understanding of the true Yoga idea of matter as current before the Sāṃkhya doctrines were superinduced. The Yogin, whose powers are the root of the Yoga system, can manifold himself into beings under his control, possessed of both bodies and *cittas*. The bodies he cannot create from his own; they are produced from the *prakṛtis*, which are not the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya but the elements of the *bhūtas*; these *prakṛtis*, like the particles of matter in Jainism, must have been regarded by the Yogas as ever ready to form aggregates, when so directed by *Īśvara*, whose power operates when the merit of the Yogin removes the hindrances induced by demerit. The created *cittas* (*nirmāṇacittas*) are the product only of the aspect of the Yogin's *citta* as *asmitā*, and they are impelled to action not directly by the Yogin's own *citta*, but by a *citta* which he creates for that purpose, for the Bhāṣya (iv. 5) assures us *sarvacittānāṃ prayojakaṃ cittam ekaṃ nirmimīte*. This *citta* cannot be formed of anything save the *prakṛtis*, so that we must recognise that the *citta* of the Yoga was conceived as physical in character. The same view is contained in the Yoga doctrine that *dharmādharmau* (or *karman*) are the product of the *prakṛtis*²³ and we are, of course familiar with this idea from Jainism. If *karman* is material, the *saṃskāras* it involves in the *citta* are necessarily also material, and we have a consistent view of the physical character of the *citta*. The Yoga thus has a doctrine of *cittas* and *prakṛtis*, as against the Sāṃkhya doctrine of *puruṣas* and *prakṛti*, but there is a very important distinction. Both tend to reduce to one principle the inner and the outer worlds, but in the Yoga that principle is physical, in the Sāṃkhya rather psychical,²⁴ for the *Ahaṃkāra* is made the source on the one hand of the organs of intelligence and action with mind, and on the other of the five *tanmātras* whence are derived the *bhūtas*. In this point as in others the Sāṃkhya reveals itself as the outcome of philosophical refinement of a marked character. A similar refinement is seen in its treatment of the conception of the subtle body which accompanies the soul. The Yoga needs only a simple *sūkṣmaśarīra* of the *tanmātras*, but the Sāṃkhya requires the *tanmātras*, supplemented by *buddhi*,

23 See *Yogabhāṣya*, iv. 3.

24 See Keith, *The Sāṃkhya System*, p. 84.

ahamkāra, *manas*, and the five organs of intelligence and the five of action.²⁵ It is this difference of view which explains the addendum made by the *Nyāyavārttika* to the list of distinctive doctrines of the Sāṃkhyas and Yogas in the *Nyāyabhāṣya*: *bhautikānīndriyāṇīti Yogānām abhautikānīti Sāṃkhyānām*, for the Sāṃkhya carry back the sense organs to the Ahamkāra.

It would be interesting to know if to the Yogas their *prakṛtis* were, as in the case of the Jains,²⁶ atomic, but this cannot be determined, for the mention in *Yoga Sūtra*, i. 40 of *paramāṇu* may be merely one of the many innovations of Patañjali, and the *Nyāyavārttika* shows (p. 252) that even in the Sāṃkhya school the idea of the atom had crept: *sattvaraḥastamasām sarvāpakṛṣṭaḥ saṃghātaḥ paramāṇur iti kasyacid darśanam*. We must assume that to the early Yoga the distinction between physical and mental was still as vague as in the case of the Jains. In this view there is nothing improbable; it was only slowly that the conception of the distinction of the two things was realised in the Upaniṣads, and we must not confuse the early tenets of a school with the elaborate metaphysics of the later systems.

Though we may fairly accept the view of Professor Jacobi that the *Yoga Sūtra* is definitely influenced by the Vijñānavāda and probably is later than Vasubandhu, unhappily we are still without sufficient evidence of the date of the latter. Nor have matters been rendered more clear by the insistence of recent workers²⁷ on the historical character of Maitreya or Maitreyanātha as the real author of some of the works ascribed to Asaṅga, with the result that Asaṅga may be dated a generation at least later than the date hitherto apparently assured by the fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmyādhāra* was rendered into Chinese in 413-421 A.D. But it must be noted that the theory of an earthly Maitreya is one open to grave suspicion, and that it seems more satisfactory with Professor de La Vallée Poussin²⁸ to believe that Maitreya is merely the

25 For further complications see Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.

26 For Vasubandhu's view atoms see *Abhidharmakośa*, trans. L. de La Vallée Poussin, ii., 213, 214.

27 E.g., Tucci, *Some aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha) and Asaṅga* (1930).

28 Introd. to *Abhidharmakośa* (1931), p. XXVII.

Bhagavat Maitreya who revealed to Asaṅga the truths which he set out in his writings. Further Professor Ui,²⁹ who believes in the historicity of Maitreya, still assigns Asaṅga to 310-390 A.D. and Vasubandhu to 320-400 A.D., dates a hundred years earlier than those preferred by Takakusu. It appears to me that we must place Asaṅga before 400 A.D. and that Vasubandhu must be similarly treated. The chief argument against this dating is unquestionably that of Takakusu;³⁰ we know that there were Chinese versions of the *Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* of Dharmatrāta in 418, 426, and 434 A.D., while the much clearer *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu had to wait until 563 A.D. for a rendering? Would this have been the case had the *Kośa* been in existence at the earlier dates? One objection to this argument is, of course, that it proves too much; it tends to set Vasubandhu very definitely into the early part of the sixth century A.D. which is improbable. Other grounds are also important. Dharmatrāta may have possessed a long established fame which rendered it natural to translate his treatise rather than the more recent *Kośa*; more important still, Vasubandhu, though in his *Kośa* he sets out the system of the Vaibhāṣikas, in his *Bhāṣya* is critical and reveals Sautrāntika and Yogācāra influences. This may well have led to his work being deemed as too personal, too heretical, to justify its translation until in the course of time his fame as a Vijñānavādin led Paramārtha to carry out his rendering. On the whole, therefore, it seems still probable that Vasubandhu must be dated before 400 A.D. We know now definitely that we must distinguish between the author of the *Kośa* and an older Vasubandhu, known to the author of the *Kośa*, and perhaps not far removed in date if this older Vasubandhu was the preceptor of Manoratha, a contemporary of the later Vasubandhu. It may be added that the recent publication of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, restored by R. Iyengar, definitely makes Dignāga out as denying firmly the ascription to Vasubandhu of the much discussed *Vādavidhi*. Professor Tucci³¹ suggests that Dignāga disliked the doctrine taught in the *Vādavidhi*, though he also raises the question

29 *Indian Studies*, p. 102.

30 *Indian Studies*, p. 86.

31 *IHQ.*, IV (1928), 636.

whether there may not have been a tradition before Dignāga denying Vasubandhu's authorship. It seems to me that we cannot disregard the emphatic and deliberate statement of Dignāga, and that we must recognise the ascription to Vasubandhu as one of the many errors in these matters of the Chinese authors. The authority of Dignāga must rank far above them, and still more above that of Vācaspati, while Uddyotakara does not anywhere mention Vasubandhu as the author. Indeed even in the case of Vācaspati, that he ascribed the *Vādaśāstra* to Vasubandhu is not absolutely proved, since the evidence consists of a disputed reading *Vāsubandhavakṣaṇa* which has the variant *Saubandhavakṣaṇa*. In any case, however, Vācaspati's evidence is of no weight on such an issue.

It remains to note that Professor Jacobi³² has suggested that Dignāga cannot be placed very near in date to Vasubandhu on the ground that he, if a direct pupil of the teacher, could not have denied, as he did, the essential Vijñānavāda doctrine of *ālayavijñāna*. There seems, however, to be some mistake in this view, for the *Ālambanaparīkṣā*³³ does not suggest that Dignāga on this head really departed essentially from the doctrine of his teacher. The point is of some importance, for Professor Jacobi's view leads to the suggestion that the date of Dignāga can be referred to the sixth century A.D., which may be too late.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

32 *SPAW.*, 1930, p. 329, n. 1.

33 Compare Grousset, *Les Philosophies Indiennes*, ii. 75-80.

The Eastern Cālukyas*

II

Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 616-633)

Viṣṇuvardhana¹, the founder of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty in Andhra and Kalinga, was also known as Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. He assumed the titles of Viṣamasiddhi and Makaradhvaja. His own inscription² tells us that he bore the surname Viṣamasiddhi because "he acquired success by land and sea, in the woods and on the mountains under difficulties and against fortresses." He was also known as Bittarasa.³

Three inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana have been discovered. The earliest one, which was issued during his viceroyalty, has already been referred to above.

(i) The Chipurapalle copper plate.⁴

This inscription was found at Chipurapalle, the chief town of the subdivision of the same name, in the Vizagapatam District. It was issued in the eighteenth year, fourth month, and fifteenth day of the king's reign. It records that Mahārāja Viṣṇuvardhana Viṣamasiddhi, the dear younger brother of Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulikeśin II), from his residence at Ceṇupura, in the Plakiviṣaya, informed the cultivators of the village of Kālvakoṇḍa, in the Dimila Viṣaya, that he, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, granted the above mentioned village of Kālvakoṇḍa to some learned Brāhmaṇas. The dūtaka of the grant was Aṭavidurjjaya, who was a member of the Matsya family.

Of the localities, mentioned above, Ceṇupura seems to be identical with Chipurapalle where the inscription was discovered. Dimila is the modern village of Dimile, in the Sarvasiddhi tāluka of the Vizagapatam District. The regnal year corresponds to 633 A.D.

* Continued from vol. VIII, no. 1, p. 29.

1 *IA.*, XIII, p. 213.

2 *EL.*, IX, p. 319; *IA.*, VII, p. 186.

3 *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 303.

4 *Ibid.*, XX, p. 16; Cf. plate XXVII

South Indian Palaeography, Burnell. Facsimile reads "Plaki" viṣaya, and not 'Pūki' as doubtfully suggested by Mr. Fleet.

(ii) The Timmapuram inscription.⁵

This plate was found in the village of Timmapuram, in the Sarvasiddhi tāluka of the Vizagapatam District. It registers that Viṣṇuvardhana, from his residence at Piṣṭapura, granted four thousand "Nivartanas" in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra, in the Paḷaki Viṣaya, to forty Brāhmaṇas residing in (Poṭunūnka).

Of the localities, Paḷaki is the same as Plaki of the Chipurapalle copper-plate. Piṣṭapura is evidently the modern Pithapuram, in the Godavari District.

The inscriptions of the subsequent Eastern Cālukya Kings state that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled over Veṅgimaṇḍala.⁶ In the year twenty one of his reign (A.D. 629-30), Pulikeśin II granted some lands in the village of Irbuli, in Karmarāṣṭra. These lands were bounded on the north by the road to Koṇḍav (e) Drupur, and on the south by the road to Viraparū. The executor of the grant was Prthivīduvarāja who is to be identified with Viṣṇuvardhana.⁷

Karmarāṣṭra, which was a Viṣaya, comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and a part of the Guntur District.

From all these it appears that Viṣṇuvardhana held sway over a territory, which extended at least up to the Vizagapatam District on the north-east, and the part of the Nellore District on the south-west.

Viṣṇuvardhana had a general name Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Caturthābhijana i.e. of the family belonging to the fourth (Sūdra) caste. The latter was the founder of the Velanāṇḍu line of chiefs. He ruled over the country west of the hill (Giripaścīmā śāsana) which contained seventy-three villages, and which he obtained through the favour of the King Kubja Viṣṇu along with his royal emblems.⁸ The hill, in the Kistna District, and the group of seventy-three villages must have formed the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli taluka of the same District.⁹ Buddhavarman's successors ruled over this province up to the 12th century A.D. as vassals of the Eastern Cālukyas. Kāla-

5 *EL.*, IX, p. 317.

6 *IA.*, XIII, p. 213, l. 8.

7 *EL.*, XVIII, p. 260.

8 *EL.*, VI, pp. 273, 275.

9 *EL.*, VI, p. 269.

kampa of the Paṭṭavardhinī family was also a general of Viṣṇuvardhana. He fought on the side of his master, and takes credit for killing in battle one Daddara. A grant of Amma I states that,¹⁰ “the chief of Paṭṭavardhinī family, which was (always) charged with appointments by the prosperous succession of our race, he who was famed by the name of Kālakampa, the follower of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, killed in battle with his permission (a king) called Daddara, whose army was difficult to be overcome, and seized his banners.” Daddara’s identity is not known. Kālakampa’s successors were also appointed in the military service of the subsequent Eastern Cālukya rulers.¹¹

There can hardly be any doubt that Viṣṇuvardhana ruled his kingdom as a vassal of his brother Pulikeśin. Pulikeśin’s inscription dated A.D. 629-30, referred to above, bears testimony to that. The fact that the two brothers were in friendly terms can be gathered from Viṣṇuvardhana’s inscription where he describes himself as the dear younger brother of Pulikeśin.

Viṣṇuvardhana was a great patron of learning. His court was graced by the famous poet Bhāravi.¹²

Viṣṇuvardhana was the contemporary of the Pallava Simha-viṣṇu and the Western Gaṅga Durvinīta (A.D. 605-650).¹³ The date of his accession can be determined with tolerable certainty. Viṣṇuvardhana II, the fourth ruler of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, ascended the throne early in 663 A.D. A period of forty eight years elapsed between this date and the date of the accession of Viṣṇuvardhana. This fixes A.D. 615-16 as the first year of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana. The date cannot be pushed further back as Viṣṇuvardhana was governing Mahārāṣṭra as a Yuvarāja in the 8th year of Pulikeśin’s reign i.e. A.D. 615-16¹⁴. He ruled his kingdom for eighteen years¹⁵ and concluded his reign in 633 A.D. He had two sons Jayasimha and Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, of whom the first one succeeded him to the throne.

१० अस्मत्कुल-कल्याणपरंपरानियोगाधिकृत पट्टवर्द्धिणी-वंशाग्रगया कालकम्प इति विभ्रुतेन कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनानुचरेण संप्रामे तदनुज्ञया दुर्द्धर्षेवलं दहरनामानं विनिहत्य तच्चिह्नानि येन जगृहिरे । *SIH*, vol. I, p. 40.

11 *Ibid.* 12 *Mysore Arch. Rep.*, 1921, p. 28.

13 *Ibid.*

14 *IA.*, XX, p. 16.

15 *SIH.*, I, p. 41.

Jayasimha I, Prthvī-Vallabha, Sarvasiddhi (A.D. 633-663).

Jayasimha assumed the titles of Sarvasiddhi¹⁶ and Prthvī-Vallabha.¹⁷ Altogether five inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) *Pedda-Maddali inscription*.¹⁸

A number of plates were found in the village of Pedda-Maddali, in the Nurzivid Division of the Kistna District. They were issued from the city of Udayapur. They record the grant of the village of Peṇukapaṇu, on the east of the village of Mardavalli (Maddāvalli), in the Gudrahāra Viṣaya. The Dūtaka was Śivaśarman. The grant was issued in the eighteenth year of the King's reign which corresponds to A.D. 650-51.

Of the localities, mentioned above, Gudrahāra Viṣaya is the modern Gudivada, the head quarters of the taluka of the same name, in the Kistna District. The village Mardavalli seems to have been the same as Pedda-Maddali where the record was unearthed.

(ii) *The Pulibumra plates*.¹⁹

The Pulibumra plates record that Jayasimha made a gift of the village of Pulibumra, in the Guddavādi Viṣaya, to the Brāhmaṇa Rudraśarman, a resident of Asanapura.

Of the localities, referred to above, Pulibumra is to be identified with Petamuru, in the Bhīmavaram tāluk of the Kistna District.

(iii) *The Pedda-Vegi plates*.²⁰

A number of plates were discovered near the village of Pedda-Vegi, the ancient Veṅgipura, in the vicinity of Ellore. The inscription reports that Jayasimha granted the village of Kombaru, in the Kantheruvāṭi Viṣaya at a distance of a Gavyūti to the south of Vleṇṭūra, to Somaśarman, a resident of Kukkanūr, on the 'Viṣu-vadina' of Kārttika—Pūrṇimā. The executor was the King's

16* *EL.*, XIX, p. 261.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 258.

18 *IA.*, XIII, p. 137

19 *EL.*, XIX, p. 254; *Jour. Andhra Hist. RS.*, IV, p. 76.

20 *EL.*, vol. XIX, p. 258.

preceptor, Narasiṃhaśarman. Of the localities, Kantheruvāṭi is to be identified with the modern village of Kanteru, in the Guntur taluk of the Guntur District. Vleṇṭūru, probably a corruption of Velaṇṭūru, seems to be the same as the modern village of Vellaturu, in the Repalli taluka of the Guntur District. The village Kombaru is identical with the modern village of Komali in the same taluk.

(iv) *The Niḍupaṇu plate.*²¹

The Niḍupaṇu grant registers the fact that Jayasiṃha granted the village of Niḍupaṇu in the Gaṇḍeruvāṭi Viṣaya, north of the Vyaghra river, and on the bank of the Vanneru river, at a distance of two 'Gavyūtis', on the eastern side of the capital at Gaṇḍeru (Ganderu-rājadhānī), to Kāṭiśarman, a resident of Asanapura.

Gaṇḍeruvāṭi is the same as Kantheruvāṭi of the above inscription. Niḍupaṇu is the modern Nidamaru which is actually about two gavyūtis (i.e. eight miles) to the east of Kanteru. Gaṇḍeru, as it appears from the inscription, seems to have been the capital of the southern division of Jayasiṃha's kingdom, south of the Kistna.

(v) *The Mṛopaṇṇu inscription.*²²

The Mṛopaṇṇu inscription was issued by Vallabha-Mahārāja Sarvasiddhi, who was the son of Viṣṇuvardhana and the grandson of Kīrtivarman. It evidently belonged to the reign of Jayasiṃha I. It records that the king granted the village of Mṛopaṇṇu in Canū(rapa)llī Viṣaya to a Brāhmaṇa, a Maṇḍaśarman, a resident of Vanapaṇṇu. The donee was greatly attached (bhakta) to Maṅgi-yuvarāja. This Maṅgi-yuvarāja, who later on ascended the throne of Veṅgi, was the grandson of Jayasiṃha's younger brother Indra Bhaṭṭāraka.

Nothing definite is known about the military achievements of Jayasiṃha. His own inscription states that he was one who reduced the circle of the Sāmantas, was a diplomat like Brhaspati, disciplined like Manu, righteous like Yudhiṣṭhira, knower of the truth of the meanings of many Śāstras.²³

²¹ *EL.*, XVIII, p. 57.

²² *SE.*, 1920, p. 99, *APP.*, A, No. 9.

²³ *EL.*, V, p. 127.

Jayasimha's father Viṣṇuvardhana was a vassal of the Western Cālukyas of Badami. In the 4th decade of the 7th century A.D. the Western Cālukyas of Badami suffered a terrible disaster at the hand of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. Pulikeśin II, who in the early years of his reign overran the Pallava dominion, was now violently attacked by the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I. A series of battles were fought in which Pulikeśin was ultimately worsted. Pulikeśin fled away from his capital, and the Cālukya kingdom was plundered by the Pallavas. The supremacy of the Western Cālukyas was later on re-established by Pulikeśin's son Vikramāditya I. During this period of turmoil Jayasimha seems to have entirely separated his Kingdom from that of his uncle. Henceforward nothing is known about the nature of the relation that existed between the Eastern and Western Cālukyas.

The Bezavada Plates²⁴ of Cālukya Bhīma I and almost all other Cālukya plates assign Jayasimha I a reign of 33 years. But the British Museum plates of Amma II give him a reign of 30 years. An inscription²⁵ of Viṣṇuvardhana II, son and successor of Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who succeeded Jayasimha I, states that he made a grant of land on Wednesday, 13th March, A.D. 664, in the second year of his reign. It follows from this that he came to the throne before 13th March 663 A.D. Another record²⁶ of the same king reports that he issued a grant on February 17, A.D. 668, which is said to be his fifth regnal year. This shows that Viṣṇuvardhana must have ascended the throne before February 17, A.D. 664, which date falls in the first year of his reign. In view of the evidence supplied by this second grant the king's accession can by no means be pushed back prior to February 17, 663 A.D. Thus it may be concluded from these two records, that Viṣṇuvardhana ascended the throne between February 17, and March 13, A.D. 663. As Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka ruled only for seven days, Jayasimha I must have closed his reign between February 9 and March 13, A.D. 663. Jayasimha's accession to the throne took place in 663 A.D. This gives him a reign of thirty years. He was succeeded by his younger brother Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka.

24 *JA.*, VII, p. 17.

25. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 186.

26. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 191.

Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka, Indrarāja, Indurāja, Indravarman, Siphavikrama, and Tyāgadhenu, 663 A.D.

Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka who was also known as Indrarāja, Indurāja and Indravarman,²⁷ bore the titles of Siphavikrama and Tyāgadhenu.²⁸ An inscription of his reign has been discovered. It records that Mahārāja Indravarman, at the request of the chief Koṇḍivarman, granted to Ceṇḍīśarman, the village of Koṇḍanaguru, which was bounded on the north by Mujumūru, on the east by Pagunūru, on the south by Cerupūru, and on the west by Irabbali. The executor was the king's eldest son who also bore the name Indravarman. The inscription was written by Kanakarāma.

Of the localities, Cerupūru seems to be identical with Cerupūru of the Chipurupalle copper plate of Viṣṇuvardhana I,²⁹ which was situated in the Plaki Viṣaya. The village is to be identified with the modern Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam District. Hence Koṇḍanaguru may be assumed to have been situated somewhere near the Chipurupalle taluka of the Vizagapatam District. Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka was pretty old man when he assumed the royalty, as his grand-son Maṅgi Yuvarāja was fairly young during the reign of Jayasiṃha I.³⁰ He could not rule for a long time, and died after a reign of only seven days.³¹ He had two sons Indravarman³² and Viṣṇuvardhana, of whom the second one succeeded him to the throne.

DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULI

27 *EL.*, IV, p. 226; *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 2; *SII.*, I, p. 58; *IA.*, XX, p. 16.

28 *EL.*, VIII, p. 237; *XVIII*, p. 2.

29 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 1.

30 The Godavari grant of the Rāja Prthivīmūla, the son of the Mahārāja Prabhākara, states that "Adhirāja Indra, who joined in a tumultuous combat, waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled in the desire to up-root by force Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka" (*J. Bo. Br.*, vol. XVI, p. 119). Mr. Fleet remarks on this—"The reference here seems to be to Indra Bhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty; the Adhirāja Indra being possibly the Mahārāja Indravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinganagara (*IA.*, vol. XIII, p. 120), whose territory lay just to the north east of the Eastern Cālukya Kingdom." (*IA.*, vol. XX, p. 97.).

The Kalinga King Adhirāja Indra seems to have flourished much earlier than the Cālukya Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka. I agree with Dr. G. J. Dubreuil in identifying Adhirāja Indra's rival Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka with the Viṣṇukunḍin King of the same name. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* Eng. ed., p. 91.

31 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 58.

32 *EL.*, vol. XVII, p. 4.

Raziyya

Raziyya is the only female Muhammadan sovereign who sat on the throne of Delhi. Hers is a most attractive but also a pathetic figure in Indian history. Endowed with many qualities and virtues, sagacious, just, beneficent, she yet failed to retain the sceptre of Hindustan for more than three years. Reviewing her career after the lapse of seven hundred years, we are struck by her boldness and determination, steadfastness and courage.

In the following pages we shall attempt to arrive at a just estimate of the illustrious queen.

Early years of Raziyya

Raziyya was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shamsuddin Altamash. We know almost nothing about her early life. The contemporary Muhammadan chronicler, Minhaj-i-siraj, tells us that she enjoyed the esteem of her father and exercised much authority during his life-time.¹ Muhammad Qasim Firishta, who wrote much later says in addition to this that Raziyya was so immeasurably superior to any of her brothers that her father appointed her regent of the kingdom while he was absent from the capital on the occasion of the campaign in Gwalior in 1232 A.D.² So ably did she conduct the administration that the Sultan after returning victorious from the campaign, declared her his heir-apparent and ordered Taj-ul-mulk Mahmud, the secretary to write out this decree. To this proposal the Amirs raised vehement objections, urged upon the Sultan the impropriety of placing a lady on the throne but the Sultan quieted their discontent by giving them a brief but fitting address. "My sons" he said "are engrossed in the pleasures of youth and none of

1 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (henceforth abbreviated as *T.N.*), p. 632.

2 Firishta (henceforth abbreviated as *F.*), I, p. 218.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari (henceforth abbreviated as *T.A.*), p. 75 says the same thing: "I see my sons indulging in drinking and gaming.....I do not think that their administration will be able to support the burden of Empire. Raziyya although she is in appearance a woman, yet in her mental qualities, she is a man."

them possesses the ability of managing the affairs of the country. Raziyya though a woman has a man's head and heart and is more than twenty such sons."³ The Sultan therefore set aside the claims of his sons and nominated Raziyya to be his successor.

Accession of Raziyya

Sultan Altamash died on April 29, 1236. As soon as he closed his eyes, the courtiers, disregarding his wishes, raised to the throne a younger son of the Sultan, Ruknuddin Firuz.

Firuz was a young lad when he came to the throne and when he found himself master of a vast kingdom and all that it could offer, he gave himself up entirely to pleasures. "He opened," says the contemporary historian, "the doors of the treasuries and began to spend in the most profuse fashion and in an improper manner." So wanton was his extravagance and so excessive his appetite for pleasure that the "business of the country, the concerns of the state fell into a state of disorder and confusion." His mother Shah Turkan, an extremely ambitious and power loving woman, conducted the affairs of the state.⁴ Having been originally a handmaid in the harem, she now began to ill-treat the other ladies of the harem for the slights she had endured during the period of servitude. She put many of them to death and even caused Qutbuddin, a son of the late Sultan to be blinded and murdered. Her cruelty and tyranny as well as the profligacy of her son caused wide-spread discontent and rebellion broke out in every part of the kingdom.

Malik Ghiyasuddin Mahmud, brother of the Sultan, rebelled in Oudh, seized the treasures of Bengal as they were being conveyed to the imperial treasury at Delhi and sacked and looted several towns of Hindustan. Izzuddin Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz of Multan, Saifuddin Kuji of Hansi, Alauddin Jani of Lahore, Muhammad Salari, governor of Budaun raised the standard of revolt and formed a confederacy.

When Firuz awoke from the blissful dream, the conflagration had spread far and wide. He marched out with an army to crush the hostile coalition but hardly had he gone beyond the neighbourhood of the capital

when a mutiny broke out amongst his own troops. His minister Junaidi deserted him and joined the camp of the rebels. The mutinous troops seized the two secretaries of the Sultan, Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud and Amir Fakhruddin and killed them along with a number of Tajik officials.⁵

While these things were taking place, the capital, Delhi, itself became the hotbed of intrigue and was rent by a strife between Shah Turkan and Raziyya. The contemporary historian tells us that in November 1236, "Raziyya entered upon open hostility with Shah Turkan" and Firuz was compelled to come back to the capital. It appears from this that Raziyya was watching events and finding in the adversity of Firuz her opportunity, she struck the blow. Shah Turkan had also planned the destruction of Raziyya but at this critical moment the people of Delhi rose in her defence, destroyed the royal castle, and imprisoned Shah Turkan. Meanwhile the mutinous Turkish soldiers came back to Delhi pledged to Raziyya their allegiance and placed her on the throne. She immediately sent a force against Ruknuddin. He was seized, imprisoned and put to death on November 9, 1236. Thus within six months of the death of her father she succeeded in seating herself on the throne of Delhi and making her father's will a reality by her tact.

Raziyya's Rule

Raziyya had triumphed over Firuz but she was only at the threshold of her difficulties. The confederacy formed by the governors of Hansi, Lahore, Multan, and Budaun had not been broken down and the confederates refused to submit to the rule of a woman; nor would the minister, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, who deserted Firuz, submit to and acknowledge her as his sovereign.

5 T.A., F., *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (henceforth abbreviated as *M.T.*) give a different story. According to them Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud and other nobles detached themselves from the main army and returned to Delhi. It is to be noted that the account given by them is less trustworthy than that given in the *Nasiri*, because the latter is the contemporary account and has been borrowed by the later historians like Nizamuddin, Firishta and Badauni. Hence we place our reliance on *Nasiri*.

These rebel governors assembled "from different parts before the gate of the city of Delhi and commenced hostilities against Sultana Raziyya." Nizamuddin Ahmed, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tells us further that they tried to stir up a general uprising against the Sultana. They sent emissaries to the heads of the various provinces and incited them to rise in insurrection against the queen.

At this juncture, amidst general turmoil and disturbance the queen remained firm. She resolved to strike the enemy. She had been besieged but like the Austrian queen Maria Theresa she sent appeals for help. The gallant Nusratuddin Shah, whom she made governor of Oudh, responded to her call and came out with an army to help her. Before he had crossed the Ganges the confederates fell upon, and defeated him. Nusratuddin worn out by age and illness died soon after.

Raziyya's fortunes now sank to the lowest ebb; her cause seemed almost hopeless; the newly-won sovereignty was about to slip into other hands. What could not be done by open warfare was now achieved by the tact and cleverness of the queen. She issued out of the city and as the contemporary historian tells us "ordered her tents to be pitched at a place on the banks of Jun."⁶ Occasional conflicts now took place between the Turkish Amirs "who served at the stirrup of sovereignty and hostile Maliks."

While these skirmishes went on, Raziyya played her cards so well that she succeeded in sowing distrust and dissension amongst the members of the confederacy. She won over Izzuddin Muhammad Salari of Badaun and Kabir Khan-i-Ayaz of Multan. They went over to the queen's side and were even induced to support the arrest and imprisonment of their associates. This news ran apace and as soon as it reached the ears of Kuji, Jani and Junaidi they became perplexed and fled in any direction they could. The queen sent her cavalry in pursuit of these rebels. Saifuddin Kuji and his brother Fakhruddin were seized and put to death later on. Alauddin Jani was similarly beheaded near Pael.⁷ The Vizier Junaidi fled to the Sirmur⁸ hills and died there.

6 Jumna.

7 Pael, situated 34 miles North-West of the Patiala Town. *Imp. Gez.*, vol. XIX, p. 316.

8 Sirmur lying amid the Himalayas between 30° 20' and 31° 5' N. and

Thus the rebellion was completely crushed and Raziyya stood without a peer.

Her administration

Firmly seated on the throne Raziyya's first task was to bring order into the administration. She conferred the office of Vizier on the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Khawaja Muhazzibuddin and invested him with the same title while the army was entrusted to Saifuddin Ibak who was given the title of Kauatlugh Khan. Ayaz was rewarded with the governorship of Lahore in addition to that of Multan.

The provincial governors who had set themselves up as independent rulers during the mis-government of Firuz were now reduced to submission and as the *Taz-kiyat-ul-mulk* says, even the Malik of Lakhnawati became obedient to her authority. Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, governor of Lakhnawati, sent an embassy to the capital offering submission. The queen as a token of her goodwill presented him with a canopy and flags. Peace and order were restored throughout the whole of Hindustan as if by magic. As the contemporary historian says, "the whole kingdom became pacified and the power of the state widely extended. From the territory of Lakhnawati to Dewal and Damrillah all the Maliks and Amirs manifested their obedience and submission."

Rising of the Carmathian and Ismailians

Not long after she had taken up the reins of government, a formidable religious rising took place in Delhi. On Friday March 5, 1237 members of the Carmathian and Ismailian⁹ sects congregated in Delhi from various parts of the country and incited by the preachings of one Nuruddin entered, 1000 strong, armed with sticks and sword, into the great mosque from two different directions. Their object was to "destroy the established faith" and set up their own religion. They

77° 5' and 77° 55' E on the West bank of the Jumna and south of Simla. *Imp. Gaz.* vol. XXIII, p. 21.

9 The Carmathian and Ismailians are two of the many sects among the Shiahs. According to tradition a 'poor man, Karmata, was the founder of the Carmathian order. Both the sects have a bitter hatred against men of other religions, specially, the Muhammadans.

laid their sword upon every follower of the prophet whom they met. There was a great tumult; in the mean time the picked warriors of the city having assembled their followers rode forward and slaughtered them to a man. The strength of the new reign was thus early tested, by this rising. The queen then turned to the recovery of the places which had been lost to the Hindus during the short rule of Firuz.¹⁰

Raziyya had made Saifuddin Ibak-i-Bihak the commander of her armies, but he died, and Qutbuddin Husain succeeded to his place. The Queen sent him to relieve the fortress of Ranthambhor which had been besieged by the Hindus since the death of Altamash. At the approach of Qutbuddin's army the Hindus retreated; the Muhammadan officers came out of the fortress which was then dismantled.

Emboldened by the suppression of the Carmathian fanatics and the relief of Ranthambhor, Raziyya made innovations in her dress and mode of life. Hitherto she had governed the realm from behind the purdah. Now she tore off the purdah which hid her from the gaze of men, "laid aside the female dress, issued out of seclusion, donned the tunic, assumed the head-dress of a man and appeared among the people." The contemporary historian continues and remarks as if in a mood of surprise that "when she rode on an elephant, at the time of mounting it all people used only to see her."¹¹ The fearless Queen made a complete breach with the past. Time-honoured customs she trampled under foot, religious injunctions she disregarded, public opinion she flouted and ignored. And she became the wonder not only of her contemporaries but of later generations as well.

Raziyya seems to have made these changes deliberately. She knew where she stood, she had occupied the throne after overcoming tremendous opposition. If she showed the slightest disposition to weak-

¹⁰ *T.N.*, p. 646.

¹¹ *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* corroborate the statement. *T.A.*, p. 22 says "Sultana Raziyya came out of the purdah and wore the dress of a man. She put on the Kaba on her person and the Kulah on her head and sat on the throne; granted public audience." *F.*, vol. I, p. 218 says "Raziyya Begum on her accession changed her apparel, assumed the imperial robes and every day gave public audience from the throne. *M.T.*, p. 120 says, "Sultana Raziyya came out from the curtain of chastity and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety used to wear a tunic and kullah when seated on the throne."

ness, the barons would bring back anarchy and disorder. By these changes she tried to show that she was no more *roi fainéant* but a strong and masterful ruler who would brook no opposition. Her innovations were actuated by political motives but her ambition over-reached itself. She transgressed the limits and committed a most fatal blunder by openly defying the Quranic injunctions and the Hadis. She roused widespread discontent which was further aggravated by the elevation of a foreigner Amir Akhur Habshi Yaqut to a very high rank.

The fall of Raziyya

Discontent soon led to rebellion. The first sign of disaffection appeared in Gwalier. After the reduction of the fortress by Altamash, Rashiduddin Ali was entrusted with its command. By the death of Rashiduddin Ali the command of the fortress fell upon Ziyauddin Junaidi, a kinsman of the late Vizier. In 1238 he became disaffected towards the queen. Troops were sent against him and on March 19, 1238 he along with the historian Minhajuddin was compelled to come back to Delhi.

Soon after a more formidable rebellion broke out in the Punjab. The queen had rewarded Ayaz with the governorship of Lahore at the very beginning of her reign. In 1238 this Ayaz began to display a hostile attitude and in the next year broke out into open rebellion. Raziyya rose to the height of the occasion; she personally advanced with an army into the Punjab. Ayaz, not daring to offer battle to the royal troops retreated towards the Indus. When he reached the neighbourhood of Sudharah he was faced by the army of Saifuddin Hasan Qarlugh who 'driven from his territory of Kirman and Ghazni' was seeking an opportunity to carve out a kingdom to the east of the Indus.¹² In pursuit of the rebel Ayaz, Raziyya pushed on as far as the bank of the Ravi. Placed between the devil and the deep sea and finding his cause almost hopeless he submitted and implored forgiveness of the queen. She no doubt pardoned him but deprived him of the fief of

¹² *T.N.*, p. 644, fn.

Lahore which was placed in charge of Malik Kara Kush Khan.¹³ After suppressing the rebellion Raziyya came back to Delhi, on March 15, 1240. But before a fortnight had elapsed she was compelled once more to draw the sword. During the absence of the queen in the Punjab, the courtiers had got up a conspiracy to bring about her ruin. As soon as the queen came back to the capital, Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altuniya, governor of Bhatinda, "secretly instigated and abetted by the Amirs of the court" rose into rebellion.¹⁴ The Queen marched out against him on April 3, 1240, but when she reached Bhatinda the troops rose against her, slew Jamaluddin Yaqut, arrested and imprisoned her.

Meanwhile in accordance with the previous plan, Muizzuddin Bahram Shah was raised to the throne on April 22, 1240. When the Turkish Amirs and the soldiers came back to Delhi they pledged their allegiance to Bahram Shah but on condition of Ikhtiaruddin Aitigin being appointed regent for one year. Aitigin soon usurped all the powers of the state and strengthened his position by marrying the sister of the Sultan.

Malik Altuniya was bitterly disappointed. He found that the courtiers had reaped all the benefits while he had none. He was not the man to submit so tamely and began to wait and see. Soon he found his opportunity. Sultan Bahram Shah finding that he was a mere puppet in the hands of Aitigin, wanted to get rid of him. Soon an opportunity presented itself. On July 30, 1240 a discourse was arranged in the royal castle in which many of the courtiers including Aitigin were present. At the end of the discourse, the Sultan incited two Turks to stab Aitigin and Nizam-ul-mulk. The former was immediately killed and the latter was severely wounded. Bahram then appointed Badruddin

¹³ *T.A.*, *F.*, *M.T.* differ. Each of them says that Ayaz behaved so admirable that the queen pleased with him "not only permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore but added to it that of Multan.....vacated by the removal of Mullik Kurragooz." *M.T.* (p. 120) says, "Sultana Raziyya having reduced him to obedience added Multan also to his Jaagir." *T.A.* says, "Sultana Raziyya made over the province of Multan.....also to Malik Izzuddin." We reject their evidence as being much later than that of the *Nasiri*.

¹⁴ *T.N.*, p. 645.

Sunqar Lord Chamberlain, who now assumed the direction of the affairs of the state.

While Delhi had become the scene of such bloodshed and disturbance, Altuniya released Raziyya from prison and married her.¹⁵ Taking advantage of the disturbance he marched towards the capital to reinstall the deposed queen now his wife, on the throne. Sultan Bahram Shah came forward with an army to check their advance;¹⁶ a battle took place near Kaithal.¹⁷ Altuniya was defeated. He and his wife fell captive into the hands of the Hindus and attained martyrdom on October 14, 1240.¹⁸ Thus came to a tragic and untimely close the career of one of the most singular characters in history.

Character and Estimate of Raziyya

Raziyya was an accomplished and gifted queen. She possessed many qualities of head and heart and as we have seen, enjoyed greater esteem of her father. She possessed a considerable amount of education. She could read the *Quran* with correct pronunciation and with a distinct and sonorous voice.

Her brief reign was spent in continual fighting but during the brief interval of peace that she found after her accession, she revised the existing laws and confirmed those that had been abrogated during the misrule of Firuz. A woman she was but she sat on the throne, tried cases that were brought before her, and administered justice impartially between the high and the low.¹⁹ When we examine her many sided qualities, the determination and energy that she displayed during her brief reign we are led to enquire into the causes of her sudden fall. Indeed the

15 *The Taz-kirat-ul-Mulk* and some other works say that Altuniya forced Raziyya into the marriage. See *T.A.*, p. 77a. There is no justification whatsoever for saying as Elphinstone does, that Raziyya captured Altuniya by her charms.

16 The three works *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* say that Bahram Shah himself did not lead the army. We are however bound to prefer the testimony of *Nasiri* as being more trustworthy.

17 Kaithal is a place 38 miles distant from Karnal and about 100 miles north-west of Delhi *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. 7, p. 309.

18 *T.A.*, *F.*, and *M.T.* say that Raziyya after the first defeat gathered forces and fought a second time. It is on this occasion that she was slain by the Hindus.

19 *F.*, p. 218.

melancholy end of such a gifted queen "just, beneficent, dispenser of justice and protector of subjects" caused surprise to the Muhammadan historians themselves who flourished after her.

In their eagerness to explain her fall they have most unjustly tarnished her fair name and cast blots upon her character. Thus the historian Muhammad Qasim Firishta concludes his chapter on Raziyya by saying "those reflect on the fate of this unfortunate princess will readily discover from whence arose the foul blast that blasted her prospects, what connection exists between the office of Ameer-ool Omrah of Delhi and an Abyssinian slave or how are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the Queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object."²⁰ Ferishta evidently wants to ascribe the cause of her fall to her undue familiarity and love for Yakut. Similar views have been expressed by Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni, the authors of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. Thus Nizamuddin says, Yakut "attained to such a pitch of intimacy (with the queen) that when Sultana Raziyya mounted he placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode."²¹ Abdul Qadir Badarni repeats the statement of Nizamuddin and says that Yakut "became her confidante and trusted adviser to such an extent that Sultana Raziyya whenever she rode a horse or an elephant used to rest upon his arms or his shoulder."²²

While these are the views expressed by historians who flourished long after her, the contemporary chronicler Minhaj-i-Siraj does not speak ill of her. He mentions only that Yakut "acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultan." Throughout his narrative there is not even an indirect reference to an infamy of Raziyya. According to the strict canons of historical criticism we ought to rely on *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, because *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikhi-Ferishta* and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* were later compositions and borrowed the facts of this period mainly from *Nasiri*.

It appears after a careful analysis of the evidence that the story of Raziyya's love for Yakut has no foundation in fact, but is the inven-

²⁰ *F.*, p. 222.

²¹ *T.A.*, p. 76.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

tion of later historians.²³ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* does not mention it. Then again no man in his senses could believe that an intelligent woman, the mistress of a vast empire, would have allowed one of her officers practically to embrace her in public at the time of raising her on the elephant. She could have easily indulged herself in the chambers of the palace if she was so charmed with Yakut. What appears to be the case is that the simple statement of Minhaj was given a colouring and exaggerated by the later historians. Moreover her enemies must have given currency to many rumours and circulated them widely to bring about her ruin. The upshot was that popular sympathy was alienated from her, so that the centre contingent which had enthusiastically cheered and raised her up on the throne betrayed and deserted her in 1240. The truth is that Raziyya fell not through any weakness or defect in her character but because of the fact that she was a woman. Raziyya by showing favour to Yakut no doubt caused resentment but

23 Sir Welseley Haig, in the *C.H.I.*, p. 59, holds the same view. He says, "later historians suggest or insinuate that there was impropriety in her relations with him but the contemporary chronicler makes no such allegation, and it is unnecessary to believe that she stooped to such a connection."

Reverty says "the character of the princess has been assailed without just cause."

Thomas on the other hand is extremely severe. He says "it was not that a virgin queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive prince consort or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the palace harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction and led her to prefer a person employed about her court, an Abyssinian." *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 106.

Iswari Prasad in his *History of Medieval India* makes a curious jumble. In the footnote of p. 150, he says that it does not appear that Raziyya's fondness for Yakut was criminal. Again in footnote of p. 152 he says "whatever the truth may be, there is no doubt that Raziyya committed an act of unpardonable indiscretion in showing such preference for the Abyssinian. Conduct like this in an eastern country is sure to excite suspicion. The queen certainly transgressed the proper limits permitted to a lady of high rank in the east particularly when she was unmarried." Elephinstone (p. 368) says, "it does not appear that her fondness for Yakut was criminal." Lane-Poole holds that the relationship between Yakut and Raziyya was perfectly innocent.

Ibn Batuta, the traveller, refers to the story of undue relationship between the queen and Yakut. But his account on this point must be accepted with an amount of caution for he must have recorded what he heard amongst the people.

certainly it was no offence. If she had really to rule she was bound to raise some nobles and degrade others. There was no other alternative. Yakut was the superintendent of the stables at the time of her accession and might have easily earned the favour of the queen by his fidelity and zealous service. Moreover as superintendent of the stables it was probably a part of his duty to be present on the occasion when the queen mounted an elephant.

Considering the circumstances of the case we are bound to admit that this story of love affair was fabricated by the later historians or they merely recorded the popular gossip which was current in the streets and bazars. Raziyya ruled only for three years, six months and six days but this short duration of her reign is not the real criterion of her abilities as a ruler. We ought to bear in mind certain facts when we try to arrive at an estimate of the queen.

In the thirties of the thirteenth century India was in a disorganised state. The Muhammadans had no doubt conquered the whole of Hindustan from the Punjab to Bengal but they had not yet consolidated their rule. The Hindus were ever ready to rise in rebellion and recover the territories that had been taken away from them.

In addition to the opposition of the Hindus the early Muhammadan rulers had a more difficult task to perform in keeping the turbulent and unruly Turkish Amirs in check. Like the feudal nobility of Europe they were ever intent on aggrandisement and intriguing for power. They submitted only to a strong and powerful ruler. If the ruler happened to be weak, they would inevitably begin the usual scramble for power.

Above all her greatest difficulty was the fact that she was a woman. Her sex was an insuperable obstacle. The Hadis gives definite injunctions against the choice of a woman ruler. It was this which gave the Turkish Amirs the rallying cry and brought about her fall.

When we consider this multitude of difficulties we are really amazed to find that Raziyya could overcome tremendous opposition and rule even for three years. These three years were not years of rest. She was kept busy throughout. She crushed the insubordination of her officers, put down the uprisings of the Hindus and held sway over the undiminished empire bequeathed by her father. Among the woman

rulers of the world, Raziyya certainly occupies an honourable place. She stands infinitely above Mary Tudor who has disgraced the pages of history by wanton bloodshed or of Mary Stuart who by her romantic adventures has scandalised her name. Hers is indeed a most pathetic figure. So many qualities were in vain only because she was a woman.⁴²

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24 Firishta (Newal Kishore Press) says Sahebi-Najarān Kār Agahbajuz Ankh darsaruti-nasuān makluq bud, aibe daru namiaftand.

Mahānāma in the Pāli Literature

There are four persons by the name of Mahānāma in the Pāli literature of whom one is a king; the second is said to be the resident monk of the Dīghasanda monastery at Anurādhapura, to whom king Moggallāna (497-515 A.C.) offered a monastery called Pabbata Vihāra built by him (*Mahāvamsa*, ch. 39. v. 42); the third is mentioned in the concluding lines of the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* as the author of that work who lived in the reign of Kumāra Dhātusena, son of king Moggallāna (515-524 A.C.); and the fourth occurs in the concluding passage of the commentary on the *Mahāvamsa* as the author of the original work. The last two of these four Mahānāmas were undoubtedly great Pāli scholars. Let us first see who were the three Mahānāma Theras.

The commentator of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* says that he finished his work in the third year after the death of king Moggallāna. So he must have lived at the time of king Moggallāna and his son Kumāra Dhātusena. His reference to the dead king Moggallāna but not to the reigning king Kumāra Dhātusena indicates his close association with the former. So it seems that he was the Thera Mahānāma to whom king Moggallāna presented a monastery called the Pabbata Vihāra. Again, as he was a resident of the Dīghasanda monastery he might have also been the author of the *Mahāvamsa* as its commentator attributes that work to Mahānāma Thera of the Dīghasanda monastery. It is, however, difficult to identify these two theras because the thera Mahānāma to whom the Pabbata monastery was presented was living at the Dīghasanda monastery at the time when that presentation was made, and afterwards he must have been living at the new monastery built by the king. But the Thera Mahānāma who wrote the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* lived, according to his own words, in a monastery known as the Uttaramantī Pariveṇa. It is probable that the thera Mahānāma who resided at one time at the Dīghasanda monastery left it again for the Uttaramantī Pariveṇa where he wrote the commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*. It may also be that these two names, Dīghasanda Pariveṇa and Uttaramantī Pariveṇa

referred to one and the same monastery where Mahānāma therā lived both during the life-time and after the death of king Moggallāna. The commentator of the *Mahāvamsa* says that Dīghasanda was a nickname of a certain general of King Devānampiya Tissa and that he built the monastery known after his name.

* In the *Cūlavamsa* (ch. 38, v. 16-17) it is stated that king Dhātusena in his boyhood lived as a novice under a therā who was his mother's brother and who was residing at the Dīghasanda monastery. Here the name of the therā is not given. Is he the therā Mahānāma to whom king Moggallāna made a gift of the Pabbata Vihāra, and is he also the author of the *Mahāvamsa*?

According to a statement in the *Cūlavamsa* (ch. 38, v. 59) it seems that king Dhātusena was a lover of history and he was instrumental for the compilation of the *Mahāvamsa*. The statement referred to is that king Dhātusena at the end of an anniversary celebration held in honour of the great Mahinda therā, who introduced Buddhism into Ceylon, ordered the promulgation of the chronicle of Ceylon throughout the Island, and for that purpose he gave a thousand coins. This indicates that a new work had come into existence which was not yet become popular, and this must have been the composition of Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda Pariveṇa. All these facts go to show that the therā Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda monastery who wrote the *Mahāvamsa* and the therā Mahānāma of the Dīghasanda monastery who was the favourite monk of king Moggallāna, son of king Dhātusena, and the resident therā of the Dīghasanda monastery were one and the same person. King Dhātusena is said to have come to the throne in 1006 B.E. (i.e. 463 A.D.) and king Moggallāna died in 1060 B.E. (i.e. 517 A.D.). Now from the accession of king Dhātusena to the death of king Moggallāna there were only 54 years. King Dhātusena did not die an old man. He met with an unnatural death at the hands of his eldest son, king Kassapa of Sigiriya fame. So when Dhātusena came to the throne he could not have been an old man. Then at the time of king Moggallāna's death the age of Mahānāma therā could be between 79 and 89.¹

1 I am, however, not inclined to accept that the therā Mahānāma who wrote

The view that the uncle of King Dhātusena was the author of the *Mahāvamsa* could be proved further by the following fact:

The *Mahāvamsa* stops abruptly in the middle of the 37th chapter without concluding it in the usual way with a verse in a different metre. This indicates that the author either could not finish his work owing to some unexpected trouble or died before he could complete it. (Or, it might have been that the original work in Sinhalese ended there and he did not add anything to it. He only put into Pāli verse what he found in the original Sinhalese version and stopped there.

The first two arguments cannot be the reasons for this abrupt ending because he had only one verse to compose to conclude it in the usual way, and this he could have done very easily. If the last one was the actual reason, it is difficult to understand why he did not finish it in the usual way. Its commentator also has not given any reason for this abrupt ending. That the old Sinhalese *Mahāvamsa* ended just at the point where the Pāli *Mahāvamsa* stops is proved by the earlier Pāli work, I mean, the *Dīpavamsa*. It also stops exactly at the same place. His abrupt ending, I think, is due to the fact that Mahānāma thera translated the Sinhalese *Mahāvamsa* into Pāli but as he wanted to write the chronicle further and bring the history up to his time he did not conclude it in the usual way. But before he could do so his benefactor king Dhātusena was put to death by his own son, Kassapa, and consequently there was much trouble in the country and the bhikkhus could not fulfil his desire and the work remained unfinished till thera Dhammakitti took up the work after about seven centuries. This shows very clearly that king Dhātusena was instrumental for the writing of the *Mahāvamsa*, and the chronicle of Ceylon which he ordered for promulgation was none but this work. Of course, the word used for the work in narration is *Dīpavamsa*. But I do not think that it was used to indicate the work now known by that name. It was not used here as the special title of a particular book, but as denoting "the Vamsa of the Dīpa," i.e. the chronicle of the Island. It

the commentary on the *Paṭisambhīdāmagga* was the same person as the author of the Pāli *Mahāvamsa* because a work of the former kind cannot be expected from such an old person, however clever he might have been.

could not be that king Dhātusena wanted to propagate that work called the *Dīpavaṃsa* because it was defective and the defects were well-known. And moreover it was already popular inspite of its defects. So it is certain that the chronicle which king Dhātusena wanted to promulgate was not the work which we now call *Dīpavaṃsa*. Therefore the *Dīpavaṃsa*, that is the chronicle of the island, which he wanted to propagate was either the Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* preserved in the Mahāvihāra or the new work in Pāli composed by Mahānāma thera. But, as that Sinhalese work was also already popular surely it must have been this new work that he wanted to propagate.

It should be noted here that the word *Mahāvaṃsa* was also not the name given to the book written by Mahānāma thera. It was always referred to by its commentator as the *Padyapadoruvaṃsa*. This term mean the *Mahāvaṃsa* in verse (Padyapada=metrical lines and uruvaṃsa=mahāvaṃsa). This name shows also the nature of the book. It is *Mahāvaṃsa*, but unlike the then existing *Mahāvaṃsa* it is in metrical form. This shows again that the history of Ceylon that existed in prose was known as the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the new work composed in Pāli was given the name of *Padyapadoruvaṃsa* just to distinguish it from the first one. I have found that the commentator has used this name in no less than 12 places but never the name *Mahāvaṃsa*.

It is noteworthy here that the author of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* in his opening verse uses the term *Mahāvaṃsa*. But the commentator says that the author referred by that word to the then existing Sinhalese *Mahāvaṃsa* and not to the one composed in Pāli.

R. SIDDHARTHA

Was Candragupta low-born ?

In a paper published in the *JBORS.* (1918, pp. 91 ff.), I tried to show that Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was a high-born prince, being a descendant of the *pūrva*-Nandas or Earlier Nandas, as distinguished from the *nava*-Nandas or Later Nandas, Mahāpadma and his sons who were base-born according to the Purāṇas. This view was adopted by the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith in his *Oxford History of India* (Additions and Corrections) and the same scholar, in the 3rd edition of his monograph on *Aśoka*, published in 1920, abandoned his former description of Candragupta as “an illegitimate scion of the Nanda dynasty” and described him instead as simply “a scion of the Nanda dynasty.” The older view, thus displaced by wieghty authority, has recently been pressed again for acceptance by Dr. O. Stein.¹ I propose therefore to consider the question once again, and place before scholars the results of my recent investigations.

I suggested in 1918 that the term *vṛṣala*, applied in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* to Candragupta, should be read as *vṛṣabha*, a reading actually found in a Ms. of the drama belonging to the Bengal Asiatic Society's collection.

On further study I find that *vṛṣala* is the correct reading. This follows from two passages in the drama :—

(1) In Act III, just after v. 15, we read—

तत् स्थाने खलु वृषलोऽद्यश्चन्द्रगुप्त इति

where *vṛṣalo'dya* is explained as *vṛṣalaśabdena vaditum arhaḥ*, and *vṛṣabho'dya* would not yield satisfactory sense. It is possible that the text is faulty here, and the real reading is neither *vṛṣalo'dya* nor *vṛṣabho'dya*, but something altogether different. Dr. O. Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 360) adopts the reading (1) *tataḥ sthāne'sya* (scil. *Nandasya*) *vṛṣalo devaś' Candraguptaḥ*.

¹ *Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute* (Prague), vol. I, no. 3, pp. 354 ff.

(2) In Act VI, v. 6, we read—

पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुर्ध्वैरभिजनं
गता छिद्रेण श्रीर्धृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ।

where *vṛṣala* goes most consistently with *vṛṣalī*—a word signifying, by a *double entendre*, (1) consort of *vṛṣala*, (2) a woman who leaves her own husband and goes over to another (s.v. *Vṛṣalī* in *Śabdakalpādruma*).

There are, besides, other passages in the drama, clearly alluding to Candragupta's low origin. For instance, in Act II, v. 7, we read—

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः
पतिं पापे मौर्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृत्तवती ?

where the Maurya is distinctly stated to be “of ignoble birth.” (1) Cf. O. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 361, n. 2.

We have, moreover, definite references to Candragupta having been regarded as in some way connected with the Nanda family, though not as a direct legitimate descendant of the Nandas:—

(i) In Act I, after v. 13, we find Cāṇakya saying—

अहो राक्षसस्य नन्दवंशे निरतिशयो भक्तिगुणः । स खलु कस्मिंश्चिदपि जीवति
नन्दान्वयावयवे वृषलस्य साचिव्यं ग्राहयितुं न शक्यते । अनयैव बुद्ध्या तपोवनगतोऽपि
घातितस्तपस्वी नन्दवंशीयः सर्वार्थसिद्धिः । and

(ii) in Act II, after v. 19, we find Rākṣasa saying—

वयमेवात्र शोच्या ये नन्दकुलविनाशेऽपि जीवितुम् इच्छामः ।

which seem to show that the Nanda family had been entirely destroyed.

But (iii) in Act IV, after v. 7, we find Bhāgurāyaṇa saying—

.....ततो नन्दकुलभक्त्या नन्दान्वय एवायमिति सुहृज्जनापेक्षया चामात्यराक्षसश्चन्द्र-
गुप्तेन सह संदधीत । चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि पितृषय्यायागत एवायमिति संधिमनुमन्ते ।

(iv) in Act IV, after v. 12, Rākṣasa is made to say—

तास्तु खलु नन्दकुलमनेन पितृकुलभूतं कृत्स्नं कृतघ्नेन घातितं.....चन्द्रगुप्त-
मेवानुवर्तन्ते ।

(v) in Act II, v. 8, we read—

इष्टात्मजः सपदि सान्वय एव देवः
शार्दूलपोतमिव यं परिपोष्य नष्टः ।

(vi) in Act V. v. 5, we read—

भक्त्या नन्दकुलानुरागद्वया नन्दान्वयालम्बिना
किं चाणक्यनिराकृतेन कृत्तिना मौर्येण संधास्यते ।

(vii) in Act V. v. 19, we read—

मौर्योऽसौ स्वामिपुत्रः

coming from Malayaketu first, then being repeated by Rākṣasa.

It must, therefore, be conceded that, according to the drama, the Nandas overthrown by Cāṇakya were well-born, and that according to the drama, Candragupta was a base-born descendant of one of these well-born Nandas. What value should be set upon this view, we shall discuss later on. For the present, it may be noted that Dr. Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 360) accepts the Puranic tradition that the Nandas supplanted by the Mauryas were base-born, as against the view represented by the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*.

(II)

As regards *vṛṣala*, however, I do not think it means *Sūdra* in the drama. The royal dramatist, in a drama that is decidedly a masterpiece, would be guilty of gross impropriety if he made Cāṇakya address his own king, in season and out of season, as a *Sūdra*. The term *vṛṣala* is significantly applied to Candragupta by practically none of the *dramatis personae* except Cāṇakya: an apparent deviation from this rule occurs in a monologue in Act III, after v. 15, but there, as pointed out above, the transmitted text seems faulty, and the reading adopted by Dr. O. Stein (*vṛṣalo devaś Candraguptaḥ*) precludes any depreciatory sense being implied by the term *vṛṣala* which is combined here with the very respectful epithet *deva*. Had *vṛṣala* been a term of reproach, denoting *Sūdra*, the dramatist would surely have put it oftener in the mouths of characters belonging to the anti-Candragupta party than in an isolated allusion by Rākṣasa, in course of his anguished utterances (Act VI, v. 6) where, again, as pointed out above, the allusion is needed only to achieve a *double entendre*. Most instructive in this connexion is the dialogue, in Act I, after v. 19, between Cāṇakya and a *cara* (agent):

चाणक्यः । भद्रं वर्णयेदानीं स्वनियोगवृत्तान्तम् । अपि वृषलमनुरक्ताः प्रकृतयः ?
 चरः । अहं इह । अज्जेण खु तेसु तेसु विराअकारणेषु परिहरिअन्तेसु
 सुगहीदनामहेए देवे चन्दगुत्ते दिदमनुरक्ता पकिदिओ ।

Translation

Cāṇakya Well, now, tell me how you were engaged yourself;
 are the people well-disposed towards Vṛṣala?

Cara What then? As a result of Your Excellency's having
 baffled all sources of disaffection, the people are firmly
 attached to His Sacred Majesty (*dera*) Candragupta, of
 well-adopted designation (*sugr̥hītanāmādheya*).

Vṛṣala, therefore, appears to have been, according to the dramatist, applied by Cāṇakya to Candragupta as a *personal name*, his style, on coronation, being *Candragupka*, with a variant in *Candra-Śrī*.² We are not called upon to interpret personal names: to take an instance near at hand, the minister Rākṣasa need not be connected with the demoniac progeny of Rāvaṇa. And it is quite likely that, in reality, Candragupta had no such personal name: *vṛṣala* may have been no more than a 'permanent epithet' traditionally applied to him, and the dramatist, or the tradition he followed, may have converted the epithet into a name. Jaina accounts point that way. If we trust these accounts and picture Candragupta as embracing Jainism, we may imagine him being traditionally described by the orthodox community as a *vṛṣala* or a "heretic." What the orthodox Hindu community understood by the term a few centuries before the composition of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* may be gathered from the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, VIII, 16.

वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मस्तस्य यः कुरुते ह्यलम् ॥

वृषलं तं विदुर्देवास्तस्माद्धर्मं न लोपयेत् ॥

2 The author of the *Medinī*-lexicon looked upon *vṛṣala* as another name of king Candragupta.

Translation

“The exalted *dharma* is known as *vr̥ṣa* ; whoever opposes it would be known to the *devas* as *vr̥ṣala*. Hence, *dharma* should not be made to vanish.”

Again, in the same Code, X. 43-4, we read—

कैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।
वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ ४३
पौण्ड्रकाश्चोड्डू-द्रविडाः कम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदा पल्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खसाः ॥ ४४

Translation

“Gradually, by non-performance of ceremonies, and as a result of not seeing Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriya tribes have been reduced to the *vr̥ṣala* state :

Paundrakas, Udras, Draviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas.”

The process of transformation from the Kṣatriya-caste to the *vr̥ṣala*-state is here conceived to be simply through unorthodox living, away from Brāhmaṇas. A *vr̥ṣala*, therefore, need not have been a Śūdra by caste ; he is merely a man who has fallen away from *dharma*, that is to say, from Brāhmaṇic *dharma*. Yet another piece of evidence pointing in the same direction is furnished by the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, a treatise for which the latest date proposed is the 3rd century A.D. In the *Kauṭīliya*, III, 20, we are told

.....शाक्याजीवकादीन् वृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतश्शस्यो दण्डः ।

Translation

“.....Whoever gives feasts, in ceremonies connected with the gods and the ancestors, to Śākyas, Ājīvikas, etc., who are *vr̥ṣalas* and ascetics, is to be fined one hundred (paṇas).”³

3 Shamasastri's translation is faulty : it implies a conjunctive particle after *vr̥ṣalaprarajitān*, which expression, in the text as it stands, is in apposition to the expression *Śākyaājīvakādīn*.

Vṛṣala here denotes 'heretic' or 'outcaste' and cannot possibly mean 'Sūdra' by caste. It is true that, in later usage, the word acquired the meaning 'Sūdra.' But the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* probably belongs to the Gupta period (see. *infra*, p. 8, n. 1); and there is not an iota of evidence to show that the word *vṛṣala* had already changed in meaning from 'heretic' or 'outcaste' to 'Sūdra, by caste.'

(III)

I have so far discussed Candragupta from the standpoint of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, on the assumption that this drama possibly transmits genuine tradition regarding the Mauryan monarch. I shall now proceed to show that this assumption even is not justified.

In the first place, it is a mere drama. The exigencies of art notoriously distort facts. Secondly, it is several centuries later than Candragupta. Thirdly, it has a set purpose, namely, of proving the superiority of Cāṇakya to every other character in the drama. For this purpose, even Candragupta, his king, is made to look like an imbecile—a puppet in his hands. There is little that is kingly in Viśākhadatta's Candragupta. This fact induces a suspicion. Viśākhadatta was himself a prince; this is a claim corroborated by the general trend of the drama, the reader's interest being throughout kept alive by a skilful exhibition of political intrigue and state-craft hardly feasible in a writer not born in the purple. He moreover belonged very probably to the

There is a passage in the *Suttanipāta* (*Vasalasutta*, v. 21—v. 27) which runs as follows:

na jaccā vasalo hoti na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo/
kammunā vasalo hoti kammunā hoti brāhmaṇo//

The statement implies, because it contradicts, an existing opinion that one could be by birth (*jāti*) a *vṛṣala* or a brāhmaṇa; so that the term *vṛṣala*, like the term Brāhmaṇa, must have already come to be regarded as a caste-designation—a view taken exception to in this passage. But a scrutiny of the *Vasalasutta* as a whole reveals that verses 21 to 27 are a later addition. The previous verses 1 to 19 all terminate with *taṃ jaññā vasalo 'ti*, the last being

yo buddhaṃ paribhāsati athavā tassa sāvakaṃ
paribhājaṃ gahatṭhaṃ vā taṃ jaññā vasalo 'ti.

Gupta period.⁴ The Imperial Guptas apparently believed in the greatness of Candragupta and could scarcely have believed in his ignoble origin; for, no less than two of their conquering monarchs are known to have adopted the style *Candragupta*. Why was Prince Viśākhadatta seeking to belittle the Mauryan model of his contemporaries, the Imperial Guptas? Is it not possible, or even likely, that the princely dramatist was intent on impressing a moral by telling a tale?

Whatever the author's object might have been, the drama, in its details, cannot be relied on for a reconstruction of Mauryan history. It mentions unhistorical royal names, simply to achieve verisimilitude. It abounds in anachronisms. Numerous peoples are named—Śakas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Hūṇas—who could not have, in Candragupta's time,

Here is attained a climax in the rising series of damning definitions of a *vr̥ṣala*. Rhetorically, this verse ought to close the series. Its propriety as a terminal verse will be evident when we remember that the verses defining a *vr̥ṣala* are alleged to have been called forth from the Buddha himself by the brāhmaṇa Aggika-Bhāradvāja abusing him as a *vr̥ṣala*. "Do you know who is a *vr̥ṣala*, or what goes to the making of a *vr̥ṣala*?" asks the Buddha. The brāhmaṇa Aggika-Bhāradvāja replying in the negative, the Buddha proceeds to explain, with verses 1 ff., what sinful acts make a person *vr̥ṣala*. Since an abuse of the Buddha furnished the occasion for the verses, they would most appropriately close on the the same note—abuse of the Buddha as in verse 19. To clinch the series, verse 20 is added:—

yo vā anarahā saṃto araham paṭijānāti/
coro sabrahmake loke esa kho vasalādhamo//

Anger has here reached its height; and there should be no more to be said. Accordingly, we find a half-verse added, by way of summing up *ete kho vasalā ruttā mayā vo ye pakāsitā*. There could be no clearer indication that the *Vasalasutta*, as originally composed, ended here. The succeeding verses (21 to 27) must consequently be considered a late addition. It will be observed that, in the original portion, a *vr̥ṣala* is defined broadly as a sinning man—sinning against *dharma* as understood by the Buddhists. This is of a piece with the Mānava definition, cited above, that *vr̥ṣa* is *dharma* and he who goes against *dharma* (as understood, of course, by the followers of the Mānava school) is called a *vr̥ṣala*.

I may add that Mr. Munindra Lal Barua, M.A., first drew my attention to the *Vasalasutta* and suggested to me that it might have a bearing on my discussion of the meaning of *vr̥ṣala*. I have used Mr. P. V. Bapat's edition of the *Suttanipāṭa* (Poona, 1924).

4 *JBORS.*, 1928, p. 236. A later date, if preferred, will reduce its evidentiary value for the Maurya period.

taken part in the conflicts portrayed in the drama.⁵ It makes Hellenistic astrology flourish in Mauryan India. It pictures *Surunga* in actual use in the days of Candragupta, a contingency legitimately ruled out of court by Dr. O. Stein himself.⁶ Finally, it goes against the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*.

. The evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* has been conveniently ignored by Dr. Stein. It was indeed not fully marshalled out in my paper published in *JBORS.*, 1918. But the little that was set forth therein sufficed to weigh considerably with the late Dr. Vincent Smith. I have developed the argument in another paper, justifying the conclusion that whereas pre-Kauṭīliyan political philosophers, who were partisans of the low-born Nandas, had avowed preference for a strong, though low-born, king, with no hereditary right to the throne, Kauṭīliya definitely declares himself in favour of a high-born king, with a hereditary right to the throne (*Artha-ś.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 2). Dr. Stein, it is true, considers the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* to be a production, not from the pen of Candragupta's minister, but from the pen of some writer of a much later date, probably the 3rd century A.D. The problem is too vast to be envisaged within the compass of this paper and must be reserved for separate treatment. I may say however that a careful study of this remarkable book on politics leaves no reasonable doubt that it has a nucleus of original matter, dating back beyond Aśoka, around which has gathered a mass of accretions of a somewhat later date. Supposing with Dr. Stein, that the *Kauṭīliya* as a whole belongs to the 3rd century A.D., it must be conceded that the writer, who had opportunities for looking back upon the careers of Mahāpadma Nanda and Candragupta Maurya and Kauṭīliya, as depicted by the then current tradition, represented the minister of Candragupta to have been strongly against low-born monarchs and definitely in favour of a high-born, hereditary king. Does it not follow that, even as late as the composition of the *Kauṭīliya*, Candragupta was believed to have been a high-born monarch? For, if a contrary tradition were current, the 'Paṇḍit' of the 3rd century A.D., who is supposed to have composed the *Kauṭīliya* and to

5 Cf. O. Stein, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 354, 359.

6 *Zest. f. Ind. u. Iran*, 1925, pp. 280 ff.

have modestly ascribed its authorship to the traditional minister of Candragupta and whose intelligence is manifest from the treatise, would make himself appear utterly foolish, were he to represent that very minister as supporting the claims of a high-born, hereditary prince, against a low-born, non-hereditary monarch. It cannot be urged that the hypothetical 'Paṇḍit' is giving here a view that is reasonable *per se*, not pausing to ponder over the propriety of its ascription to Kauṭilya. That he did pause and ponder is clear from the circumstance that he ascribes an opposite view to the professors who preceded Kauṭilya and Kauṭilya is represented to contradict them—a symptom, not of carelessness, but of meticulous reflection.

(IV)

Dr. Stein has found fault with me for my reliance on the mediaeval productions, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in reconstructing the history of Candragupta Maurya. Strictly speaking, since we have absolutely no records contemporary with the founder of the Maurya dynasty, neither myself nor even Dr. O. Stein can pretend to vouch for the accuracy of any particular reconstruction which must necessarily be based upon later evidence. Although the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* were actually composed about 1100 A.D., they claim to be based upon Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which is referred to the time of "Sātavāhana," a dynasty that flourished between the 3rd century B.C. and the 3rd century A.D.⁷ Dr. Stein himself (*op. cit.*, p. 358) cites both these "works of fiction" to show that King Nanda's Śūdra origin was "apparently already a tradition in

7 Keith (*Classical Skt. Lit.*, p. 90) finds it "impossible to place Guṇāḍhya with any certainty before the fifth century A.D., unless we hold that Bhāsa (fourth century) derived from him, and not from tradition, some of his themes." He urges (*ibid.*) that "Sātavāhana is a dynastic name which may denote any of several kings" but does not seem to recognize the conclusion of archaeologists that the last of the 'several king' belongs to the 3rd cent. A.D. Keith seems right when he agrees with Bloch, *ibid.*, that the Sātavāhanas were at first patrons of Prākṛt and only gradually adopted Sanskrit as a court-language; so that Guṇāḍhya may be placed between the 2nd and 3rd Cent. A.D.

Guṇādhyā's time." Curiously enough after thus appreciating the evidentiary value of these documents, he sets out to find fault with me (*ibid.*, p. 360) over my citation of the very same sources in my reconstruction of Candragupta's history. On the question of reliability of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, it is worth noting that Prof. Keith⁸ believes in the fidelity of Kṣemendra to his original inasmuch as his *mañjarī* of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* can be tested for the epics. Prof. Lévi⁹ also gives excellent grounds for connecting the *Bṛhatkathā*, in point of time, with Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A.D.). In his Introduction to the German translation of the *Kauṭīliya*¹⁰ Dr. J. J. Meyer has also reiled on the *Bṛhatkathā*.¹¹

(V)

Dr. Stein has overlooked (p. 360) my interpretation of the Purāṇic statement: ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शुद्रयोऽनयः । "After the Nandas, the kings of the earth will be Śūdras." Had that been the meaning, we would have to look upon the Brāhmaṇical Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, who succeeded the Mauryas, as Śūdras. The statement implies merely that it was not until Mahāpadma (Nanda) that a king of Śūdra origin sat on an Indian throne; it contains no implication that the Mauryas were Śūdras.

(VI)

Dr. Stein, in dissecting the evidence afforded by the *Bṛhatkathā* in its two Sanskrit redactions, opines that the expression *pūrva-Nanda-*

8 *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, p. 276.

9 *Études Asiatiques*, 25th anniv. of L'école française d'extrême orient.

10 Leipzig, 1927.

11 Both Kṣemendra and Somadeva apparently worked with a "Kasmirian" recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*. That recension has added to the original *Bṛhatkathā* some episodical matter discernible even to an ordinary reader, notably Books V, VI, IX, XII, XIV, XVI in the *Mañjarī*; there is no reason to suppose that, so far as the tale of the Nandas was concerned, any considerable modification had been made.

suta applied to Candragupta refers to his connexion with the *real* Nanda, that is, before his dead body was (as the story relates) possessed by Indradatta. But, if this were so, how is it that the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* always refers to the real Nanda simply as *Nanda*, and how is it that the *pūrva-Nanda* is mentioned only in connexion with Candragupta? Dr. Stein demurs to my drawing a parallel between the expressions *pūrva-Nandāḥ* and *nava-Nandāḥ* meaning, respectively, “the Earlier Nandas” and “the Later Nandas.” He says (p. 361): “The correlative for *pūrva* is *uttara* or *para*, and never *nava* which means in connection with Nanda only: ‘the new Nanda’ i.e., the supposed Nanda.” But the expression *nava-Nanda* finds no place in the *Bṛhatkathā* account: it occurs in the dynastic enumeration presented by some *Purāṇas* and in the Sinhalese Chronicles. Its perverted sense as “the nine Nandas” did not grow up “within a generation between the 11th and 12th century A.D.,” as Dr. Stein would have me admit (p. 360); it “grew up” much earlier as the Sinhalese Chronicles testify, but it failed to obscure the tradition, handed down to the *Bṛhatkathā* (2nd-3rd century A.D.) as preserved to us in the Sanskrit redactions, that Candragupta was a *pūrva-Nanda-suta*. It is indeed significant that the *Bṛhatkathā* does not speak of “nine” Nandas; the stream of tradition represented by it was obviously not yet contaminated by the perverted interpretation of *nava* as “nine”. To the mediaeval Sanskrit redactors of the *Bṛhatkathā*, that interpretation was probably not unknown. We must admire their good sense in not permitting themselves to import it into the *Paiśācī* account they were working upon. They found, in the *Paiśācī* original, some expression which, they thought, could be best rendered as *pūrva-Nanda-suta*. We do not know, of course, what the original expression actually was. But we have no reason to doubt that they give us a *bona fide* rendering, in *pūrva-Nanda-suta*, particularly since the rendering is found in *Kṣemendra* as well as in *Somadeva*. The context, speaking as it does, of the succession of Candragupta, the *pūrva-Nanda-suta*, to a king named simply as Nanda, condones the inference that Candragupta is alluded to here as a descendant not of Nanda but of a “previous” or an “original” Nanda as distinguished from the Nanda uprooted by Cāṇakya. It is quite usual to speak of “previous” kings as *pūrva*; the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* itself (Act

I, after V. 21) furnishes an example: Cāṇakya: *bhōḥ śreṣṭhīn alam āśaṃkayā. bhūtāḥ pūrva-rāja-puruṣāḥ.....deśāntaraṃ vrajanti.* The same drama (Act IV, V. 15) speaks also of:.....*Maurye nava rājani.* When, therefore, Mahāpadma usurped the throne, he would naturally be regarded as a new king and hence described as a *nava rājā*; while his predecessors would be known as *pūrva-rājānaḥ*. And, when he and his successors proceeded to affect the style "Nanda" which his predecessors had adopted, people would naturally distinguish him and his successors as *nava-Nanda-rājānaḥ* from his predecessors who would be described as *pūrva-Nanda-rājānaḥ*. The fame of Mahāpadma as a powerful warrior-monarch added to his ruthless policy towards other rulers, probably helped to cast into the shade of oblivion the name and fame of his immediate predecessors; it is by a lucky chance that we find preserved to us, in the *Brhatkathā*, an allusion to the Earlier Nandas. We need not be puzzled to explain why Candragupta, although he belonged to the (Earlier) Nanda stock, did not continue this dynastic style; the style, having been affected by the low-born Mahāpadma and his line, had acquired odious associations. In the same way, in our own days, the name of the House to which the Sovereign of England belongs was changed, after the Anglo-German war, from "Hanover" to "Windsor."

(VII)

Upon the status of the Mauryas, Buddhist evidence throws some light which we cannot well ignore. In the *Divyāvadāna*, for which a date later than the 3rd century A.D. cannot be proposed, we come across two stories pointing to a kṣatriya-origin for the Mauryas. In one of them it is related how Vindusāra came to marry the Brahmin lady who was later to become mother of Aśoka. Soothsayers had foretold her imperial dignity. Her father assisted in fulfilling the prophecy by taking her to Vindusāra's court. Ladies of the royal harem took due note of the beauty of this new arrival, grew jealous and conspired in assigning to her the menial duties of a barber, hoping thereby to create an insurmountable barrier between her and the king. Even then, the prophecy must come true. Knowing her future, she improved her hand

in shaving the king who naturally one day offered her a boon. With astonishing alacrity, she desired union with him. "How can that be?," asked Vindusāra, "you are a barber-woman, while I am a king, a kṣatriya, duly anointed." Thereupon she revealed her history, and Vindusāra made her his chief queen.¹²

The other story is to this effect. Aśoka was ill, and doctors had failed. His queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, clever and unscrupulous, requested a doctor to bring to her any patient who might be similarly affected. The request is met; and the unfortunate man's stomach ripped open, only to expose a big worm (tapeworm?). To kill this worm, various pungent agencies are applied without avail till onion is given a trial, and at its touch the worm dies. This discovery leads the queen to entreat Aśoka to eat onions and be cured. But the king avows his prejudice: "How can I, a kṣatriya, eat onions?" To this his consort replies with commendable tact: "You can do so, to save your life, certainly. Onion is here no more than a medicine." The persuasion prevails, and Aśoka is whole again.

It will be observed that, in both accounts allusion is made to the kṣatriya-status of the Mauryas, not aggressively but incidentally, showing that the stories were no more fabrications designed to glorify Aśoka or his ancestors, if indeed caste counted for much in Buddhist eyes. They have on the contrary the ring of a genuine tradition. They were at any rate accepted as genuine traditions in Buddhist circles, already before the 3rd century A.D.

(VIII)

To conclude. The *Purāṇas*, which betray the age of their redaction by bringing down the dynastic account to the 836th year after the coronation of Mahāpadma (425 A.D.) and no further¹³, know nothing about Candragupta's low birth but assert that his immediate predecessors, the *nava-Nandas*, were Śūdra-born on the mother's side. These *nava-Nandas* had, according to the *Purāṇas*, themselves been preceded by two

12 Cf. Rajendralal Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 6.

13 *JASB.*, 1925, pp. 211 ff.

kings named *Nandi-var dhana* and *Mahā-Nandi*. The *Brhatkathā*, as preserved in two Sanskrit redactions, agreeably to the *Purāṇas*, represents as a *Sūdra* the Nanda king who immediately preceded Candragupta; but it does not ascribe a *Sūdra* origin to Candragupta himself who is moreover described as a scion of the *pārva-Nandas*, that is, as I think, the earlier Nanda-line represented by *Nandi-var dhana* and *Mahā-Nandi*. The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* ascribes (Bk. VIII, ch. 2) to Candragupta's minister a view *highly hostile to low-born and non-hereditary monarchs*. The *Divyāvadāna* represents both Vindusāra and Aśoka, the son and grandson of Candragupta, (as we know from other sources) as *kṣatriyas*. Would it be wise to discard these converging testimonies and pin our faith on a picture drawn in the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, a drama abounding in historical absurdities? The play makes Candragupta's immediate predecessors the Nandas, high-born, against every evidence, a position rightly rejected by Dr. O. Stein. When it makes Candragupta himself low-born, does it deserve greater reliance? I leave it to the scholars to judge.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

Hindu Theatre

(An interpretation of Bharata's second Adhyāya)

In this paper† I shall try to reconstruct the technical architectural nature of Hindu Theatre as detailed by Bharata. The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is very much confused and often inaccurate or inadequate, so is the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*,¹ recently being published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Yet both the text and the commentary together give us some detailed idea about the professional theatre of those days.

Dr. P. K. Acharya has not given any useful information about the architecture of the Hindu theatre, in his excellent *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*.² In the vast architectural literature known to the ancient Indians,³ there does not seem to be any work, with the single exception of *Śilparatna*, which treats of the theatre and its details. I shall herein try to describe the theatre, as far as possible, in Bharata's own words, putting the necessary explanatory notes from Abhinavagupta within [] brackets: and I shall reserve my discussions and comments for the supplementary notes at the end of this article. I subjoin three plans of the three varieties of the theatre as described here.*

† After submitting in January last, this paper for publication to the editor, I have come across an article 'Theatre Architecture in Ancient India' by Mr. V. Raghavan, printed in a recent issue of 'Triveni' published in last May or June. It will be seen that our treatment of the subject runs on independent lines: the view about the Rāṅgaśīrṣa taken by Mr. Raghavan, though highly plausible, is not clearly seen from the text.

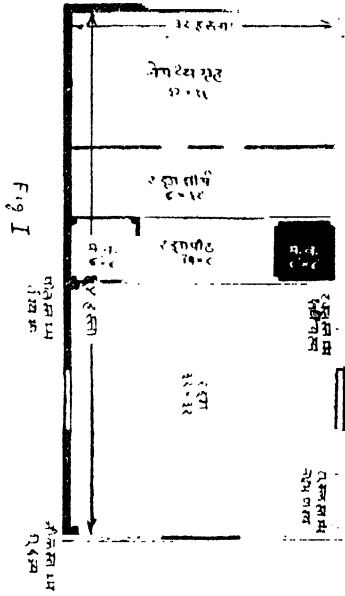
1 I have relied upon the edition in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, which also publishes, for the first time, a portion of the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī*.

2 *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1927, Allahabad. (Henceforth abbreviated as DHA).

3 DHA in Appendix 1 notes more than one hundred and seventy works dealing, more or less, with architecture.

* These were drawn, according to my suggestions, by Mr. K. C. Pandya, B.E., for which kindness I am indebted to him. I am also obliged to Dr. S. K. De of the Dacca University for going through this paper and making certain suggestions.

वि कृष्टमध्यनाद्यागृह



F. 9 I

अथ मध्यमादयः

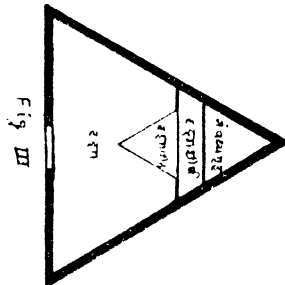


Fig III

पञ्चमस्य मन्त्रः

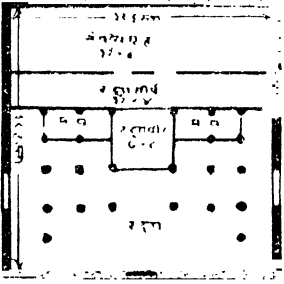


Fig II

The Theatre

There are three types of the theatre (1) Vikṛṣṭa⁴, (2) Caturasra and (3) Tryasra. Each of these types, again, may be divided into *Jyeṣṭha*, *Madhya* and *Avara*. Each type may be measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas. [Abhinava, on the 8th verse, notes two opinions about these types. According to one opinion Vikṛṣṭa is Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra is Madhya and Tryasra is Avara. Second opinion divides each of the first types into Jyeṣṭha, Madhya and Avara, thus yielding nine types which when measured in Hastas or Daṇḍas would be eighteen in all.⁵]

Jyeṣṭha may be 108 cubits⁶ in length, Madhya 64, and Avara 32. Out of these types, Jyeṣṭha may be used in the case of gods, Madhya in the case of kings and Avara in the case of ordinary people. [Abhinava explains: Jyeṣṭha may be used in the case of dramas where gods are heroes, as in *Dīma* etc., Madhya when kings are heroes as in *Prakarāṇa* etc., and Avara when ordinary persons are heroes as in *Bhāṇa*, *Prahasana* etc.]

Out of all these types, Madhya is proper for mortals. It may be 64 cubits in length and 32 cubits in breadth.⁷ The theatre must not be

4 Vikṛṣṭa seems to have been used in the sense of rectangular, for Abhinava explains the term at p. 50 thus: 'vibhāgena kṛṣṭo na tu catarasru dikṣu sāmyena.' Moreover the measurements given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also point to its rectangular nature, for they are in the case of Vikṛṣṭamadhya, 64×32 and so on. Caturasra is used in the sense of square and Tryasra of a triangle, though Caturasra would etymologically mean a rectangle. Gujarāṭī, even to-day has 'Coras' which means a square and which is a direct evolute of caturasra, the process being, caturasra=caurassa=coras.

5 Abhinava accepts this view and looking to the context of the whole Adhyāya, this view of the nine divisions seems to be the correct one; yet the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has two verses, repeated twice (13-14, 25-26), which, very clearly propound the first view. But these verses seem to have been interpolated, as Abhinava has not commented upon them at both the places.

6 The table of these measurements as given in the text is this—8 aṇus=1 raja : 8 rajas=1 vāla : 8 vālas=1 likṣā : 8 likṣas=1 yūkā : 8 yūkās=1 yava : 8 yavas=1 aṅgula : 24 aṅgulas=1 hasta : 4 hastas=1 daṇḍa. This list substantially agrees with the one given in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

7 The above-mentioned (note 5) nine varieties will be these: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha=108×64; Vikṛṣṭamadhya=64×32; Vikṛṣṭāvāra=32×16. Caturasrajyeṣṭha=108×108; Caturasramadhya=68×64; Caturasrāvāra=32×32. Tryasrajyeṣṭha,

. bigger than this, because otherwise, it will loose its accoustic properties. If the Maṇḍapa is very extensive, words uttered would become faint and indistinct.

In constructing such a house, the soil must be first examined. It must be even, steady, hard and black or white. The whole field must

Tryasramadhyā, Tryasrāvara. (I have not given the measurements of the Tryasra type as no clear indication of the same is seen in the text.) All these measurements given here by me are in accordance with the 10th verse of the text. That verse explicitly states that Jyeṣṭha is 108, Madhya is 64 and Avara is 32 cubits in length, which apparently means that each of the Jyeṣṭha types, should begin with 108 cubits. According to this understanding I have given the measurements above, but they are quite irrelevant looking to the whole discussion in the paper. In the second Adhyāya, verses 20-90 describe the theatre of 64×32 cubits, which the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls Vikṛṣṭa; and further on the text says that there must be Madhya type only amongst mortals. Connecting both these statements I take this type of 64×32 to be Vikṛṣṭamadhyā type. Then verses 91-105 describe the type of 32×32, which the author calls by the name of Caturasra: this also, I take to be Caturasramadhyā on the same understanding. But it will be noted that the measurements given by me above, are not in conformity with the Caturasramadhyā type as just noted. Both these statements can be harmonised, I think, in only one way. I quote three verses in this connection.

विकृष्टश्चतुरस्रश्च त्रयस्रश्चैव तु मण्डपः ।

तेषां त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठं मध्यं तथावरम् । ८ ।

प्रमाणेषां निर्दिष्टं हस्तदण्डसमाश्रयम् ।

शतं चाष्टौ चतुःषष्टिर्हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदेव वा । १० ।

अष्टाधिकं शतं ज्येष्ठं चतुःषष्टिस्तु मध्यमम् ।

कनीयस्तु तथा वेश्म हस्ता द्वात्रिंशदिष्यते । ११ ।

It will be remembered that in two of the verses taken by us as interpolated, Vikṛṣṭa was equated with Jyeṣṭha, Caturasra with Madhya and Traysra with Avara. That statement would be relevant by itself, but if it is taken in connection with these three verses just cited, there will be good harmony in the whole construction. Verse 9 expressly states that Jyeṣṭha etc. are the pramāṇas of Vikṛṣṭa etc. and verses 10 gives these measurements. Connecting both these verses we may say that Vikṛṣṭa has the Jyeṣṭha measurements, which is 108 cubits; therefore its varieties should begin with 108 thus: Vikṛṣṭajyeṣṭha=108×64, Vikṛṣṭamadhyā=64×32, Vikṛṣṭāvara=32×16. So also connecting verses 9 and 10, Caturasra will have Madhya measurements i.e. its varieties will begin with 64 thus: Caturasrajyeṣṭha=64×64, Caturasramadhyā=32×32, and Caturasāvara=16×16. I think that this is the only way to harmonise these otherwise conflicting statements.

be ploughed with a plough, and bones, nails, skulls and such other things must be taken out. Then in Puṣya constellation, it must be measured with a white string, which may be made of Kārpāsa, Balva, Muñja or Valkala and must have no joints.

In dividing the Vikṛṣṭamadhya type of 64×32 cubits the following points should be noted. Its entire length of 64 cubits may be divided into two equal parts. These parts again should be divided into two. In this last Raṅgaśīrṣa⁸ should be constructed.⁹

Thus after the foundation, walls may be constructed and the columns may be placed in Rohiṇī or Śrāvaṇa constellation. In this (I understand Raṅga by this and not the whole field) in the Agni corner the Brāhmaṇastambha may be placed at the bottom of which white

8 Abhinava explains Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: (p. 57 *praviśatām pātrāṇām cāntasthānam* and further on as (p. 63) *tatpātrāṇām viśrāntyai āgacchatām ca guptyai raṅgasya śobhāyai raṅgaśīraḥ kāryam*.

9 This is not quite clear. Abhinava says: After dividing the length of 64 cubits into two, the field of 32 cubits should also be divided into two, thus getting two divisions of 16×32 . Out of these two, dividing the latter division of 16×32 into two, Raṅgaśīrṣa may be made of eight cubits in length. Behind it the Nepathyagrha of 16×32 may be made. But if we follow this, we must divide the portion (in Fig. 1), where I have shown the Nepathyagrha, into two and make Raṅgaśīrṣa in the back portion of these divisions and must place Nepathyagrha itself outside it i.e. outside the field of 64×32 . Moreover, according to this the plan of the audience-hall will be of 48×32 . All this seems to be improper; therefore, sticking to the original and interpreting it rather freely, I have supposed the divisions as shown in Fig. 1. I, therefore, note here the original verses and the commentary thereon:

चतुःषष्टि करान् कृत्वा द्विधाभूतान् पुनस्ततः ।

पृष्ठतो यो भवेद्भागो द्विधाभूतस्य तस्य तु ।

सममर्द्धविभागेन रङ्गशीर्षं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

द्वात्रिंशत्करम् क्षेत्रम् गृहीत्वा मध्ये सूत्रम् विस्तारेण दद्यात् तस्य मध्ये विस्तारेण सूत्रम् दद्यात् । ततः षोडशहस्तौ द्वौ भागौ भवतः । पृष्ठगतं भागमर्द्धेन विभज्याष्टहस्तं रङ्गशिरः ।

On the whole the arrangement seems to be like this: 32×32 cubits = Raṅga. Then there will be portion of 8×32 which will contain Raṅgapīṭha (8×16) and the Mattavāraṇis (8×8 each). Behind it there will be Raṅgaśīrṣa (8×32) and behind it Nepathyagrha of 16×32 . It will be noted that further on (verses 91-105) the same plan is followed in Caturasramadhya type. Thus the arrangement outlined here seems to be satisfactory.

things like milk, ghee etc. may be thrown: in the Nairtya, the Kṣatriyastambha with everything red, like clothes, garlands etc.: in the Vāyavya, the Vaiśyastambha with everything yellow and in the Isāna, the Sūdrastambha with everything dark, blue may be placed. Moreover at the bottom of each column various metals, too, were to be placed. Then the columns, doors, walls and the toilet-room may be constructed.

On both the sides of Raṅgapīṭha, two Mattavāraṇīs¹⁰ may be constructed (Fig. 1). It should have four columns. [Abhinava explains: The Mattavāraṇīs may be square in form and 8×8 in measure. Apart from these two Mattavāraṇīs, Raṅgapīṭha will be 8×16.] These two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgapīṭha should be higher (than the auditorium) by one and a half cubit.¹¹ After thus constructing the Mattavāraṇīs

10 The text is not clear as to the use of Mattavāraṇīs. Dr. Acharya (*DHA.*, p. 492) has a word 'Mattavāraṇa' which he takes to be 'entablature.' But it does not fit in here. It is quite evident that the Mattavāraṇīs were some special portions of Raṅgapīṭha. They do not serve the purpose of the modern wings, for that is the sense assigned to Raṅgaśiṛṣa by Abhinava as quoted above.

11 In this connection the Nāṭyśāstra has: (2, 67-68a)

रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे तु कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी ।

चतुस्तम्भसमायुक्ता रङ्गपीठप्रमाणतः ।

अर्धहस्तोत्सेधेन कर्तव्या मत्तवारणी ।

उत्सेधेन तयोस्तुल्यं कर्तव्यं रङ्गमण्डपं ।

Abhinava has the following to comment:

अन्येषाम् हस्तमानोऽत्र (?) यथा रङ्गपीठापेक्षया च सार्धहस्तपरिमाण उच्छ्रायः कार्यो मत्तवारण्याः तयोरिति द्विवचनं ज्ञापकं तं चरितार्थमितिह नोपेक्षित इति तस्या एव यावानुत्सेधस्तावान् रङ्गपीठस्य । तेन ब्रह्मभूभागापेक्षया सार्धहस्तप्रमाणोन्नतं रङ्गपीठमित्युक्तं भवति । तेन मत्तवारण्यालोकेनात्यर्थं रङ्गपीठस्य दुष्प्रेक्षता । एतच्चोत्सेधेनेत्येकवचनेन सूचितम् । अन्यथोत्सेधाभ्यामित्युच्यते ।

The interpretation of the text is rendered doubtful by the word 'raṅga-maṇḍapa' used in 68a. What does it refer to—raṅgapīṭha or the auditorium? Commentary of Abhinava apparently notes two distinct interpretations: according to one the Mattavāraṇīs were one and a half cubit higher than the Raṅgapīṭha; according to the other view, which seems to be Abhinava's also, Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs had the same height. This second view on the whole seems to be the correct one, for it would be rather unnatural to find Raṅgapīṭha, which would be the centre of all action, to be lower than the Mattavāraṇīs. Moreover, if

and Raṅgapīṭha Raṅgaśīrṣa with six planks should be constructed.¹² [Abhinava explains: In the wall, common to Nepathyagrha and Raṅgaśīrṣa two pillars, having a mutual distance of 8 cubits should first be placed. By their side two other pillars, with a mutual distance of 4 cubits should be placed. These will be four: and the upper and lower planks: thus six.] At this place (of six planks) two doors (for the "exit to, and entry from, the Nepathyagrha) should be made.

In filling up the ground, earth without logs and grass may be used. This black earth must be dug with a plough drawn by two white bulls. The driver and the carriers should not be deformed. Thus the Raṅgaśīrṣa should be made. Surface should not be kūrmaprṣṭha or matsyaprṣṭha. Raṅgaśīrṣa, clean like the surface of a mirror, is praised. In this (surface of the Raṅgaśīrṣa) vajras should be paved in the East, vaidūryas in the South, pravāla in the North and gold in the middle.¹³

After thus completing the Raṅgaśīrṣa, woodwork may be commenced. It must have ūha, pratyūha, sañjavana, various birds and beasts, sālabhañjikā, nirvyūha, kuhara, vedikā, various other arrangements, yantra, jāla, gavākṣa, pīṭha, dhāraṇī and kapotāli. It should be decorated by various columns supported on different kinds of pavements.

After the woodwork, the walls should be completed. In doing so

the Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇis had the same height, it would fit in with two other points. The graded seats of the auditorium require the last row of the seats to be equal in height with the Raṅgapīṭha, according to Abhinava: and our suggestion that the Mattavāraṇis may have been used as Kakṣās would also have some value only if we take it to have the same height as the Raṅgapīṭha.

Incidentally, I note that Raṅgaśīrṣa was higher than the Raṅgapīṭha in the Vikṣṭamadhya type and of the same level in the Caturasramadhya type. See verse 104 (Second Adhyāya).

12 The purpose of Raṅgaśīrṣa has already been explained (note 8). Also it seems that there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa and that there was a curtain instead (see above). Moreover in Adhyāya fifth verse seventh it has been pointed out that musicians also should sit in the Raṅgaśīrṣa thus: Mārdaṅgika facing the east, between the two doors of the Nepathyagrha: Pāṇavika on his left: Gāyana (ka?) on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha, facing the north: Gāyākis in front of him on the north, facing the south, and Vainika on their left, and on their right two Vaṃśakārikas. (These places have been shown by the respective figures in Fig. 1.).

13 For pavement comp. *DHA.*, p. 137.

it should be noted that neither a column nor a nāgadanta nor a window nor a koṇa nor a pratidvāra should come just opposite a door.¹⁴

The whole nāṭyamaṇḍapa must be cave-like¹⁵ and it must have two bhūmis. [There were various opinions about these two bhūmis. According to one view they were Raṅgapīṭha's higher and lower portions, like the modern cellar. (?) Second view was this: there must be another wall running all round the Mattavāraṇīs, just as there are two walls with an intermediate passage for circumambulation in a temple. These were the two bhūmis. According to still another view there was another maṇḍapa on the terrace: while others took it as a dvibhūmi, for the text reads thus: *kāryaḥ śailaguhākāro dvibhūmir nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ*. Abhinava's view seems to be like this: From the Raṅgapīṭha, whence the seats for the audience commence, to the exit-door bhūmis should be made, each one higher than the former, the last having a height equal to the height of the Raṅgapīṭha, so that the rows of the seers may not cover one another.] There must be windows with gentle ventilation in the maṇḍapa so that it will be nirvāta, and the uttered voice will be properly heard. After constructing the walls in such a manner that they may not hinder the accoustic properties of the hall, they (walls) may be besmeared.¹⁶ Outer side may be white-washed; and after the inside of the walls is besmeared, sprinkled over, and properly levelled, paintings may be drawn on them. Males, females, creepers etc. may be painted thereon.

Thus the Vikṛṣṭamadhyā theatre¹⁷ should be constructed. Now we shall discuss the nature of the Caturasramadhyā type.¹⁸

All the sides must be of 32 cubits each. (Fig. 2) All the details mentioned in the case of the Vikṛṣṭamadhyā may be resorted to in the Caturasramadhyā too. The walls may be made of bricks. On the Raṅgapīṭha there must be ten columns strong enough to bear the burden of the maṇḍapa. [Abhinava explains: The whole field (32 × 32)

14 Comm.....*dvāreṇa viddhaṃ parasparasammukhībhūtamadhyāṃ na kuryāt*.

15 This shape is apparently preferred for accoustic properties.

16 Cf. Comm. *bhittilepo bhāṅga(śaṅkha)vālukāśuktikālepaḥ*.....

17 Cf. note 7

18 Cf. note 7

should be divided, in its length and breadth, in eight parts thus making 64 squares, (4×4 each). In the middle of it, Raṅgapīṭha (8×8) should be made.¹⁹ Behind it, there will remain a field, 12 cubits in breadth and 32 cubits in length, out of which Raṅgaśīrṣa (4×32) should be made. Behind it there may be made the Nepathyagrha (8×32) (Fig. 2).

In this, four columns should be placed with regard to Raṅgapīṭha, at its four corners. Then one, four cubits distant from the Agni corner, on the south of it; and one, four cubits distant from the Nairṭya corner, also on the south of it. Thus two. So also in the north. Then on the East (of the Raṅgapīṭha), two more columns each four cubits distant from the Isāna and Agni corners respectively. Thus ten. (These ten columns have been shown in Fig. 2).

Outside these columns, seats of wood or bricks, for the spectators may be arranged like the series of steps. Each row must be one cubit higher than the preceding one, so that the spectators may have a complete view of the Raṅgapīṭha.

In this Raṅga, first six columns and then eight columns should be placed. [Abhinava explains: Two columns mutually eight cubits distant and respectively four cubits distant from the two columns placed on the south of the Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Then one column should be placed four cubits distant from and on the south of the eastern column put by the side of the Āgneya column. Thus in the north too. Thus six] (These six columns are shown in Fig. 2).

Abhinava explains the details about the other eight columns thus: one column, on the north of the southern wall, four cubits distant from the wall and the column already placed, should be placed in the eastern

19 In explaining the view of the Upādhyāya regarding columnation, Abhinava calls Raṅgapīṭha to be of 8×32 , which seems to include the Mattavāraṇis. But previously he gives 8×8 as the measurement of the Raṅgapīṭha. If now we want to apply the proportional measurement of Vikṛṣṭ type to the Caturasra type (Cf. verse 92) and if the Raṅgapīṭha is to be 8×8 , then the Mattavāraṇis must measure 4×8 each. But verse 103 is clear in saying that Mattavāraṇis should be constructed according to the measurement given before (*pūrvapramāṇanirdiṣṭa kartavyā mattavāraṇi*). What is this *pūrvapramāṇa*? It cannot be the one given in the Vikṛṣṭa type that is 8×16 . I have, however, shown the Mattavāraṇis in Fig. 2, as I understand them to be.

direction. So also on the south of the north wall. Then two columns according to the parts of the Raṅga, four cubits distant from the eastern wall. Thus eight.²⁰ (These eight columns are shown in Fig. 2).

The above view about the column-arrangement seems to be that of Saṅkuka and others. Abhinava has also noted that according to some other writers these last columns should be in the Nepathyagrha. Abhinava, moreover, quotes some verses incorporating the view of the Vārtikakṛt: but these verses, as printed, are so fragmentary in character that it is very difficult to get any clear idea about the columnation therefrom.

Calling this theatre (prekṣamaṇḍapa) 'candrasahodara', according to the view of the Upādhyāya, Abhinava explains his (Upādhyāya's) view about the columnation thus: The theatre is divided in three parts, adhobhūmi²¹ raṅgapīṭha and raṅga. The first ten columns should be placed in the *adhobhūmi*. I do not attempt to give its details here as, once more, the commentary is fragmentary at this place. Then the next six columns should be placed on the Raṅgapīṭha thus: four columns, mutually four cubits distant, should be placed at the four corners of the Raṅgapīṭha, which is 8×32. Then other two. Thus six. These (six) should be eight cubits distant. Then two tulās should be made in the Raṅgaśīrṣa which will be 4×32. In each of these tulās four columns, mutually eight cubits distant, should be placed. Thus eight.'²²

Then the Nepathyagrha may be constructed. Then one door for entering into Raṅgapīṭha should be placed. Another door for the

20 It will be seen that this accounts for six and not eight columns. We have shown the seventh and eighth columns in Fig. 2 by interrogative marks.

21 It has been mentioned before (cf. note 11) that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇis must be higher than the Raṅga, and Raṅgaśīrṣa even higher than the Raṅgapīṭha, and as Raṅga (auditorium) is separately mentioned in the view, I take Adhobhūmi to be Nepathyagrha. But this whole portion of the commentary is so hopelessly confused that, though I have ventured the above suggestion, no coherent interpretation seems possible at this stage.

22 • As the details of the first ten columns, according to Upādhyāya are not explicit, I have not given a separate figure for them. On the whole Abhinava's first view; according to which we have drawn the Fig. 2 seems to be reasonable.

entrance of the people should be placed in front. The second door should be in the front of the Raṅga.²³

23 The text has this :

द्वारं चेकं भवेत्तत्र रङ्गपीठप्रवेशनम् ।

जनप्रवेशनम् चान्यदाभिमुख्येन कारयेत् ।

रङ्गस्याभिमुखं कार्यं द्वितीयं द्वारमेव तु ।

कदाविभागेन तावत् द्वै(द्वे) द्वारे तेन द्वारमितिजातावेकवचनम् । एकशब्दश्च राश्याभि-
प्रायेण राशिकरणे च निमित्तं पात्रप्रवेशोपायनं तथा च कदाध्याये वक्ष्यति “ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे
मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते । तयोर्भागद्वयं विन्यास (१३-२) इति । (जन प्रवेशनं च तृतीयद्वारं
नेपथ्यगृहस्य येन भाष्यार्थादाय नटपरिवारः प्रविशति । अन्यत्तु द्वारमाभिमुख्येन पूर्वस्यां दिशि
कुर्व्यात् द्वारवृत्त्या सामाजिकप्रवेशनार्थम्..... । एवं चतुर्द्वारं नाव्यगृहम् ।

This means that according to Abhinava's view there were four doors thus :
two as explained above (in the nepathyagrha wall), one by which *bhāryāmādāya*
naṭaparivāraḥ praviśati and one in the auditorium. This is one view. But
Abhinava also notes another view thus (p. 68):

रङ्गपीठस्य यत्पृष्ठं रङ्गशिरस्तत्र द्वितीयमिति राश्यापेक्षयैकवचनम् । तेन द्वारद्वयमेव
रङ्गशिरसि नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय । चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) अर्थम् (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारं च
त्रोणि वा कार्याणि मतान्तर इति संगृहीतं भवति ।

The text, I think, should be read thus.....

नेपथ्यगतपात्रप्रवेशाय । चकारादन्य (प्रवेशा) अर्थम् (?) जनप्रवेशनद्वारम् ।

This view, then, recognises only three doors,—2 from the Nepathyagrha and
one in the auditorium.

But let us have a clearer view of the text itself regardless of the commen-
tary. All the views are agreed as regards the two doors in the Nepathyagrha
wall. Here again, two more doors are prescribed, one as *Nāṭyaśāstra* calls it
'raṅgapīṭhapraveśanaṃ' and another in the auditorium. Now the 'raṅgapīṭha-
praveśanaṃ dvāraṃ' should mean a door in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and
Raṅgaśīrṣa; for the first two doors which are in the wall between Nepathyagrha
and Raṅgaśīrṣa, would lead to Raṅgaśīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha; but here is an
explicit statement that it should lead to Raṅgapīṭha, which forces us, I think, to
take a door somewhere in the wall between Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa. There
is an injunction in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself that some characters should enter by
southern door and some by northern door (13-41). To which of two doors does this
refer? Not to the doors in the Nepathyagrha wall, for they will lead to Raṅga-
śīrṣa and not to Raṅgapīṭha. Now if we understand one more door in the wall
between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, as above, that will not help, for how can
the actors enter from two different doors as noted above, if there was one door
only, leading to Raṅgapīṭha? Therefore, I venture to make a suggestion. If we
take this singular in 'eka dvāraṃ' as a collective use, as is done by Abhinava,

In the Caturasra, the Raṅgapīṭha should be of 8 cubits (8×8). Also two Mattavāraṇīs of the same measure as given before, should be made by the side of the Vedikā.²⁴ Raṅgaśīrṣa should be raised in the Vikṛṣṭa type and even in the Caturasra type.

Now the characteristics of the Tryasra type. It should be tryasra i.e. triangular: in the middle of which the Raṅgapīṭha should be triangular only. In such a theatre, the door also should be in the same corner: and the other (door) should be made at the back of the Raṅgapīṭha. With regard to the walls, columns etc. in this type of the theatre the details as given for Caturasra should be followed.

Side-lights

1 It has been noted before that the *Silparatna* has some discussion about the theatre. But when we compare the description given above with that of the *Silparatna*, it will, at once, be seen that the *Silparatna* tries to describe the Nāṭyamaṇḍapa which was usually attached to the Royal palace, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the usual theatres which were mostly meant for the ordinary people. It is a recognised fact that the rich ancient Indian kings had pleasure gardens, small theatres etc. attached to their spacious palaces, generally

we may understand two doors which would lead to Raṅgapīṭha. These two doors would be distinct from the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall; and these two doors leading to Raṅgapīṭha, would most probably be in the partition wall between the two Mattavāraṇīs and Raṅgaśīrṣa (for there was no wall between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, as it had a curtain). Thus we can explain the two different doors for the entrance of the actors, because at 13, 41 *Nāṭyaśāstra* uses the terms *pārśvadvāramathottaram* and *pārśvadvāram tu dakṣiṇam*, which would suggest two doors on the two sides evidently leading to the two Mattavāraṇīs, which formed a part of the Raṅgapīṭha. This may also explain Kākṣāvibhāga (see above.).

If we believe in the suggestion made above that the curtain had no place in our ancient theatre but was added later on, then the view of three doors to our theatre would be the earlier one, as, then, the two doors in the Nepathyagrha wall would naturally lead the characters in the presence of the audience. The view of five doors—2 in the Nepathyagrha wall, 2, in the wall between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, and one in the auditorium—would be later i.e. would refer to that time when the curtain was added to our theatre.

²⁴ Cf. note 19.

²⁵ *Silparatna*, TSS., 1920, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī.

for the diversion of their queens. That the *Silparatna* describes such a theatre, is borne out by the following:²⁶

प्रासादसम्मुखे कुर्यान्मण्डपानां चतुष्टयम् ।

मुखमण्डपमादौ तु प्रतिमामण्डपं ततः ।

ज्ञानमण्डपमन्यं हि नृत्तमण्डपमेव च ।

Here *nṛtta* is meant as *nāṭya*, though often it would seem that only *nṛtta* was meant. I am appending herewith the relevant verses from the *Silparatna* (See Appendix I.). In spite of the text being hopeless, it will be seen that the general plan described therein corresponds to the plans as given by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

2 I have noted three types of theatre as described by Bharata. The *Bhāvaprakāśanam*, however, has the following three types: Caturasra, Tryasra, and Vṛtta. They are defined by Śārādātanaya thus:

परमण्डपिकैः षड्भिः पौरजानपदैः सह ।

राज्ञः सङ्गीतकं यत्र वृत्ताख्यो रङ्गमण्डपः ।

वारकन्याऽमात्यवणिक्सेनापतिसुहृत्सुतैः ।

यत्र सङ्गीतकं राज्ञः चतुरस्रः स कथ्यते ।

ऋत्तिकूपुरोहिताचार्यैः सहान्तःपुरिकाजनैः ।

महिष्या सह यत्र स्यान्त्यूस्त्रोऽसौ रङ्गमण्डपः

But no measurements are given in this connection by the author. Evidently these are the types of theatres attached to Royal palaces.

3 It seems that *Mānasāra*,²⁸ a very comprehensive treatise on Indian Architecture, has a chapter on this type of theatre attached to Royal palaces. Dr. P. K. Acharya summarises the chapter as follows:

“It (*madhyaraṅgavidhāna*) is provided with dwarf pillars or pilasters (*aṅghri-pāda*) and consists of various members (*masuraka*, *vedi*, *māṇeka*, *kuṭṭima*, *upapīṭha* etc.) and with eight or sixteen *kṣudra-nāsī*. The upper portion is adorned with figures of leographs (*vyāli*)

²⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 199.

²⁷ *Bhāvaprakāśana*, GOS., 1930.

²⁸ *Mānasāra*, ed. by Dr. P. K. Acharya, 1914.

and crocodiles (makara). From the last but one verse of the chapter it is evident that there must be a close connection between the mukta-prapāṅga, on the one hand and the simhāsana, the makara-toraṇa and kalpa-vṛkṣa, on the other hand, the latter three subjects being discussed in the immediately preceding and the following chapters.

•it will be seen that the materials used for the mukta-prapāṅga etc. are wood, stone, brick (terra-cotta?) and various kinds of metals (loha, literally iron).''

The above account however, does not furnish any specific details about the theatre.

Before concluding this paper, I wish to place before the learned world two or three points for clarification :

1 The question whether our theatre had a roof or it was, like the Greek theatre, open overhead, has not been touched by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; but there are indications which would force us to admit the existence of some kind of roof. In the section on column-arrangement the *Nāṭyaśāstra* requires the columns to be *śastā maṇḍapadhārāṇe* (2, 94) and *dr̥ḍhānmaṇḍapadhārāṇe* (2, 97), which would indicate that there was a roof. This is corroborated by the fact that Bharata praises a 'śailaguhākāra' (2, 84) theatre, which, too, would suggest a roof: and Abhinava, in explaining, why the theatre should not be too wide or too narrow, stresses on the point of its properties of resounding (*anuraṇana*, p. 54), which again points to a roof. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself frequently uses the term *nāṭyamandapa* for the theatre. All this, I think, shows that there was a roof to our theatre.

2 The position of curtain in our theatre is doubtful, for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has no specific statement with regard to it. Neither the term 'paṭī' nor the term 'yavanikā' occurs in the second Adhyāya, though 'yavanikā' is apparently, known to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as it occurs at 5, 11-12. Of course this may suggest an earlier character of the contents of the second Adhyāya. Though I do not know on what grounds Keith and others put the curtain between Raṅgaśīrṣa and Raṅgapīṭha, I have come across a reference in Abhinava's commentary explaining its position thus: *yavanikā raṅgapīṭhatacchirasōrmadhye* (p. 212), but there is no reference which gives it a character of parting from the

middle. I think, this character given by European scholars to 'paṭī,' in explaining stage-direction 'apaṭikṣepeṇa', has no ground. Moreover it is believed that the word 'yavanikā' takes its origin from the practice of using foreign cloth for the curtain. In this connection Dr. S. K. De writes to me: "I have found in some Mss. and printed texts of some Sanskrit dramas, the word 'yavanikā' is given as 'yamanikā'. I suppose that this is the true form of the word, as the word then etymologically, would mean 'a covering or a curtain' from root yam, to restrain." I think that the above suggestion is probable for there is no sense in deriving 'yavanikā' from the above-mentioned practice. If the idea of curtain was not borrowed from the Greeks, why should the material be borrowed? There is, by the way an attempt made to derive 'yavanikā' from root yu, yunoti āvr̥ṇoti anayā iti (Commentary to *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, ed. by T. M. Tripathi, p. 359).

In this connection there is one other doubtful point. Had our theatre more than one curtain at any time or was the curtain ever raised? Dāmodaragupta in the *Kuṭṭanīmatam* describes the performance of Ratnāvalī, wherein, the following occurs: The king with Vidūṣaka is on the raṅgapīṭha. Two maids come and after much dancing and delivering the message to the queen, go way *babhūratuṛ javanikāntarite*). After that the queen's entrance is thus described: *apanītātiraskariṇī tato'bhavannṛpasutā samam cetyā*. What does this mean? The commentator says: *apanītā tiraskariṇī dūrīkṛtā pātrācchādakajavanikā gayā tādṛśī abhavat*.²⁹

Was the curtain, then, actually dūrīkṛta or apanīta? It seems the word apanīta, in the text, is unmistakable. May it be that the curtain was actually removed wholly at some time in the progress of the act? We often find in the extant Sanskrit dramas the stage-direction 'nepathye.' Now if the curtain, which was supposed to be between the Raṅgapīṭha and Raṅgaśīrṣa, was down all the while what would be the propriety of

29 The *Nāṭyaśāstra* has a doubtful phrase, which too, seems to be pointing to the curtain being removed or it may even refer to a drop curtain, I am not sure. But here is the reference *dhruvāyām samvṛtāḥ paṭe caivāpakarśatā(te)kāryaḥ praveśaḥ pātrāṇām nānārtharassamabhavaḥ XII, 2-3*; and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

the word 'nepathye'? Nepathyagrha, as we know, was situated behind Raṅgaśīrṣa; and as Raṅgaśīrṣa would be divided from Raṅgapīṭha by the curtain, it would be the place where, if the curtain was down all the while, speeches from behind the curtain should be uttered. But this apparently cannot be meant by the word 'nepathye', which must refer to Nepathyagrha. Therefore the stage-direction 'nepathye' must have come into vogue at a time when the curtain was raised: or may it not, more probably, be reminiscent of a time when our theatre had no curtain, which then we shall have to take as added later on? This last alternative is more probable because according to the original plan of the theatre as given in the second Adhyāya, it had no place in the theatre, and because the absence of the curtain would also be indicated by the practice of the musicians sitting in the Raṅgaśīrṣa: there will be no sense in their sitting behind the curtain.

That there was no drop-curtain to our theatre seems to be clear enough, though the reference from Bharata, just quoted would suggest otherwise, from the peculiar ending of the acts in our extant dramas. Our acts never ended with any incident which may be called dramatic or sudden as is often the case in our modern dramas. Prof. Hudson has drawn attention to the similar condition of the Greek theatre and the acts in all our Sanskrit dramas end usually by some description of the time of the day or by some other quiet suggestion to the characters on the stage to exit. This peculiar time endings of our acts are due to the absence of the drop-curtain.

3 There is one passing reference in *Nāṭyaśāstra* which puzzles me to some extent. In 13th Adhyāyā, which has been designated by Abhinava as Kākṣyādhyāya, though in the printed copies we find it called as Karayuktidharmīvyañjaka, it is stated:

ये नेपथ्यगृहद्वारे मया पूर्वं प्रकीर्तिते ।
 तयोर्भाण्डस्य विन्यासो मध्ये कार्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
 कक्ष्याविभागो निर्देश्यो रङ्गपीठपरिक्रमात् ।
 परिक्रमेण रङ्गस्य ह्यन्या कक्षा भवेदिह ।
 कक्ष्याविभागे ज्ञेयानि गृहाणि नगराणि च ।
 उद्दिनारामसरितस्त्वाश्रमा अटवी तथा ।

पृथिवीसागरश्चैव त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
 वर्णनैः सप्तद्वीपाश्च पर्वता विविधास्तथा ।
 आलोकश्चैव लोकश्च रसातलमथापि वा ।
 दैत्यानामालयश्चैव गृहाणि च वनानि च ।
 नगरे च वने चापि वर्षे वै पर्वते तथा ।
 दूरं वा सन्निकृष्टं वा देशन्तु परिकल्पयेत् ।
 पूर्वं प्रविष्टा ये रङ्गे ज्ञेयास्तेऽभ्यन्तरे बुधैः ।
 पश्चात् प्रविष्टास्ते ज्ञेयाः कक्षाभावे तु मध्यतः ।
 तेषां तु दर्शनेच्छुः सन् प्रविशेद् रङ्गमण्डलम् ।
 दक्षिणाभिमुखः कुर्यादालनिवेदनम् ।

While explaining the two doors from Nepathyagrha, Abhinava points out that these should be placed kakṣyāvibhāgena. What is this kakṣyā? Was Raṅgapīṭha actually divided into certain parts to represent different places, as enumerated above in verses 4-7? But then the third verse which seems to mean that in the absence of kakṣāvibhāga it should be shown or represented (nirdeśya) by means of circumambulation on the raṅgapīṭha or raṅga, which term is here used in the sense of raṅgapīṭha. The usual stage-direction 'parikramya', so frequently seen in our Sanskrit dramas would support this. The same absence of kakṣāvibhāga is indicated by verse 8, wherein it is stated: "As there are no kakṣās, those characters who enter first should be considered as in the inner apartment, those who enter afterwards would be in the outer apartments and those who enter still later should stand facing the south." This too would point to the absence of kakṣā. Also the statement in verse 6 that those places should be known by varṇanā suggests kakṣābhāva, but verse 4 again raises a doubt, for we are to understand gardens etc. by kakṣāvibhāga. But if there were no kakṣās, as it seems, why then does Abhinava prescribe doors kakṣāvibhāgena? Or was the kakṣāvibhāga imaginary? Or may it, after all be the function of the Mattavāraṇīs, which were in a sense distinct from the Raṅgapīṭha and yet formed a part of it? If we accept Abhinava's second view that Raṅgapīṭha and Mattavāraṇīs had the same height this would be rendered possible.

APPENDIX I

1 I append, here, the relevant verses from the *Silparatna* (TSS), p. 201, verses 60-67.

अथ नाट्यमण्डपः

पर्यन्ते प्रतियोनिभाजि बहिरूर्ध्वे वोत्तरस्याथवा
 मध्य(सूत्र)स्थे दलिते ततो विभजिते सम्यक् चतुर्वर्गकैः ।
 स्यादंशः पदकायतिस्तु विततिर्द्वाभ्यां पदाभ्यां युतं
 तच्छिष्टा ततिरुत्तरं नटनधान्नो द्वित्रिसंख्यं मतं ॥ ६० ॥
 पदं तिस्रः स्तूप्यो विततिदलद्वयोऽष्टादश-
 दुपर्युत्थायः स्याद्विपदमिति ततस्तु चरणः ।
 पदं चाधिष्ठानं पदगणनालिन्दचरणा-
 न्तराण्यारूढाङ्गुल्याखिलमुचितं मण्डपमपि (?) ॥ ६१ ॥
 एकैकाष्टसु दिक्षु पार्श्वयुगले द्वे द्वे च भागद्वये
 द्व्यष्टौ दीर्घलुपा विदिगतलुपास्वाबद्धमूलाः पुनः ।
 कल्प्याश्छेदलुपाद्वयीषु सचलक्षास्तासु (?) कोणोन्मुखा
 द्वेधा सर्वलुपान्तरं तु पदमात्रं चित्रपट्ट्युज्ज्वलम् ॥ ६२ ॥
 रङ्गं स्वयोनिपरमार्थं इहार्णवाश्रं
 वेदाङ्गिरुत्तरलुपाद्युचिताङ्गशोभि ।
 पश्चान्मृदङ्गपदमस्य ततोऽपि पश्चा-
 न्नैपथ्यधाम च विभागविदा निधयेम् ॥ ६३ ॥
 रङ्गस्य नीप्रविततिः समसिन्नि मध्य-
 स्तूप्या स्वमूलसदनस्य तु पश्चिमायाम् ।
 स्तूपी च सङ्गमवशात् कुरलेन कल्प्या
 प्रायेण हारविततिः श्रुतिहस्तदैर्घ्या ॥ ६४ ॥
 अथवाष्टाविंशतिभिश्चत्वारिंशतिभिः पुनः ।
 विंशद्भिर्वार्थ विभजेत् पर्यन्तार्थं पदाप्तये ॥ ६५ ॥
 देवस्याग्रे दक्षिणतो रुचिरे नाट्यमण्डपे ।
 नाहार्धं चतुर्विंशंशे विस्तारं दशभागतः ॥ ६६ ॥
 गेहप्राग्रे षडंशा वा कुर्याद्वा सुरमन्दिरे ।
 मानुष्यराजधान्यादौ युक्त्यां लक्षणसंयुतम् ॥
 सर्वं समाचरेन्नाट्यमण्डपेषु यथोचितम् ॥ ६७ ॥

2 In the course of our survey we have seen that rich kings had small theatres attached to their palaces. *Saṅgītaratnākara* has a description of the seat-arrangement in such a theatre, which will be of interest in the present paper. I therefore, quote below the verses describing the seat-arrangement. (*Saṅgītaratnākara*, ASS, VII, 1351-61.).

विचित्रा नृत्यशाला स्यात्पुष्पप्रकरशोभिता ।
 नानावितानशृङ्गा रत्नस्तम्भविभूषिता ॥ १३५१ ॥
 तस्यां सिंहासनं रम्यमध्यासीनः सभापतिः ॥
 वामतोऽन्तःपुराणि स्युः प्रधाना दक्षिणेन तम् ॥ १३५२ ॥
 पृष्ठभागे प्रधानानां कोशः श्रीकरणाधिपः ॥
 तत्संनिधौ तु विद्वांसोऽलोकवेदविशारदाः ॥ १३५३ ॥
 रसिकाः कवयोऽप्यत्र चतुराः सर्वरीतिषु ॥
 मान्यान् ज्योतिर्विदो वैद्यान्विद्वन्मध्ये निवेशयेत् ॥ १३५४ ॥
 स्याद्द्वामेतरभागे तु मन्त्रिणां परिमण्डलम् ॥
 तत्रैव सैन्यमान्यानामन्येषामुपवेशनम् ॥ १३५५ ॥
 विलासिनो विलासिन्यः परितोऽन्तःपुराणि च ॥
 पुरतोऽपि नृपस्य स्युः पृष्ठभागे तु भूपतेः ॥ १३५६ ॥
 चारुचामरधारिण्यो रूपयौवनसंभृताः ॥
 स्वच्छण्डभण्टकारानेर्वाणिजनमानसाः ॥ १३५७ ॥
 अग्रिमा वामभागे स्युरग्रे वागीयकारकाः ॥
 कथकाऽवन्दिनश्चात्र विद्यावन्तः प्रियंवदाः ॥ १३५८ ॥
 प्रशंसाकुशलाश्चान्ये चतुराः सर्वमातुषु ॥
 ततः परं तु परितः परिवारापवेशनम् ॥ १३५९ ॥
 अधिष्ठितं सद्यः कार्यं दक्षैर्वैद्यधरैर्नरैः ॥
 अङ्गरक्षास्तु तिष्ठेयुः सर्वतः शस्त्रपाणयः ॥ १३६० ॥
 संनिवेश्य सभामेवं नेता संगीतमीक्षते ॥ १३६१ ॥

The arrangement will be somewhat like that as in the annexed chart :

APPENDIX II

(Here I have given the senses ascribed to various technical terms used during the course of this paper, mostly according to *DHA*.).

ūha=uppermost portion of a column.

, pratyūha=lowermost portion of a column. But ūha and pratyūha, are apparently supplementary to one another e.g. inverse and obverse sides of a carved lotus may represent ūha and pratyūha, respectively.

sañjavana=A rectangular shape.

sālabbhañjikā=Statuettes.

nirvyūha=A cross circle.

kuhara=A window, interior window.

vedikā=Pedestal.

yantra=An architectural member of the bedstead, a band, so *DHA*, but here, obviously, it must refer to some other design.

jāla=latticed window.

gāvākṣa=a sort of latticed window, with designs like the eyes of a cow.

pīṭha=pedestal, so *DHA*, but it seems that there must be some difference between vedikā and pīṭha. May not vedikā be a portion lower than pīṭha?

dhāraṇi=a type of pillar, a roof, a tree, a kind of tree of which pillars are constructed.

kapotāli=a pegeon-house, crown-work, fillet, gable-edge, cornice.

nāgadanta=*DHA* believes this to be a type of window resembling the hood of a serpent. Abhinava says: 'nāgadantaṃ stambhordhvanīca-sthāṃśakam putrikādhāraṇārthaṃ gajamukham iti kecit.'

koṇa=a kind of house, so *DHA*. (?)

pratidvāra='avāntara dvāra' so Abhinava.

stambha=column. For detailed information about stambha see *DHA*, under that word.

tulā=A balance, a moulding of the column, a mouth, a beam, but none of these senses is suitable here.

dvāra=door, for some interesting details about door see *DHA*, under that word.

Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha*

In the *Mahābhārata*, at least in its present final form, Kṛṣṇa, though not the hero, is the most striking figure. He appears almost on every important occasion to help, advise, instruct or console the Pāṇḍavas and most of their important achievements are represented to be due to his guidance. In fact, he has been so intricately connected with the Pāṇḍavas that it is now almost impossible to conceive a form of the *Mahābhārata* without Kṛṣṇa. To say that he was not present in the original *Mahābhārata* and was added only in the later editions of the work is merely a guess-work, practically unsupported by the extant evidence.

However, a close and critical study reveals the absence of a harmonious uniformity in the narration of various details of Kṛṣṇa's life and it appears, however indistinctly, that Kṛṣṇa has passed through different stages of development in the *Mahābhārata*. Of course, the aim of the author or the authors of the *Mahābhārata* in its present form was certainly to represent Kṛṣṇa as the god of gods and therefore essentially divine, born amongst men as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Supreme God. It naturally follows that one of this description must be invested with all supreme and divine powers and attempts are throughout visible representing Kṛṣṇa in such colours. Yet there are in the *Mahābhārata* descriptions and allusions, though very rare, where Kṛṣṇa appears in a form which is not quite in harmony with the supremely divine character attributed to him and which, in fact, is nothing but purely human. Perhaps these descriptions and allusions represent the primitive stage in the development of Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and it seems that supreme divinity came to be associated with him only later on. This is, however, a hypothesis and requires verification by further research.

Naturally enough, such passages are very few in the present *Mahābhārata*, the wonder rather being how the authors, who were all ardent devotees of Kṛṣṇa, could permit even these to remain as they are.

* The references, unless otherwise mentioned, are to the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam Edition).

The story of Jarāsandha and his hostility with Kṛṣṇa comes from these rare passages and a brief account thereof is likely to prove interesting.

The *Mahābhārata* account of Jarāsandha comes mainly from three sources: (1) The story of his previous achievements and conflict with Kṛṣṇa as narrated by Kṛṣṇa¹ himself to Yudhiṣṭhira and also by Vaiśampāyana² to Janamejaya directly; (2) the account of his slaughter by Bhīmasena as narrated by Vaiśampāyana³ to Janamejaya; and (3) other details about him gathered from stray references.

The occasion of Kṛṣṇa's narration to Yudhiṣṭhira of Jarāsandha's achievements etc. is this: Having advised Yudhiṣṭhira to perform the Rājāsūya sacrifice with a view to raising his deceased father Pāṇḍu from the inferior Yamasablā to the superior regions in the heaven, Nārada leaves⁴ for the city of the Dāsārhas. Yudhiṣṭhira, thinking that the most proper advice on the matter would come from all-knowing⁵ Kṛṣṇa, sends his messenger Indrasena to Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa readily comes and, after due formalities, Yudhiṣṭhira requests him to say sincerely⁶ if

1 II. 14ff.

2 II. 23.

3 II. 20ff.

4 The purpose of this visit of Nārada to Dvārakā is not mentioned here. The *Bhāgavata*, X. 70, however, refers to it and there Nārada is shown as informing Kṛṣṇa about Yudhiṣṭhira's decision to hold the Rājāsūya and as pressing him to approve of his decision and to attend the sacrifice.

5 II. 13 42ff. where Kṛṣṇa is referred to as सर्वलोकात्पर, अग्रमेय, अग्र नृषु कामाज्जात etc. Further, नास्य किंचिद्विज्ञातं नास्य किंचिदकर्मजम् । न स किंचिन्न विषहेदिति कृष्णममन्यत ॥ Kṛṣṇa is further referred to as गुरु इह गुरु । He is thus exalted in the work almost at every place where he appears or is alluded to.

6 II. 55ff.

युधि० उवाच—प्रार्थितो राजसूयो मे न चासौ केवलेप्सया ।

प्राप्यते येन तत्ते हि विदितं कृष्ण सर्वशः ॥

यस्मिन्सर्वं संभवति यश्च सर्वत्र पूज्यते ।

यश्च सर्वेश्वरो राजा राजसूयं स विन्दति ॥

तं राजसूयं सहदः कार्यमाहुः समेत्य मे ।

तत्र मे निश्चिततमं तव कृष्ण गिरा भवेत् ॥

केचित्तु सौहृदा देवे (-देव?) न दोषं परिचक्षते ।

स्वार्थहेतोस्तथैवान्ये प्रियमेव वदन्त्युत ॥

प्रियमेव परोऽसन्ते केचिदात्मनि यद्वित्तम् ।

एवंप्रायश्च हरयन्ते जनवादाः प्रयोजने ॥

Yudhiṣṭhira really possessed the fitness to hold the proposed gigantic sacrifice, with the remark that Kṛṣṇa's word would decide the matter. Kṛṣṇa replies that Yudhiṣṭhira certainly possesses the requisite fitness, yet he cannot possibly begin the Rājasūya unless and until he vanquishes Jarāsandha, the paramount monarch of Magadha. Kṛṣṇa then gives an account of Jarāsandha's achievements⁷ and further, at Yudhiṣṭhira's query, narrates⁸ his origin etc. Later⁹ Janamejaya's curiosity, too, is roused as to the cause of the conflict between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha and Vaiśampāyana quenches it by repeating with some changes the account given by Kṛṣṇa and supplementing it with an account of the origin etc. of Kṛṣṇa himself. The following is a brief account of Jarāsandha based on these passages in the *Māhābhārata*:

He was son of king Br̥hadratha of Magadha born of his two queens as the result of a boon granted by sage Candakauśika. Each queen brought forth a half portion of the boy which she, in disappointment, threw away. Jarā, a Rākṣasī, joined together the two halves to form a human baby which she delivered over to Br̥hadratha. Sage Candakauśika is said to have conferred on the boy several boons including invincibility in battles, partiality for Brāhmanas, extraordinary hospitability, a personal view (साक्षाद्दर्शन) of God Śiva, etc.

Jarāsandha then succeeded his father to the throne and set on the task of subjugating other kings. He vanquished all mighty kings in all directions including the Bhojas, the descendants of Aila, Ikṣvāku, Yayāti, etc., while some became his dependent allies.

त्वं तु हेतूनतीत्यैतान्कामक्रोधौ व्युदस्य च ।
परमं यत्क्षमं लोके यथावद्वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

7 II. 14ff.

8 II. 17. 12ff. The query referred to is—

कृष्ण कोऽयं जरासन्धः किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः ।
यस्त्वां स्पृष्ट्वाग्निमिदं न दग्धः शलभो यथा ॥ ११ ॥

The query, at least “किंवीर्यः किंपराक्रमः” does not look appropriate in view of Yudhiṣṭhira's previous admission (II. 15. 7) of having suffered from Jarāsandha's terror.

9 II. 23.

‘Śiśupāla,’ says¹⁰ Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira, ‘relying wholly on (the strength of) Jarāsandha, has become a mighty general (सेनापतिः). Vakra, lord of Karūṣa, attends on him as a disciple. Two more great valiants, viz. Haṃsa and Dibika,¹¹ have joined him. Bhagadatta, the aged mighty king of the Yavanas, a friend of your father, pays homage to Jarāsandha by words and deeds, though in his heart he is as affectionate to you as he was to your father.....The vain Cedi king Puruṣottama (Śiśupāla?),¹² who was not (or could not be) formerly killed by me as he had joined Jarāsandha, regards himself as the best among men. Strengthened by the same alliance the Pauṇḍraka king Vāsudeva who foolishly puts on my badges¹³ has attained supremacy over the Vaṅgas, the Puṇḍras and the Kirātas. Similarly has the mighty, learned and splendidly-equipped king Bhīṣmaka become an adorer of Jarāsandha out of an offensive disregard for us who are his devoted relations, always yield to him and do only what pleases him. The Bhojas, the Pañcālas, etc., terror-stricken, are said to have left their kingdoms and run away to escape in all directions.

Kaṃsa had married Jarāsandha’s two daughters, Asti and Prāpti¹⁴ by name. Strengthened by this connection, Kaṃsa tormented his own kinsmen and gained power. The elderly Bhojas, subjected to the cruelty of Kaṃsa and Jarāsandha, entered into a matrimonial alliance¹⁵ with Kṛṣṇa’s party with a view to securing safety to their clan (ज्ञाति).

10 II. 14. 10.

तं स राजा जरासन्धमाश्रित्य किल सर्वशः ।

राजन्सेनापतिर्जातः शिशुपालः प्रतापवान् ॥

11 The name appears differently as Divika (II. 14. 39 etc), Dimbika (II. 14. 13 etc.), Dibhika (II. 20 1 etc.) etc.

12 II. 14. 18ff.

जरासन्धं गतस्त्वेव पुरा यो न मया हतः ।

पुरुषोत्तमविज्ञातो (?) योऽसौ चेदिषु दुर्मतिः ॥

आत्मानं प्रतिजानाति लोकेऽस्मिन्पुरुषोत्तमम् ।

The passage is rather obscure.

13 II. 14. 19.

आदत्ते सत्तं मोहायः स चिह्नं च मामकम् etc.

14 This name appears as Prāsti in II. 14. 32.

15 The matrimonial alliance was made by giving to Akrūra the daughter of Ahuka (II. 14. 34),

Kṛṣṇa says that he and Balarāma have acquitted themselves of this task by defending the Bhojas, when tormented by Jarāsandha and have besides killed Kāṁsa and Sunāman.

Observing Jarāsandha ever active in making fresh attacks, the eighteen families of the Bhojas thought it was impossible for any human agency to exhaust Jarāsandha's splendid forces and so they seem to have decided ¹⁶ not to face him in an open contest. "Jarāsandha," says Kṛṣṇa, "could not be killed by me during the course of the eighteen rigorous battles that I fought with him." Jarāsandha had gathered further strength in his unparalleled ministers, Haṁsa and Dībika, who are said to be अशस्त्रनिधनौ i.e., proof against death from weapons. However, in the eighteenth battle some one uttered ¹⁷ "Haṁsa is slain," on hearing which Dībika instantly died in bereavement. On learning of the occurrence Haṁsa too left the field and drowned himself in the Yamunā and Jarāsandha, extremely dispirited at the loss of the ministers, withdrew and returned to his capital leaving Kṛṣṇa and his party to enjoy freely at Madhurā (= Mathurā).

The Yādavas, however, could not enjoy his absence for long. Soon they heard Kāṁsa's widow ¹⁸ urging her father to avenge her husband's death. With their past bitter experience of Jarāsandha fresh in their mind they received the news very painfully and, in accordance with their previous resolve not to face him on battle-field, decided to leave Madhurā for safety. So ¹⁹ they all fled one by one and took

16 II. 14. 37ff.

भये तु समतिक्रान्ते जरासन्धे समुद्यते ।

मन्त्रोऽयं मन्त्रितो राजन्कुलैरष्टादशावरैः ॥ etc.

17 The lines II. 14. 43-46 are obscure and contradictory as will be shown in a subsequent footnote.

18 II. 14. 49ff.

यदा त्वभ्येत्य पितरं सा वै राजीवलोचना ।

कंसभार्यो जरासन्धं दुहिता मागधं नृपम् ॥ etc.

Only one is mentioned here and not two (Asti and Prāsti) as in II. 14. 32.

19 Just below (II. 14. 77), however, Kṛṣṇa seems to say that they shifted from Mathurā to Dvārakā being alarmed at Jarāsandha's cruelty in confining other kings.

“वयं चैव महाभाग जरासन्धभयात्तदा ।

मधुरां संपरित्यज्य गता द्वारवर्ती पुरीम् ॥”

shelter in the west making their new settlement near Raivataka mountain at Kuśasthalī (i.e. Dvārakā) which they strongly fortified. 'Thus' says Kṛṣṇa, "we, the offenders of Jarāsandha, left his vicinity, took shelter in Gomanta (Raivataka?) and have since become strong on account of our jointness".²⁰ Kṛṣṇa further gives a description of the fortifications of Dvārakā and of the strength of the Yādavas and says²¹ that the Pāṇḍavas are ever a great support to his party.

Vaiśampāyana, however says²² that when Kṛṣṇa killed Kāṁsa and reinstalled Ugrasena as king, Jarāsandha raised a huge army, took Kṛṣṇa captive and enthroned his daughter's son on the kingdom of Mathurā. Since then Jarāsandha had been offending Ugrasena and the Vṛṣṇis and this was the cause of the enmity between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha.

At the time of Kṛṣṇa's narration of Jarāsandha's achievements to Yudhiṣṭhira, Jarāsandha had confined several mighty kings in his capital Girivraja with a view to sacrificing them in honour of God Śiva whose favour had enabled Jarāsandha to vanquish them. As has been pointed out in a previous footnote, Kṛṣṇa in II 14-77 seems to say that it was this cruelty of Jarāsandha that made Kṛṣṇa and his party shift from Mathurā to Dvārakā, if the word तदा there is taken to refer to the time of this incident just mentioned. The Pāṇḍavas too seem to have been frightened by Jarāsandha's achievements and cruelty.²³

In reply to a query of Yudhiṣṭhira who is astonished to find Jarāsandha not having already been slain by Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa says ²⁴ that he

20 II. 14. 56.

एवं वयं जरासन्धादभितः कृतकिल्बिषाः ।

सामर्थ्यवन्तः सम्बन्धाद्गोमन्तं समुपाश्रिताः ॥

21 II. 14. 67,..... पाण्डवैश्चापि सततं नाथवन्तो वयं नृप ।

22 II. 23. 32ff.

23 II. 15. 7ff. Yudhiṣṭhira says to Kṛṣṇa :—

वयं चैव महाभाग जरासन्धभयात्तदा ।

शङ्किताः स्म महाभाग दौरात्म्यात्तस्य वानघ ॥ etc.

Here "वयम्" perhaps refers to the Kauravas in general, although they were not seriously affected by Jarāsandha's achievements (vide V. 51. 38ff.).

24 II. 19. 26ff.

had to neglect or postpone action against Jarāsandha for political reasons. The reasons meant seem to be that Jarāsandha and his allies were extremely powerful, his ministers were very highly skilful in politics and Kṛṣṇa's men (the Kukuras, the Andhakas, the Vṛṣṇis, etc.), powerful as they were, did not dare to resist them.

Winding up his narration, Kṛṣṇa says that Jarāsandha's supremacy has been accepted on all hands and that Yudhiṣṭhira cannot possibly commence the Rājasūya until he vanquishes Jarāsandha. Other powerful kings like Duryodhana, Śiśupāla etc. are likely to yield to Yudhiṣṭhira out of their regard for him. Jarāsandha, however, cannot be made to do so and therefore it is primarily necessary to kill him and to rescue the unfortunate kings confined by him in Girivraja whereby Yudhiṣṭhira's supremacy would be established.

Yudhiṣṭhira praises Kṛṣṇa for his unique advice but prefers giving up the proposed plan of the Rājasūya thinking his forces to be incompetent to vanquish Jarāsandha in view of the fact that even Kṛṣṇa was frightened by Jarāsandha.²⁵ Kṛṣṇa, however, presses, at Arjuna's suggestion, to try their valour against Jarāsandha and says that, Kaṁsa as well as Hama and Dibika having already been slain, the time is now quite ripe to kill Jarāsandha. He adds that as it is impossible to kill Jarāsandha on battle-field, Bhīma, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa himself should secretly approach Jarāsandha with the challenge of a combat which he would surely accept and, through vanity, would elect to have an encounter with Bhīma. He adds that recourse to tactics²⁶ is necessary in the case and assures Yudhiṣṭhira about Bhīma's competence to kill Jarāsandha in the encounter and ultimately prevails upon Yudhiṣṭhira in sending Bhīma and Arjuna with him.

Blessed by Yudhiṣṭhira, the three depart, robed in Kuśa garments as snātaka Brāhmaṇas, and, after passing through several regions, reach the Goratha Mountain whence they can view Jarāsandha's capital. The Brāhmaṇas in the capital are brisk in pacifying the evil omens that have been appearing there lately foreboding disaster to Jarāsandha. The three enter the capital, snatch garlands from Jarāsandha's people in their way and, weaponless as they are, force

their way to Jarāsandha's palace, causing alarm to the citizens. They forcibly enter the palace, through an unusual passage (अद्वारेण), ascend three stories, approach Jarāsandha and call on him with the slighting word भोः. Jarāsandha, thinking them to be Brāhmaṇa guests, rises to welcome them. Kṛṣṇa attributes religious silence to the two brothers who, he says, would break it in the midnight when they would speak to Jarāsandha.

Jarāsandha accordingly rises in the midnight and, though he smells fraud from their robes inconsistent with their alleged vow, offers worship to them. They reject it, Kṛṣṇa saying that they cannot accept worship from an offender and, on Jarāsandha's query, adding that the offence referred to is his cruel confinement of the kings in Girivraja. Kṛṣṇa asks Jarāsandha to release the kings instantly and after revealing the identity of himself and the two brothers, challenges him in an encounter with any of the three in case he does not choose to release the kings.

Jarāsandha²⁷ refuses to liberate through fear the kings he has confined for some religious purpose and accepts the challenge. He makes ready to fight, installs his son Sahadeva as king and elects to encounter with Bhīma.²⁸

The encounter commences on the first day of Kārtika and goes on ceaselessly for fifteen days and nights. Observing Jarāsandha fatigued on the night of the fourteenth day, Kṛṣṇa who has been throughout

27 II. 22. 37ff. The verses 27-36 appear as interpolated and are not in harmony with the spirit of the verses 37ff. occurring in all recensions. Jarāsandha calls Kṛṣṇa as born in the race of cowherds, showers abuses on him for having made a cowardly escape by shifting from his birth-place to the seacoast, says that he (i.e. Jarāsandha) is not of the common rank like Kāṃsa, Pralamba, Bāṇa, Muṣṭika, Indratapana, Keśi, Pūtana and Kālayavana slain by Kṛṣṇa and expresses delight in having now been enabled to pay off his debt to his son-in-law by killing Kṛṣṇa along with Bhīma and Arjuna. Kṛṣṇa asks him to cease boasting and to come to action, saying he has no doubt about Jarāsandha being killed.

28 II. 22. 41ff. It is said that Kṛṣṇa due to his regard for Brahmā's commands, did not want himself to kill Jarāsandha, recollecting that he was destined to be killed by some one else than the Madhus. II. 24. 5., which occurs as an interpolation, says that Jarāsandha refused to fight with Kṛṣṇa as he was a cowherd and with Arjuna as he was a boy.

guiding Bhīma beckons to him now to exhaust the foe's energies and thus to hasten his death.²⁹ Bhīma does accordingly and ultimately breaks Jarāsandha into two pieces, causing terror to all.

The three leave the dead body at the Kuladvāra and Kṛṣṇa drives in Jarāsandha's supreme chariot³⁰ to the Girivraja prison and sets free the kings confined there. The liberated kings express their excessive gratefulness to Kṛṣṇa and readily agree to please him by assisting Yudhiṣṭhira in his impending performance of the Rājasūya. Kṛṣṇa accepts, though reluctantly,³¹ the jewels conferred on him by the kings with a view to saving them from disappointment. Kṛṣṇa then grants safety to Sahadeva, Jarāsandha's son, who requests Kṛṣṇa to forget the past and pays homage through him to Yudhiṣṭhira. The three then return to Indraprastha and Yudhiṣṭhira attributes the entire achievement to Kṛṣṇa's guidance. Having thus made Yudhiṣṭhira fit enough to hold the Rājasūya, Kṛṣṇa leaves for Dvārakā to be able to return in time to join the Rājasūya.

(To be continued)

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29 Further (II. 25. 1 ff.) Kṛṣṇa also informs Bhīma that Vāyu, Bhīma's father, has forecasted Jarāsandha's death at the hands of Bhīma, this being the reason why Jarāsandha survived even Balarāma's strokes and was spared at Gomanta.

30 II. 25. 25ff. The acquirement of this chariot, which Yudhiṣṭhira, on their return to Indraprastha, dedicates, by way of gratefulness, to Kṛṣṇa, is regarded by the three, especially by Kṛṣṇa, as a unique achievement.

31 II. 25. 52.

रत्नभाजं च दाशाहं चक्रुस्ते पृथिवीश्वराः ।
कृच्छ्राज्जग्राह गोविन्दस्तेषां तदनुकम्पया ॥

Some Problems of Sāṅkhya Philosophy and Sāṅkhya Literature

The subject has been copiously dealt with by eminent scholars but none of the views offered by them may be accepted as conclusive.

The problems of Sāṅkhya Philosophy are closely connected with those of its literature—so much so, that no treatment of one is possible without the other. For the sake of convenience I am taking up the question of the Sāṅkhya literature first.

The difficulty presents itself mainly with regard to its chronology. That the Sāṅkhya-kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, otherwise known as *Sāṅkhya-saptati* and *Kaṇaka-saptati*, *Suvarṇa-saptati* or *Hiraṇya-saptati* in its Chinese version, is the earliest available as well as the most popular text-book of the Sāṅkhya school, is beyond any question. It has been commented upon by Gauḍapādācārya (7th century A.D.) and Vācaspati Miśra (9th century A.D.), of whose age and identity there is no contention. But it has got two other well-known commentaries, viz. the *Māṭhara Vṛtti* by *Māṭharācārya* and *Jaymaṅgalā* by Saṅkarācārya. According to Prof. Gopi Nath Kaviraj the colophon wherein the name Saṅkarācārya occurs is an interpolation and *Saṅkarācārya* is a misnomer for 'Sāṅkarārya', a man of unknown age and identity. Leaving aside, therefore, the question of this last-named commentator for discussion, I may venture to propose that the *Māṭhara-vṛtti* is the earliest known commentary on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, as handed down to us. Prof. Sylvain Lévi informs us from Chinese sources that there were three learned men at the court of Kaniṣka¹ in the 2nd century A.D. Thus Aśvaghoṣa was his Guru, Māṭhara his prime minister and Caraka his chief physician. If that be so, then it is quite plausible to seek an identification of the Vṛttikāra 'Māṭhara', with the prime minister Māṭhara of Kaniṣka, and this identification seems to be somewhat justified when we see that Caraka with whom Māṭhara is said to be contemporaneous, gives a clear exposition of the Sāṅkhya system in his *Śarīra-sthāna*.² Not only

this: Āśvaghoṣa also in his *Buddha-Carita* enlogises and enunciates the Sāṅkhya Philosophy through the mouth of a Sāṅkhya teacher named 'Arāḍa'.³ These three learned men, of whom one is an expounder of Sāṅkhya and another its great admirer, flourished at the same court and at one and the same time. Is it not possible, therefore, that the third man Māṭhara was no other person but the Vṛttikāra, Māṭhara, himself? It may be contended, however, that 'Māṭhara' is but a Gotra-name, and not the name of any person, and hence any conclusion on the basis of a Gotra-name would be unjustifiable. In reply it may be said that like Caraka of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, Māṭhara may be taken as the author of the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, because the existence of another Māṭhara is not yet established.

Now this Māṭhara-cārya refers more than a dozen times to Īśvara-kṛṣṇa as 'Bhagavān'. An authority takes a long time before he receives a venerable appellation like 'Bhagavān' from his successors. A century may be taken but the lowest limit. Admitting, therefore, that Māṭhara belonged to the 2nd century A.D., Īśvara-kṛṣṇa can in no way be placed later than the 1st century A.D.³ I proceed to offer now another evidence by which my previous statement will be corroborated.

That Īśvara-kṛṣṇa received the doctrines of Sāṅkhya by way of succession of disciples, is narrated by himself in Kārikā 71, wherein he states :

शिष्यपरम्परयाऽगतमीश्वरकृष्णेन चैतदाय्याभिः ।

संक्षिप्तमार्य्यमतिना सम्यग्विज्ञाय सिद्धान्तम् ॥

The hierarchy of teachers, however, is given in verse 69 as Muni (i.e., Kapila), Āsuri and Pañcaśikha according to succession. In the *Māṭhara-vṛtti*, however, a succession of Sāṅkhya teachers is mentioned :

“ कपिलादासुरिणा प्राप्तमिदं ज्ञानम् । ततः पञ्चशिखेन तस्माद्वर्षदोषद्वान्मीकि-
हारीतदेवलप्रभृतिना गतम् । ततस्तेभ्य ईश्वरकृष्णेन प्राप्तम् । ”

3 Mm. H. P. Shastri—5th C.A.D.

Dr. Keith—4th C.A.D.

Dr. B. Bhattacharya—4th C.A.D.

Prof. Radhakrishnan—3rd C.A.D.

Dr. Belvalkar—2nd C.A.D.

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta—200 A.D.

Thus altogether we get 8 names. But the word *prabhṛtinā* indicates that there must have been some other teachers anterior to him. Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary on verse 71 adds two other teachers 'Garga' and 'Gautama'. Cf—

मुनेरासुरेः पञ्चशिखस्तथा गर्गगौतमप्रभृति etc. अनया शिष्यपरम्परया ।

Guṇaratna, the famous commentator of *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya* by Haribhadra Sūri, while enumerating several authoritative works on the Sāṅkhya philosophy, names among others one *Ātreya-Tantra*, presamably a work of Atri. The number of teachers so far arrived at is 11. Gaudapāda, in his commentary, quotes the *Rṣitarpaṇa-Mantra* a list of Sāṅkhya teachers, though not in a chronological order.

Cf.:—

‘सनकश्च सनन्दश्च तृतीयश्च सनातनः ।

आसुरिः कपिलश्चैव वोढः पञ्चशिखस्तथा ॥”

The number thus increases from 11 to 15 by addition of the names of Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana and Boḍha, who are all mentioned in association with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha the well-known authorities of Sāṅkhya, whose historicity of personage has never been doubted.

In the *Atharva-veda-pariśiṣṭa*, however, the *Rṣitarpaṇa-Mantra* reads thus:

“सनकस्तृप्यतु, सनन्दनस्तृप्यतु, सनातनस्तृप्यतु, कपिलस्तृप्यतु, वोढस्तृप्यतु, आसुरिस्तृप्यतु, पञ्चशिखस्तृप्यतु । सनन्दनं तर्पयामि, सनकं तर्पयामि, विद्वांसं सनातनं तर्पयामि, सनत्कुमारं तर्पयामि, सनकं तर्पयामि, सहदेवं सनातनं तर्पयामि, प्लुतिं तर्पयामि, पुलस्त्यं तर्पयामि, पुलहं तर्पयामि, भृगुं तर्पयामि, अङ्गिरसं तर्पयामि, मरीचिं तर्पयामि, क्रतुं तर्पयामि, दक्षं तर्पयामि, अत्रिं तर्पयामि, वसिष्ठं तर्पयामि” ।

(43. 3, 1-25)

By elimination of the 15 names already mentioned, the total number comes to be 26. The very association of all these names with Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcaśikha is very suggestive. We are naturally tempted to recognise in them the authorities of Sāṅkhya according to succession although it is very difficult to arrange them according to

strict chronological order. This temptation is, however, justifiable to a certain extent if we consider the following facts:

The above-quoted Mantra is known as the *Ṛṣitarpaṇa Mantra*: in other words, the persons mentioned therein are all designated as Ṛṣis. And we know that Kapila, to whom the foundation of the Sāṅkhya system is universally attributed, bore some epithets peculiar to him, viz. *Paramaṛṣi*, *Ādi-vidvān* and *Muni*. We should naturally expect, therefore, that the followers of his school, too, should, in order to distinguish themselves from other schools, bear some such epithets like *Ṛṣi* or *Vidvān*, if not *Paramaṛṣi* or *Ādi-vidvān* the *paramatva* and *ādītva* being exclusively reserved for Kapila, the founder of the school, as a mark of veneration. Curiously enough, we know them not only as Ṛṣis but one of them viz. Sanātana has also been clearly styled as *Vidvāṃsaṃ Sanātanaṃ*.^{*} In the *Buddhacarita* also the Sāṅkhya teachers are designated as *vidvāṃsaḥ*.⁴

Secondly, the grouping of all these names together has got a special significance too. In his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* Mr. Pargiter has shown that the Ṛṣis of the Mantra just now cited all belonged to different Gotras. From the fact that leaving other Ṛṣis like Dūrvāsa, Yājñavalkya, Viśvāmitra and others aside, a certain number of Ṛṣis of different Gotras has been mentioned together and that also in association with so well-known teachers as Kapila, Āsuri and Pañcasikha, the only significance that can be deduced is that the group of Ṛṣis possibly belonged to a particular school of Philosophy (which I am inclined to hold as the Sāṅkhya Philosophy) and that the Mantra was composed in order to commemorate and perpetuate the name of that school. If that is so, then we have 26 teachers of Sāṅkhya in succession before the time of Ívara-kṛṣṇa. Let us allow 30 years at least for each teacher. Then the number of years intervening between Kapila and Ívara Kṛṣṇa must have been 780, if not more. Now, the first mention of Kapila as the founder of the Sāṅkhya school is found to have been made in the *Mokṣa-dharma-parvādhyāya* of the *Śānti-parva* of the *Mahābhārata* and the way in

4 इत्यविद्या हि विद्वांसः पञ्चपञ्चसमीहते । तमो मोहं महामोहं तामिस्रद्वयमेव च ॥

which an account of the Sāṅkhya system is given therein, shows that the system was then well-established and widely-accepted and that therefore it must have taken at least a century for its establishment and wide popularity. The date of that portion of the *Māhābhārata* in which the account is given cannot be later than the 6th century B.C. and the scholars like Winternitz are of opinion that it was possibly written by the end of the 8th century B.C. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that this period was synchronous with the age of Kapila, let us deduct 780 years (as already deduced) from 700 B.C., and thus we get 80 A.D. or 1st century A.D. as the date of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, a date which perfectly accords with the conclusion already arrived at.

The probable age of Kapila may also be deduced in another way. That the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is a pre-Buddhistic one is beyond any controversy. The word Sāṅkhya as a system of Philosophy occurs in the *Lalitavistara*.⁵

The *Visuddhimagga* chap. XVII also refers to Sāṅkhya in the same sense. But if the *Lalitavistara* and the *Visuddhimagga* are works of a much later age than the Buddha, we have then another work of about the 6th century B.C. I mean the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* which uses the word *Samkhya* a variant of 'Sāṅkhya' in that very sense.

Besides, the fundamental principles on which the Buddha bases his Philosophy are the four well known *Āryasatya*'s viz., *duḥkha*, *duḥkhasamudaya*, *duḥkhanirodha* and *duḥkhanirodhopāya*. These four *Āryasatya*s fully accord with the four fundamental principles of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy viz., *ḥeya*, *ḥeya-sādhana*, *hāna* and *hānopāya* or *hānasādhana* and are decidedly admitted by all scholars to have been borrowed from the latter. The Samkhāra theory of Buddhism is nothing but the *saṃskāra* of Sāṅkhya.

All these evidences taken together go to show that the Sāṅkhya system of Philosophy was held by Buddha himself as one of much

५. वेदे व्याकरणे निरुक्ते etc.....ज्योतिषे सांख्ये योगे etc.....सर्वत्र बोधिसत्त्व एव विधिष्यते स्म । *Śilpadarśanaparivarta* (Lefman's ed.) p. 156.

importance and authority, and a system to receive such a high esteem from such a man like Buddha, must have taken a pretty long time—possibly not less than two centuries.

In this way, too, the age of Kapila cannot be placed later than the 8th century B.C. In any case, therefore, the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa comes to be the 1st century A.D.

Thus we see that the Sāṅkhya system is a fairly old one with Kapila as its founder who, as is generally held, belonged to an age not later than the 8th century B.C. and that the system, since its very foundation grew to be popular and was widely accepted. It had, since the time of Kapila, continued to retain its popular and universal character in an unbroken line of teachers up to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa who is just now proved to have belonged to an age not later than the 1st century A.D. with 25 teachers intervening between himself and Kapila.

This Īśvara Kṛṣṇa has been identified by some scholars with Vinḍhyavāsa or Vinḍhyavāsin on the strength of Dr. Takakasu's account of Paramārtha's life of Vāsubandhu (Cf. *JRAS.*, 1905) but this ground has been proved to be extremely fallacious and unacceptable by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his Introduction to the edition of the *Tattva Saṅgraha*. Dr. Bhattacharya, however, although he knows about Māṭhar, the prime minister of Kanīṣka, denies to the commentator Māṭharācārya, the date of 2nd century A.D. because he places Īśvara Kṛṣṇa in the 4th century A.D. This assignment of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's date is based by him upon the supposition that in his Kārikā 5 :

प्रतिविषयाध्यवसायो दृष्टं त्रिविधमनुमानमाख्यातम् ।

तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्वकं मातृश्रुतिराप्तवचनन्तु ॥

he was influenced by Vātsyāyana, the first commentator on the *Nyāya-sūtra* of Akṣapāda. But the date of Vātsyāyana is by itself a mystery that remains yet to be solved. The theory of influence by Vātsyāyana is nothing more than a mere supposition and does not, therefore, deserve any importance.

About the dates of the predecessors of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, there is no materials available at present to establish them as certain. Any opinion, therefore, that may be formed with regard to their age and identity, would be but vague and conjectural. But one thing that may be put

forward on the basis of a plausible ground is related to the *Śarīra-sthāna* of the *Caraka-saṃhitā* wherein an account of *Sāṅkhya* is given. Just as we have an abstracted view of a certain school of *Sāṅkhya* Philosophy in the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, so we have perhaps another abstracted view of the doctrines of another school of the same Philosophy, in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, and this abstraction may be presumed to have been made from the *Ātreya Tantra* already referred to by me, because here in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, the expounder of the system is Atri himself. I say 'another school of the *Sāṅkhya* Philosophy' purposely because the account differs vitally from the account of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa's *Kārikā*. The categories described in *Caraka*, are said to be 24, whereas, the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā* treats of 25 categories including 'Puruṣa' as a separate entity.

In *Caraka*'s account, however, 'Puruṣa' is not a separate entity at all but is, rather, an aspect of 'Pradhāna' or 'Prakṛti'. According to this view there are as many 'Prakṛtis' as there are 'Puruṣas'; in other words, the plurality of 'Prakṛti' is admitted, and 'Puruṣa' having formed a counter-part of 'Prakṛti' there is no need of admitting 'Puruṣa' as a separate entity. This vital difference between the two accounts naturally gives rise to a grave suspicion as to whether there were different schools of *Sāṅkhya* Philosophy. Guṇaratna, the famous commentator of the *Śaṅkaraśāstra-samuccaya*, distinctly mentions two schools of *Sāṅkhya* viz., the 'Maulikya' (i.e. the original) and the 'Uttara' (i.e. the later); and what is the difference between the two schools? He replies:

“मौलिक्यसांख्या हि आत्मानमात्मानं प्रति पृथक् प्रधानं वदन्ति, उत्तरे तु सर्वात्म-
स्वप्येकं नित्यं प्रधानमिति प्रपन्नाः ।”

i.e., the followers of the 'Maulikya' school believe that there is a separate 'Pradhāna' for each 'Ātman' whereas, those of the 'Uttara' school hold that there is only one 'Pradhāna' in different individual souls. It may be contended here that this 'Uttara' is to be taken to refer to the school of Vijñānabhikṣu, the famous commentator of the *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* but then there would be a great error of chronology. Guṇaratna being a commentator of the 14th century A.D. cannot be supposed to refer to Vijñānabhikṣu, a commentator of the

16th century A.D. It follows, therefore, that this 'Maulikya' refers to a certain school of which we get an account in the outline of Caraka, whereas the 'Uttara' school is represented by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa and his followers.

Now let us see if we can derive further support to our supposition. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 318), three schools of Sāṅkhya are distinctly mentioned viz., first those who admitted 24 categories, secondly those who admitted 25 and finally those who admitted 26. The first school of which a brief outline is obtained in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* even as late as the 2nd century A.D., was propounded by Pañcaśikha as early as the age of the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 219). According to Pañcaśikha, 'Avyakta' is 'Puruṣāvasthā' i.e. the ultimate truth is one—the 'Avyakta' in the state of 'Puruṣa'. The second school which is regarded as the orthodox school of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy, explained a strict dualism by making 'Puruṣa' and 'Prakṛti' as two separate entities. The last school, however, admitted a Supreme Being 'Īśvara' in addition to 'Puruṣa' and this was the 26th principle. This agrees with the orthodox Yoga system wherein the existence of 'Īśvara' is admitted in

“ क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः । ”

Another problem here arises about the chronology of these 3 different schools. Now the three schools referred to above can be resolved into two divisions according as they are theistic or atheistic according to the notion of Western Philosophy. Both the schools of 24 and 25 categories as denying the existence of God are to be regarded as atheistic in character while the school propounding 26 categories is purely a theistic one. We are to determine, however, which of these two is earlier. In the *Mahābhārata* we only find that it denounces the atheistic school i.e., the schools of 24 and 25 categories and advocates the existence of God as the 26th principle. But that does not prove anteriority or posteriority of either. The problem would have been more easily solved, had we been in possession of any of the original works of Kapila, Āsuri or Pañcaśikha but unfortunately all their works are, in the language of Vijñānabhikṣu, *kālārka-bhakṣita*. As regards the identity of the author as also the antiquity of the *Sāṅkhya*.

pravacana-sūtra otherwise known as *Sūtra-ṣaḍādhyāyī* as also *Tattva-samāsa*, both of which are attributed to Kapila, grave suspicion has been aroused by almost all sections of scholars. So far as Āsuri is concerned we know nothing else than that his name occurs in some ancient works like the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* etc. and that a verse attributed to him is only found quoted by Guṇaratna in his commentary. Pāṇcaśikha's *Ṣaṣṭi-tantra* still awaits discovery and who knows that it has not been lost for ever? The only thing we know about him is that several self-contradictory and divergent views are attributed to him by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Ahīrvudhnyā-saṃhitā*, by Vācaspati Miśra and by the Chinese tradition. We have, therefore, to fall upon and examine the source or sources of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy of which the system is a natural synthesis.

The germs of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy are certainly to be traced in the Upaniṣadic literature, if not even earlier. For the origin of the three Guṇas *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy we have to go to the conception of the three colours in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* which is repeated also in the *Svetāśvataropaniṣad*.⁶ Then again we have an interesting specimen of how Sāṅkhya Philosophy was yet in the making at the time of the *Kāthopaniṣad* (1. 3. 10-11) when we compare

इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः ।

मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्बुद्धेरात्मा महान् परः ॥

महत् परमव्यक्तमव्यक्तात् पुरुषः परः ।

पुरुषान्न परा किञ्चित् सा काष्ठा सा परा गतिः ॥

In these two verses is to be found an enumeration of Puruṣa, Avyakta, Mahān, Buddhi, or Ahāṅkāra, Manas and the Indriyas-the categories which play such an important part in the Sāṅkhya Philosophy. But the *locus classicus* of the Sāṅkhya, however, is the *Svetāśvatarā* which gives us a fuller and more detailed account as understood in those days. It wavers between the atheistic and the theistic view. In one place,

6 यदग्ने रोहितं रूपं तेजस स्तद्रूपं यच्छुक्लं तदपां यत् कृष्णं तदन्नस्य । *Chāndog.* VI.

4. 1. अजामेकां लोहेतथुक्कृष्णां । बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः ॥ *Svet.* IV. 5. 1)

God is described as bringing to maturity 'Prakṛti' or 'Svabhāva'.⁷ He is also described as the Lord of 'Pradhāna' or 'Prakṛti', of individual souls as well as of Guṇas.⁸ Like a spider that weaves a web out of the material formed within itself, the one Godhead unfolds himself by means of the Guṇas born of 'Prakṛti'.⁹ The 'Prakṛti' is merely God's magic power and God is the great magician.¹⁰ God is also described as creating the world, while the individual soul is described as bound in the chains forged for him by God, the Universal Soul.¹¹

In this way we get a theistic description of the Godhead who is endowed with all activity and the power of creation and government. The verses quoted above are quite sufficient to show that there was a fusion of the Vedānta, the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga schools of thought at the time of the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*. It was about this time that the Sāṅkhya school was started. Kapila is universally known as "Ādi-vidvān" and as such he was the first sage to synthesise and formulate those Upaniṣadic speculations in the form of a definite system, which he called the Sāṅkhya system. He expounded his doctrine in the *Śaṣṭi-tantra* and started a school of his own with Āsuri as his first pupil. Whether the doctrine of the *Śaṣṭi-tantra* admitted 24 or 25 categories will be discussed presently but it is almost certain that there was no admission of a principle of Godhead in his doctrine. The reason may be this:

Kapila, in his attempt to explain the world-process and the scheme of salvation, tried to make his system as rationalistic as possible. The existence of a personal God was therefore found inconceivable and incompatible with his theory of Prakṛti and Puruṣa and could not also be proved; for whatever exists must be either bound or free and God can be neither. We cannot think of him as bound and yet he cannot be free like an emancipated soul, for freedom implies absence

7 यच्च स्वभावं पचति विश्वयोनिः । पाच्यांश्च सर्वान् परिणामयेद् यः ॥

8 प्रधानक्षेत्रज्ञपतिर्गुणेशः । (*Ibid.* VI. 10.)

9 यस्तूर्णानाभइव तन्तुभिः प्रधानजैः । स्वभावतो देव एकः समावृणोत् ॥ (*Ibid.* VI. 10.)

10 मायां तु प्रकृतिं विद्यान्मायिनं तु महेश्वरम् ॥ (*Ibid.* VI. 10.)

11 अस्मान्मायी सृजते विश्वमेतत्तस्मिंश्चान्यो मायया संनिबद्धः । (*Ibid.* VI. 9.)

of desire and hence of the impulse to create. Moreover, the consequences of good and evil deeds are due to Karma and not to the government of any God. Such a ruler is inconceivable, for if he governs the world according to the action of Karma, his existence is superfluous, and if he is affected by selfish motives or desire then he can not be free. And if his motive is kindness, is it reasonable to call into existence, beings, who while non-existent had no suffering, simply in order to show kindness in relieving them from suffering? Granting that to show kindness to the world was the motive of creation, a benevolent deity like God ought to have created only the happy creatures and not a mixed world like the one we see. It follows, therefore, that in no way could a Supreme Being like God be placed in Kapila's system consistently with the theory of Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Karma. Perhaps this was the only departure he made from the Philosophy of the Upaniṣads cited above. Hence an atheistic doctrine was preached and though accepted for a long time by a certain section of the people, it had met with a re-action: the thought of a God-less doctrine, especially in the age of the Upaniṣads, was intolerable with another section of the people who started a rival school of it viz., the Yoga system with God as the Fountain head of the whole creation. The *Mahābhārata* by its repudiation of the former school and advocacy of the latter bears an infallible testimony to this reaction.

The next question is whether the atheistic school of Sāṅkhya admitted of 24 or 25 categories. It is very difficult to make any definite reply. Possibly it was 24: that this was so may be surmised from Guṇaratna's nomenclature—the 'Maulikya' i.e. the 'Original' school. I have already pointed out that according to Maulikya school Puruṣa was but another aspect of Prakṛti and that the two formed but one category. Prakṛti was conceived of having two parts Vyakta and Avyakta. The Vikāra or the evolutionary products of Prakṛti were known as Vyakta or Kṣetra whereas the Avyakta part was regarded as Kṣetrajña. This Avyakta or Kṣetrajña was Cetanā or Puruṣa. Now if that was so, and man was the product of a mere combination of the different elements, there could be no question of salvation at all. Every thing would have ended with death—with the cessation of one birth only

and hence the introduction of the Śāstra for salvation would have been meaningless, purposeless and unnecessary. When the doctrine of 24 categories came to receive an attack on the line of argument as stated above, a necessity was naturally felt for revising the whole doctrine and the necessity of admitting Puruṣa as a separate entity from Prakṛti was fully realised. The categories then became 25 from 24 thus giving rise to what is characterised by Guṇaratna as the Uttara or the Later school of Sāṅkhya. That there was such an attack in reality may be gathered from the *Mahābhārata* where Pāṇcaśikha sometimes explains 24 categories and sometimes 25. This contradiction can in no way be explained unless we assume that he was wavering between the two problems and could not definitely assert either. Finally, however, the doctrine was revised by Pāṇcaśikha with the recognition of Puruṣa as the 25th principle and that is why we find in Īśvara's *Kārikā* 70.¹² This revised version of the *Śaṣṭi-tantra* came to be known as the *Śaṣṭi-tantroddhāra*—a work quoted by Guṇaratna as one of the authoritative works of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.¹³

Thus viewed the *Kārikā* of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa is to be taken as representing the doctrines of the *Śaṣṭi-tantra* as revised by Pāṇcaśikha and hence belongs to the Uttara or Later school of Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

KALI PADA BHATTACHARYA

12 सेन च बहुधा वृत्तं तन्त्रम् ।

13 सांख्यानानां तर्कग्रन्थाः षष्टितन्त्रोद्धाररूपम्, माठरभाष्यम्, सांख्यसप्ततिनामकम्, तत्त्व-
कौमुदी, गौडपादम्, आत्रेयतन्त्रं चेत्यादयः, Guṇaratna's *tīkā* on *Saṅkṣarśanasa-*
muccaya, p. 109.

Some Janapadas of Ancient Rāḍhā

Rāḍhā

The earliest mention of the Rāḍhās seems to be in the *Āyārāṅga-sutta* which is one of the oldest sacred books of the Jainas. It is stated therein that Mahāvira “travelled in the pathless countries of the Lāḍhas, in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi” where he was very badly treated by the people who struck the monk and made their dogs bite him. “Such were the inhabitants.” This Lāḍha has been reasonably identified with Rāḍhā, and Subbhabhūmi with the country of the Suhmas. The graphic description of the *Āyārāṅga-sutta* indicates that the Rāḍhās of western Bengal were a very savage and barbarous people at that time. The tradition about the wildness of the Rāḍha people is found even in mediaeval Bengali literature; Mukundarāma (c. 1580 A.C.) in his *Caṇḍī-kāvya* mentions a Rāḍha together with a hunter and a cow-killer; another passage of the same book indicates that a Rāḍha was regarded as a very low-born man belonging to the Coṇḍ caste unfit to be touched by men of higher castes.

Again, in the fifth Jaina Aṅga called the *Bhagavatī* Lāḍha is mentioned as one of the sixteen great *janapadas* of India; it seems reasonable to identify this Lāḍha with the Lāḍha of the first Aṅga, the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, i.e. the Rāḍhā country of later times. In the fourth Jaina upāṅga, the *Pannavaṇā*, also Lāḍha is mentioned as one of the *Āriya janapadas* or countries of India with Koḍivarisam as its chief city.

According to tradition recorded in the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa*, the first Aryan colonisers of Ceylon were led by Prince Vijaya of Lāḷa who is said to have been the grandson of a princess of Vaṅga and the great-grandson of a princess of Kaliṅga. The identification of this Lāḷa has been the subject of some controversy; some scholars have identified it with Rāḍha or western Bengal, while others are inclined to identify it with Lāṭa in Gujarāt. The name does not occur in the epics or the Buddhist sacred books.

The earliest epigraphic reference to Rāḍhā is perhaps to be found in a Mathurā inscription (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) which records the erection of a Jaina image in the year 62 of an unspecified era (=140 A.C.?) at the request of a Jaina monk who was an inhabitant of the country of Rārā.¹ Scholars have identified Rārā with the well known Rāḍhā or western Bengal.² The next reference to Rāḍhā is found in a Khajurāho inscription³ of 1059 V.S. (=1002 A.C.) where the queens of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga are said to have been imprisoned by the Candella king, Dhaṅgadeva, whose known dates range from 954 to 998 A.C. Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa, the author of the philosophical work *Nyāyakandalī* composed in the year 913 S.E. (=991 A.C.) was born in a village called "Bhūrisṛṣṭi" in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā. This reference to Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā shows that by the tenth century A.C. Rāḍhā was divided into two parts, north and south. It apparently comprised the whole of western Bengal bounded on the north and the east by the Ganges and the Bhāgīrathī respectively. The evidence of the *Nyāyakandalī* is fully corroborated by the Tirumalai rock inscription of the thirteenth regnal year (=1025 A.C.) of Rājendra Cola from which we know that the Cola emperor invaded both Takkana-lāḍam and Uttira-lāḍam which are but Dravidianised forms of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā and Uttara-Rāḍhā. In the Sanskrit drama called the *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa-miśra, a contemporary of the Candella king, Kīrtivarman, of Jeṣākabhukti of whom we have an inscription of the year 1098 A.C., Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā is mentioned twice as the homeland of Ahaṅkāra or Pride personified; again Ahaṅkāra declares with his characteristic self-conceit that he hails from Bhūrisṛṣṭhika, the best of villages in the country of Rāḍhā (evidently South Rāḍhā) which formed a part of the Gauḍa kingdom. This Bhūrisṛṣṭhika, the native village of Ahaṅkāra, seems to be the same as the village Bhūrisṛṣṭi where Śrīdhara, the author of *Nyāyakandalī* was born. Perhaps it was because Bhūrisṛṣṭhika or Bhūrisṛṣṭi was the native village of many great scholars like Śrīdhara, who were intensely proud of their learning, that Kṛṣṇa-miśra chose

1 JASB., NS. V, p. 239.

2 R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p. 72.

3 *EL.*, 1, p. 145.

this village as the homeland of Ahaṅkāra or Pride. What Bhūriśreṣṭhi was in South Rāḍhā the village Siddhala seems to have been in North Rāḍhā. We know from the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman that Siddhala was a village in Uttara-Rāḍhā and that Pitāmbara Devaśarman of Sāvārṇa gotra, the great-grandfather of Rāmadevaśarman, the donee of the grant, was an inhabitant of this village. The Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva tells us that "there may be a hundred villages which . . . are the birth-place of Brāhmaṇas versed in Vedic lore, born in the illustrious lineage of the sage Sāvārṇa; but the only one that is famous in this world and has adorned the country of Āryāvarta is the village of Siddhala, the foremost of all and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of Rāḍhā". This Siddhala of Rāḍhā has been identified by scholars with the Siddhala of Uttara-Rāḍhā mentioned in the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman. Hence Uttara-Rāḍhā could well be proud of the village Siddhala, the home of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, the great scholar and author of the *Daśakarmapaddhati*, the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* and other works, just as Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā could be of Bhūriśreṣṭhi, the home of Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara, the author of the *Ngāyakaṇḍalī*. Uttara-Rāḍhā is again mentioned in the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena as a *maṇḍala* belonging to the *bhukti* of Vardhamāna. The same copper-plate tells us that the ancestors of Vallālasena adorned the country of Rāḍhā with their great virtues; we also know from the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena that Sāmantasena, the founder of the royal Sena dynasty of Bengal, took to religious life in his old age and lived in hermitages on the banks of the Ganges. Thus it would appear from the combined evidence of the Deopārā and Naihāṭi inscriptions that the ancestors of the Sena kings settled in Uttara-Rāḍhā when they came to Bengal from Kaṇḍāta. In the *Ḍākārṇava* Rāḍhā is mentioned along with Dhikkari and other places which are apparently mutually exclusive. If Dhikkari really represent some place in north Rāḍhā then the Rāḍhā of the *Ḍākārṇava* list should perhaps be taken to represent South Rāḍhā.

Towards the close of the pre-Muhammādan period Rāḍhā and Varendrī were well known divisions of Bengal. Rāḍhīya-Vārendras are several times referred to in the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* of

Halāyudha who lived in the Court of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Kenduāpatna plates of Narasiṃhadeva II of Orissa, dated 1217 S.E. (=1296 A.C.) records that Narasiṃhadeva I (1238-64) invaded Rādhā and Varendrī which were at that time under the Musalmans. This is confirmed by the evidence of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* where we find "The territory of Lakhaṇawaṭi has two wings on either side of the Gang. The western side they call Rāl (Rārḥ), and the city of Lakhaṇor lies on that side; and the eastern side they call Barind, and the city of Dīw-koṭ is on that side."

Brahma

In the lists of the eastern countries found in the *Purāṇas*, which are often hopelessly corrupt, almost invariably occurs the name of a janapada apparently called *Brahmottara*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, however, the reading is *Suhmottara*, which, Pargiter thinks, is the preferable reading and which he has taken to mean 'the people north of Suhma.' But this reading also, as he has rightly observed, is hardly satisfactory in the conspicuous absence of the Suhmas themselves from the Paurāṇic lists of the eastern janapadas which is very curious. Under these circumstances Mr. Pargiter has suggested the emendation *Suhmatkala* meaning the Suhmas and the Utkalas.

But there are some reasons to believe that Brahmottara which is the unanimous reading of all the *Purāṇas* except the *Matsya* is the correct reading. Even in the list of the eastern janapadas found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, which is practically quoted from the *Purāṇas*, the reading is invariably Brahmottara. But it is the evidence of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara that decides the whole question. In that work also we have a list of the janapadas of the Pūrvadeśa which closely follows the *Purāṇas*. In this list also the reading is Brahmottara and, what is more important, it is placed just after Suhma, thus showing that the reading Suhmottara of the *Matsya Purāṇa* or the emendation Suhmatkala suggested by Pargiter cannot be right.

This is further confirmed by another passage of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* which mentions "Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc." as the janapadas of the east. Thus there can be no doubt that Brahma was really the name of a janapada in eastern

India somewhere in the neighbourhood of Suhma. Now the expression *Suhma-Brahmottara* should perhaps be taken to mean 'Suhma with Brahma (lying) to its north.' If this is correct, then the Brahma-janapada must have been situated somewhere in the northern part of the Rādhā country.

Curiously enough, this seems to be supported by the *Paranadūta* of Dhoyī. In verse 33 of that poem there is a reference to the country (*deśa*) in which the river Yamunā (*Tapana-tanayā*) in whose waters sported Brahma women (*Brahma-sīmanṭinī*) issued out of the Bhāgīrathī. The evident implication of this verse is that the place known as Trivenī (in the Hughli district) where the river Yamunā branches off from the Bhāgīrathī belonged to the Brahma-deśa.

Mr. Cintāharāṇa Cakravartī has suggested the emendation Suhma in place of Brahma, though in both the Mss. available the reading is clearly Brahma. It is unreasonable to suppose that the reading Brahma in verse 33 in both the Mss. consulted is an accidental mistake on the part of the copyists in the face of the fact that both of them have the reading Suhma in verse 27. Not only that, in Ms. (A) the reading in verse 28 is *Suhmād* and in the marginal notes it is corrected into Suhme, but in verse 33 Brahma is retained and is not corrected into Suhma. Hence it is sufficiently reasonable to think that the reading Brahma in verse 33 is really the correct reading. The editor's emendation of Suhma instead of Brahma is probably due to the general ignorance among scholars about the existence of a *deśa* or *janapada* named Brahma in eastern India. But the evidence of the *Purāṇas* together with that of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* leaves no doubt about the existence of a janapada of this name in the Rādhā country. If Rājaśekhara was aware of this janapada of eastern India in the 10th century A.C., Dhoyī, a poet of Bengal and not improbably of Rādhā, could well have known it in the twelfth. There are also other reasons in favour of accepting Brahma in verse 33 as the correct reading intended by the poet himself. From Yayātinagarī (somewhere on the bank of the Mahānadī) Pavana, the messenger, is asked by Kuvalaya-vatī to pass over to the Suhma-deśa on the Ganges (v. 27); in the following verses (27-32) comes a description of the various important

objects, such as a temple of Murārī (i.e. Viṣṇu), a town named after Siva, two temples of the sun (*Raghukulaguru*) and Ardhanārīśvara and a bridge constructed by some king (may be Vallālasena). After this in verse 33 comes the request that the Wind-messenger should *then* (*atha*) go to the country (*deśa*) where the Yamunā flows out of the Bhāgīrathī. In verse 27 we get the reference to the *country* (*deśa*) of Suhma and in verse 33 we again find a reference to another *deśa* together with the significant particle *atha*. The very manner in which the statement is made suggests that as soon as the Wind reached the Trivenī region it entered into a different country, different from the Suhma-deśa. The name of this new country is supplied by the word Brahma put before the word *sīmantinī* distinguishing the women of this country from those of Suhma.

Hence there can be little doubt that Brahma was really the name of a *janapada* or *deśa* in Rāḍhā on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī and that Trivenī in the modern Hughli district formed a part of it.

The messenger is then asked to go to Vijayapura, the *skandhāvāra* and *rājadhānī* of Lakṣmaṇasena, which stood on the Ganges and which, from the description given in the *Pavanadūta* seems to have been situated to the north of, but not at a great distance from, Trivenī, in the modern district of Hughli. The identification of this capital city of the Sena royal family of Bengal has been the subject of much controversy among scholars. But reasons seem to be in favour of its identification with Nadia or Navadvīpa, which is probably the same as Nūdiāh, the capital of Lākṣmanīya at the time of the inroad of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yar. But what is important for our purpose is that Vijayapura, the Sena royal city, seems from the account of the *Pavanadūta* to have been situated not in Suhma-deśa as is generally supposed by scholars, but in Brahmadeśa.

Now if the identification of Vijayapura be correct, then it is evident that the Brahma country extended along the bank of the Bhāgīrathī including Trivenī in the south and Navadvīpa in the north and comprised all the tract lying between them; that is, roughly speaking the Brahma country included at least parts of the modern Hughli and Burdwan districts. The Suhma country, on the other hand, lay to the south of the Brahma country between Trivenī in one direction

and Yayātinagarī in another, as is evident from the *Pavanadūta*. Suhma also lay on the bank of the Bhāgīrathī along its lower course and probably included the modern districts of Howrah and Midnapur. Thus it seems clear that even during the period of the Sena kings Rāḍhā had two important divisions, viz., Brahma in the north and Suhma in the south. But it is important to note in this connection that during the period of the Sena as well as of the Pāla kings of Bengal two divisions of Rāḍhā were generally known as Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā; and what is more important to remember is that the two sets of names of these two divisions of Rāḍhā were simultaneously in use during this period. While in the first part of the tenth century A.C. Rājasekhara mentions Suhma and Brahma apparently as two divisions of Rāḍhā, Śrīdharācārya in his *Nyāyakandalī* (991 A.C.) refers to Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā in the latter part of the same century. Of the eleventh century records, the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola (first quarter) refers to both north and south Rāḍhā while Kṛṣṇa-Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (latter part) mentions South Rāḍhā only. During the twelfth century the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena (as also the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman) refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā, while Dhoyī, the Court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena mentions both Suhma and Brahma. Hence it seems reasonable to conclude that Suhma and Brahma were but the real proper names of South and North Rāḍhā respectively. South Rāḍhā and North Rāḍhā evidently were not the proper names of the two divisions of the country; they simply describe the relative positions of those divisions, Suhma and Brahma being proper names. That Suhma was the proper name of South Rāḍhā is clear from the fact that the *Daśakumāracarita* refers to Dāmalīpti i.e. modern Tamluk in the Medinīpur district as a city of the Suhmas and also from the description of the *Pavanadūta* that locates it between Trivenī and Yayātinagarī. The expression *Suhma-Brahmottara* of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* and also probably of the *Purāṇas* which apparently means 'Suhma with Brahma lying to its north' perhaps indicates that Brahma was the name of the northern part of Rāḍhā. This is confirmed by the fact that Trivenī as well as Vijayapura or Navadvīpa belonged to Brahma as we have already noticed.

Indeed it seems that not only during the period of the Pāla and Sena kings but from a very early period Rāḍhā was divided into two parts. The *Āyārāṅga-sutta* definitely indicates that Lāḍha had two divisions, Subbha and Vajja. Subbha has been reasonably identified with Suhma. But we have no means to ascertain whether Vajjabhūmi is also a corruption of Brahmabhūmi, though it is by no means improbable. In the epic account of Bhīma's eastern conquests we find mention of a janapada named Pra-Suhma along with Suhma. This name is not met with anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The reason for the curious absence of this name everywhere else is perhaps that Pra-Suhma is not really the name of any people or janapada; it simply means 'a branch of the Suhma people' or 'those who lie in front of the Suhmas' or it may mean both. Indeed the name Pra-Suhma occurs nowhere else, but everywhere else the word in its place seems to be Brahma which may really represent, as is very probable, a branch of the Suhmas.

Prof. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the ethnical and geographical nomenclature of ancient India presents a certain number of terms constituting almost identical pairs differentiated between themselves only by the nature of their initial consonants or syllables. The tribes that inhabited Bengal and its adjacent regions in ancient times also present such ethnical pairs, e.g. AṅgaVaṅga, Kalinga-Tiliṅga and Uḍra-Puṇḍra. But the Suhmas, one of the five important tribes of ancient Bengal, have not yet been coupled with any other allied people. Now, from what has been discussed above it seems reasonable to conclude that the Suhmas and the Brahmas formed a fourth ethnical pair living in the territory known as Rāḍhā or western Bengal.

Mr. M. Cakravartī has expressed his surprise that the name Rāḍhā is not traceable in the epics or in any Sanskrit records before the tenth century A.C. The reason for this fact seems to be that in all Sanskrit records of this period including the Great Epic the names Suhma and Brahma have always been used to denote the Rāḍhā country which was almost fully covered by these two janapadas.

The Brahma people seems never to have been a very powerful and prominent people and was perhaps only a branch of the greater Suhma

people. Perhaps this is why nowhere in Sanskrit literature they have been given as much importance as the Suhmas. Probably this again explains the omission of the name Brahma from the epic and Paurāṇic list of the five eponymous heroes viz., Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, representing the five important tribes of Eastern India.

In later times, however, when the two terms Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā came to be generally used to denote the two ancient divisions of western Bengal, their original names Brahma and Suhma gradually fell into disuse until they disappeared altogether. We have already seen that up to at least the twelfth century when Dhoyī⁴ flourished both the ancient proper names as well as the later descriptive designations of these two divisions were simultaneously in use, though even at that time the latter were more commonly in use than the former. But after that time the names Brahma and Suhma cannot be traced in records, epigraphic or literary, while the designations Uttara-Rāḍhā and Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā are in use even now.

Nilakaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata* has in one place observed that the Suhmas are the Rāḍhās (*Suhmāḥ Rāḍhāḥ*). Such identifications of two peoples or janapadas (as is generally the case with Hemacandra, the lexicographer) should always be accepted with some reservations. The land of Suhma, no doubt, covered the country of Rāḍhā to some extent; but it is perhaps a mistake to think that these two tracts wholly coincided with each other. If what we have discussed above has any value Suhma must be taken to represent only a part, namely the southern part, of Rāḍhā and not the whole of it. It should be noted in this connection that Nilakaṇṭha has not tried to locate Pra-
Suhma though this name occurs in the epic in close association with Suhma on which he has commented.

Karvaṭa

Another people who inhabited a part of western Bengal, that is, Rāḍhā in ancient times were the Karvaṭas. In the *Mahābhārata* Bhīma is said to have defeated the king of the Karvaṭas in course of his eastern

⁴ According to the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī, the Court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, the Suhma country was situated on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī branch of the Ganges.

conquests. Some idea about the location of this kingdom can perhaps be formed from the fact that it has been mentioned in the epic account between the kingdom of Tāmralipta on the one hand and that of Suhma on the other. Apparently the Karvaṭas occupied some tract in the neighbourhood of Tamruk in the Medinīpur district. They are again referred to in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira,⁵ and here also they are mentioned along with the Suhmas. In the list of the eastern janapadas of the *Parāśara Tantra*, as quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, their name occurs between those of Puṇḍra and Samatāṭa. That Karvaṭa was the name of an important janapada of ancient Bengal and that it was a great centre of the Jainas seem to be indicated by the fact that a Śākhā of the Jaina sect belonging to the Godāsa Gaṇa was known by the name (Dāsī) Kharbaṭikā (i.e. Karvaṭikā), the three other Śākhās of the same Gaṇa being Tāmraliptikā, Koṭivarṣā and Puṇḍravardhanīā.⁶ In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (lviii. 12) there is mention of a hill named Karvaṭāsana; this hill seems to have been situated in the janapada of Karvaṭa, particularly in view of the fact that here it is preceded by another name Vyāghramukha which in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* also precedes the name Suhma and Karvaṭa. In later times the Karvaṭa-janapada like Tāmralipta seems to have been incorporated within the kingdom of the Suhmas.

The Cities of Rāḍhā

We have already seen that the Jaina Upāṅga, the *Pannavaṇā*, mentions Koḍi varisaṃ as a city of Rāḍhā. This city seems to be identical with Koṭivarṣa which represented a *viṣaya* during the time of the Gupta and the Pāla kings. Koṭivarṣa has been identified with Devī-koṭ (called Dīw-koṭ in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*), a town on the left bank of the Punarbhavā river, not far from the town of Dinājpur. Devī-koṭ is still the name of a *parganā* in that district. It is in Dāmodarpur of this district that five copper-plate inscriptions have been unearthed all of which record grants of land in the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya. If the identification of Koḍi varisaṃ with Koṭivarṣa and Devī-

5 Ch. XIV. 5; see also XVI. 13.

6 *Kalpasūtra* SBE., XXII, p. 288.

koṭ be correct, then it should perhaps be supposed that the kingdom of Rāḍhā extended northwards so as to include the modern Dinājpur district in the time to which the Jaina Upāṅga refers. In later times Koṭivarṣa was included in the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana (Dāmodarpur, Khālimpur and Bāngarh copper-plates) and was also regarded as a part of Varendrī (*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*). In some editions of the *Prabodha-candrodaya* is mentioned Rāḍhāpurī which some scholars have taken to represent the capital of Rāḍhā and apparently they identify it with a place called Rara shown in the map of De Barros as standing on the west bank of the Ganges, opposite Gauro. But in other editions of the drama the reading is simply *Rāḍhā tato*, not Rāḍhā-purī. *Rāḍhā tato* seems to be the correct reading. If Rāḍhāpurī is to be taken to represent the city of Rāḍhā or Rara of the map of De Barros, then it must have been a city of North Rāḍhā; but other passages of the drama explicitly state that Ahaṅkāra belonged to South Rāḍhā; so the Rāḍhā of the verse in question evidently stands for South Rāḍhā and thus cannot be identical with Rara of De Barros or any other place in North Rāḍhā. Secondly, the sense of this verse is that the kingdom of Gauḍa contained the country of Rāḍhā which again contained the village of Bhūri śreṣṭhika of which the father of Ahaṅkāra was an inhabitant. The city of Rāḍhā could not contain a village; and the reading Rāḍhāpurī instead of *Rāḍhā tato* does not suit the construction of the verse and the real force of the verse also greatly suffers, while the reading *Rāḍhā tato* is not only required by the construction of the verse but also brings out the real significance of the whole statement. Hence it seems that the *Prabodha-candrodaya* contains no reference to any city of Rāḍhā.

It seems that Vardhamāna (i.e. modern Burdwan) was an important city of the Rāḍhā country from very early times. The country of the Vardhamānas is mentioned in the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. In the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, which so closely resembles the Kūrma-vibhāga of the *Br̥hat Saṃhitā*, is also found mention of the country called Vardhamānaka. This shows that a part of the Rāḍhā country or western Bengal was known by the name of Vardhamāna from a very early period. So it is likely that the city of Vardhamāna or Burdwan also has existed from that time. This is

fully confirmed by a statement of the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* viz.—*Kāmarūpe tathā deśe Vardhamāne purottame* (ed. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, part I, p. 89). From the Naihāṭi copper-plate of Vallālasena as well as the Govindapur copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇasena we know that Vardhamāna was the name of a *bhukti* or division of the Sena kingdom of Bengal and Uttara-Rāḍhā, as we have noticed earlier, formed a *maṇḍala* of that *bhukti*. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suppose that the city of Vardhamāna was the head quarters of the administrative division of the same name just as is the case in modern times. Thus it appears that Vardhamāna has always been an important city of the Rāḍhā country from the time of the *Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa*, the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*.

Of the other cities of Rāḍhā mention may be made of Vijayapura, the capital city of the Sena rulers, and of Tāmralipti, the famous port on the Pūrva Sāgara or Bay of Bengal.

Vajrabhūmi

As we have noticed before, Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍhā) according to the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, was divided into two parts Vajjabhūmi and Subbbabhūmi. It is not possible to identify or exactly locate Vajjabhūmi in Rāḍhā. From the description of the land given in the Jaina Aṅga some scholars have identified it with the rough jungly part of western Rāḍhā. A place called Paniabhūmi is referred to in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* and also in the *Kalpasūtra* in both of which it is stated that Mahāvīra lived sometime in this place in company with Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta, the founder of the Ājīvika-sect. According to a commentary of the *Kalpasūtra* Paniabhūmi is a place in Vajrabhūmi. A commentary of the *Bhagavatī* restores the word as Paṇita-bhūmi or Praṇita-bhūmi. The Cola king Karikāla is said to have received some presents from a king of Yajra in course of his northern campaigns (*Śilappadhikāram*). One scholar has identified this Yajra with the Vajjabhūmi of the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*.

According to the story of Upaka, the Ājīvika, and Cāpā, of which there are several versions in the Buddhist Pāli literature, Buddha met the Ājīvika on his way to Benares from Gayā shortly after his enlightenment, after which Upaka proceeded in the opposite direction

till he reached a janapada which has been called *Vaṅga* in the *Sutta-nipāta* version and *Vaṅkahāra* in all other versions.* That this janapada was situated outside the Middle Country and probably somewhere in western Bengal seems probable from the fact that Upaka is said to have left this janapada after sometime and to have proceeded towards Majjhimadesa. *Vaṅga* is well known, but it is not possible to identify *Vaṅkahāra* satisfactorily, which, however, may be the modern Bankura region as the phonetic similarity of the names suggests.

Suhma

According to the *Āyārāṅga-sutta*, as we have just seen, *Suhma* formed a part of the *Rādhā* country. The epic account of *Bhīma*'s eastern conquests makes the country of the *Suhmas* distinct from *Vaṅga*, *Tāmralipta* as well as the sea-coast region. In *Kālidāsa*'s *Raghuvamśa* also *Suhma* is distinguished from the sea-coast and the country of the *Vaṅgas* lying within the streams of the *Ganges*.⁴ From these two accounts it is clear that the *Suhma* country lay to the north of *Tāmralipta*, modern *Tamluk* in *Midnapur* district, a little to the interior not very far from the sea-coast and to the west of *Vaṅga*, apparently on the other side of the *Bhāgīrathī*. But it is not possible to locate the *Suhmas* more exactly from these data. But the boundaries of the *Suhma* kingdom, like those of all other kingdoms, shifted from time to time. In the *Mahābhārata* as well as in most other references *Tāmralipti* is mentioned separately from *Suhma*. According to the *Jaina Pannavaṇā* *Tamalitti* was included in *Vaṅga*. In the *Raghuvamśa* *Tāmralipti* is omitted, but apparently it was then a part of *Vaṅga* which seems to have extended up to the river *Kapiśā*, the modern *Kāsāi* which flows to the west of modern *Tamluk*. But the *Daśakumāracarita* refers to *Dāmalipti* as a city of the *Suhmas*, which shows that the *Suhma* kingdom had extended at that time so as to include that important city. In a later period the name *Suhma* went out of use and disappeared in the more comprehensive name of *Rādhā*.

Jathara

It seems that a tribe called the *Jatharas*, though not very important, inhabited some part of western Bengal in old times. In the

Bṛhat Samhitā they are mentioned between the Vaṅgas and the Upavaṅgas on the one hand and the Aṅgas on the other. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* they are mentioned immediately after Kaliṅga and Vaṅga and the three names form one compound word (*Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Jaṭharāḥ*). The combined evidence of these two works would seem to show that the Jaṭharas were located somewhere near the Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Aṅga janapadas. This seems to point to western Bengal or Rādhā. The Jaṭharas are again mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9) where, however, there is no indication about the location of this people.

A word of explanation about the word *pravijaya* found in the *Purāṇas* immediately after *Brahmottara* may not be out of place in this connection. This word occurs in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* as well as *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*. This has led Pargiter to think that this was really the name of a people, and he has further suggested that they appear from the context to be the same as the *Prāvr̥ṣeya*s of the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 9. 50). There are, however, reasons to believe that the text of the *Jambukhaṇḍa-nirmāṇa-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* is at least as corrupt as that of the *Purāṇas*. The word preceding *Prāvr̥ṣeya* in the *Mahābhārata* is *Samantarāḥ* which apparently stands for *Suhmottarāḥ* of the *Matsya* and *Brahmottarāḥ* of the other *Purāṇas*. *Samantarāḥ* is apparently a misreading. So is *prāvr̥ṣyāḥ*. The real word here is neither *prāvr̥ṣeya* nor *pravijaya* as in the *Purāṇas*, but *prabhṛtayaḥ* meaning *et cetera*. The *Nāṭya-sāstra* of Bharata, which so closely follows the *Purāṇas* in the matter of the lists of janapadas of ancient India, has the word *prabhṛtayaḥ* in the place of *pravijayāḥ*. This is fully confirmed by the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara which seems to have preserved the strings of geographical names current in ancient India much better than the *Purāṇas*. So it seems reasonable that we should dismiss the idea from our minds that the word *pravijaya* of the *Purāṇas* and *prāvr̥ṣeya* of the *Mahābhārata* stand for the name of any people in Eastern India.

The Prince of Wales Museum grant of Mahāsāmanta Indrakēśi

This lithic record is found in the Gallery of inscriptions of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The stone on which the grant is engraved is about four feet tall and two broad. The surface is very irregular, and there are evidences of a crude execution. The script is ordinarily clear. It belongs to the later style of Kannada writing, and slants a bit to the right. The text of the inscription is engraved separately on a slightly sunken surface. The invocatory verse and the first line of the text stand at the top and are surmounted by the figures of a cow, a calf, and a man facing them.*

The grant belongs to the year 1060 A.D. (S.S. 982). It refers to Indrakēśi, a Mahāsāmanta or feudatory under the Cālukya emperor Trailôkyamalla-deva. Indrakēśi governed Belvoḷa 300 and Purikara 300 as well as other districts, assisted by his son Jayakēśi. Another Jayakēśi, the father of the donor, is also mentioned. Thus we have three generations specified.

Jayakēśi
|
Indrakēśi
|
Jayakēśi

The first Jayakēśi is mentioned in a Hulgūr inscription of S.S. 960 (*EL.*, XVI, p. 332). The second one, the grandson, is mentioned in 1142 A.D. in the third of the "Three inscriptions of Lakṣmēśvar" edited by Dr. L. D. Barnett in *EL.*, XVI; and also in another of the Hulgūr inscriptions at p. 330, *EL.*, XVI. He appears to have distinguished

* These symbols are somewhat unique and are seen but rarely inscribed on lithic or copper records. In a Gupta stone inscription of the G. E. 269, there are engraved in outline, below the inscription towards the proper right side of the stone, a cow and a calf standing and nibbling at a small tree or bush (*Corp. Ins. Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 274). The similarity of the symbols of these records is remarkable. (Ed. *IHQ*).

himself as a great general. The present record furnishes the missing link, as it were, between the first and the third generations of these Maṇaleras. This is the first inscription of Indrakēśi that has come to light. His queen is here named Kabbarasi.

These personages belonged to the Maṇalera family, which is also termed Maṇala. There are numerous references to the long line of kings of this family in early inscriptions. It is traced back to the time of Gaṅga king Śrīpuruṣa in the eight century. Possibly the family can be traced back to an earlier past. The Maṇaleras, before they transferred their allegiance to the Cālukyas, served under the Gaṅgas, and have been noticed in *EL.*, XVI at pp. 330 and 332, *Mysore Archaeological Reports* for 1908-9, and *EL.*, VI, p. 52. The history and ancestry of the Maṇalera family have been set forth in detail at the last mentioned source.

The grant, engraved by Kallôja, records that Mahāsāmanta Indrakēśi sent for the forty-two mahājanas (dignitaries, evidently) of the village of Caṇḍivāḍi in Purikara nāḍ ruled over by General Maularasa, and gave them twelve *mattars* of land, another piece of land for keeping in repairs a drinking well, and an alms-house for feeding twelve Brahmins. He also gave to Bharasūri (a Jain priest) a freehold worth a rent of 30 *gadyāṇas* and a paddy field worth an annual rent of 60 *gadyāṇas*. The occasion for these grants was Vyātipāta of the summer solstice, the full-moon day of the month of Pūṣyā, of the year Śārvari, S.S. 982. It corresponds to the Christian year 1060.

The province (deśa) of Purikara has been mentioned by name; Purikara is the Sanskritized form of Purikare, Pulikare or Huligere which has been identified as the modern Lakṣmêśvar. Siggāve, the capital of these feudatories according to this grant, is no other than the Shiggaon of the present day in the district of Dharwar. Shiggaon has been mentioned in another inscription at p. 257, *EL.*, VI. Two other places have also been named: the villages of Caṇḍivāḍi and Mānyageri.

These vassals call themselves Mahāsāmantas, the great feudatories. Indrakēśi's name is associated with a long list of titles. The Maṇaleras evidently occupied an important position under the Cālukyas.

TEXT

- १ । नमस्तस्मै वराहाय लीलया चरते महीं खुरान्तरग
 २ । तो यस्य मेरुः खणखणायते ॥ स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय
 ३ । श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकम्
 ४ । सत्याश्रयकुलतिलकम् चालुक्याभरणम् श्रीगङ्गादेव
 ५ । रु विजयराज्यमुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्द्धमानमाचन्द्रार्कता
 ६ । रम्वरम् सलुत्तमिरे ॥ तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि ॥ वृत्त ॥ मणलैरान्वय
 पङ्केदन दे—
 ७ । वीदलनमार्त्तण्डमत्युग्रभीषण खड्गाग्रविदारितानन्तपतिव्यूहम्
 ८ । धराचक्ररक्षणदक्षम् प्रतिपक्ष क... .. द (?) वज्जालि (?) प्रत.....
 वुल्वण
 ९ । कोपं जयकेशिभूपमवनिविख्यातकीर्तिभ्रज ॥ तत्तनूभव ॥ ज
 १० । यकान्तारमणं द्विषन्नुपवधूनेत्रोत्पलामभोजिनीदयितं तार-
 ११ । तुषारहारहरहासाभासकीर्त्यङ्गनाप्रियमत्युन्नतचार
 १२ । वीरचरितम् सत्यान्धवम् बाष्पमन्नेयसिङ्गम् नेगलद-इन्द्रकेशि-सुभटप्र-
 १३ । स्तुत्यदोर्वीक्रम ॥ क ॥ आ नृपकान्ते पतिव्रते दानि दयाधीने चल्वे
 १४ । कव्वरसि गुणानूने जिनधर्मभूषणे जानकिगाम् रूपविभवदि मि-
 १५ । गिल-यनिपले ॥ आ दम्पतिगे तनूभवनादे जयकेशि वैरियन्निरे
 १६ । कर्णच्छेदनकृपाणपाणिदिशादन्तिविलम्बकीर्तिवल्लिवलय ॥ व ॥ इन्ता
 १७ । कुमारम् वेरस् इन्द्रकेशियरशर सिग्गावेथोले सुखदिम् राज्यम् गेय्यु-
 १८ । त्तिर्हु ॥ श्रीमत पुरिकरेदेस सिखामणि नडुनाड तीर्थमेनिसिद पेम्पिन्दे मा-
 १९ । तो चण्डिवाड ग्रामम् सकलाग्रहारललितललाम ॥ ग्रामेश्वर नगधरपद
 २० । तामरस कालीमुखम् परान्मुख वैरिस्तोममभिमुखसुहृन्निधि सामान्य
 २१ । ने दण्डनायकम् मौलरस ॥ वृ ॥ आपङ्केजगर्भाण्वयद महिमे
 २२ । यम् तालदि (?) कोन्दिर्पुर्व्वोविदितर्व्वोदोक्त धर्मानुगरखिल धरित्री
 जनाहा—
 २३ । रदानास्पदरिन्द्राहीन्द्र-न्दस्तुतभगवदुमाधीश-लक्ष्मीश-वागीश-दि-
 २४ । नाधीशाङ्गि पङ्केरुह मदमधुपर संख्येयिम् नालवदिम्बरे (?) क ॥
 २५ । यमनियमस्वाध्यायक्रमदोले वेदादिशास्त्रादिमतमियो

- २६ । ले तमगे दोरेपाटिपोसटि (?) समंच शि(?)ष्या (?) त्रि (?) पु (?) ल
गौतम ऋषिगले ॥
- २७ । अन्तेनिषिद समस्त महाजनमय वरिसि समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द
- २८ । महासामन्तनिदानीन्तन रेवन्तम् मणलेरान्वयप्रसूतम् सिङ्ग (?)
- २९ । वन (?) प्रख्या (?) [त] पुरिकरे पुरवरेश्वरम् समरमाहेश्वरम् भगवद (?) य—
- ३० । रमेश्वर परमभट्टारकपदसरसिजमधुकरम् सम्यत्तवरत्नाकरम् प्र-
- ३१ । ण्डमण्डलेशमण्डितदोर्दण्डसङ्करमार्तण्डनामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिर्साह-
- ३२ । तम् श्रीमन्महासामन्तनिन्द्रकेशीयरसरस्सकवर्ष ६८२ नेय सार्वरि
- ३३ । संवत्सरद पुष्यद पुणमियादियवारमुत्तरायणसंक्रान्तिव्यती
- ३४ । पातनिमित्तम् पन्दिर्व्वरं ब्राह्मणर्गं सत्रम् नडेवन्तागि युरोडेय प्रमु-
- ३५ । ख महाजनम् नाल्वदिम्बरकालम् कु (क?) ऋच्छिधारापूर्वकम् माडि तस्म
सीवदि (?) दो-
- ३६ । लगे वायव्यद देसेयोलूरोडेयर मान्यदि तेङ्क सर्वे नमस्यम-
- ३७ । गि ३६ गेण गलेयोले विट्ट मत्त १२ कोडवाविगे विट्ट मत्त-आ-
- ३८ । धिब सेट्टिय सभामन्टपदिम् पडुव मान्यगेरियिम् मुड सत्रक्के बि-
- ३९ । त्त मने ल मत्तम्आ पुण्यतिथियोल्—समस्त परिग्रहम् भरसूरिङ्गे (?)
- ४० । गोट्ट धर्मवत्तले मन्नेय सेट्टाय गद्याणम् मूवत्तक्के वीम-
- ४१ । डि सहितवरवत्तु गद्याणमनेल्लकालमुम् तेत्तु सुखम् वालक
- ४२ । रुलेरेय दौ (?) दनम् पञ्चरसवर्जितम्-ईन्टी धर्ममम् स्वधर्मदिम् प्र-
- ४३ । तिपालिसिदवर्गे वाणरासि प्रयाग कुरुक्षेत्रमेव पुण्यती-
- ४४ । थंमगलोले सासिर्व्वर्व्वेदपारगरप्प ब्राह्मणर्गं सासिर कविलेयम् कोडुम् को-
- ४५ । लगुमम् पञ्चरत्नदिम् कत्तिसि-युभयमु- गोट्ट फलमक्कु ॥ गङ्गा सा-
- ४६ । गर यमुना सङ्गमदोले वाणरासि गया येस्वि तीर्थम् गलोल्-आत्मकुलट्टि-
- ४७ । जपुङ्गव गोकुलमनलिदर-इन्त-इदम् अलिदरे ॥ सामन्योयं धर्मसेतु-
- ४८ । नृपाणां काले काले पालनीया भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान् भाविनद पार्थिवेन्द्रा-
- ४९ । न्भूयोभूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ स्वदत्तं परदत्तं
- ५० । वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां
- ५१ । जायते क्रिमिः ॥ मङ्गलग्रह ॥ श्री ॥ कल्लोजम् वेसेयेदम् ॥

Translation

- Lines 1. Salutation to that Boar who wanders at will, and,
between whose hoofs the Meru mountain vibrates.
- 2-9. While, with his usual titles, the Cālukya emperor Trailokyamalla-deva was ruling his kingdom which prospers and will endure everlasting by his vassal, born in the Maṇalera family, the phalanx of his enemy kings broken with the tip of his terrible sword, efficient in the governance of the wheel,—the world, mighty in anger, the line of his fame spreading all over the world, was lord Jayakêṣi.
- „ 10-13. His son, the husband of Victory, a sun (of destruction) to the lilies, namely, the wives of enemy kings, the lover of the woman Fame who eclipses in her brightness even the sun,¹ a person of heroic and splendid career, a lover of truth, a lion among respectable people, was Indrakêṣi whose kingdom was worthy of being praised by great men.
- „ 13-15. The wife of that king, loyal to her husband, charitable, compassionate, beautiful, immaculate, devoted to the religion of Jina, in beauty and greatness greater even than Jānakī, was Kabbarasi.
- „ 15-16. The son of that couple was Jayakêṣi who, with a sword in his hand, cut off the ears of his enemies, and whose fame reached, like a circle of creeper, the elephants in the four quarters.
- „ 17. Assisted by a son of such abilities was Indrakêṣi ruling in happiness in Siggāve.
- „ 18-19. There was the village of Māto Caṇḍivāḍi,² the crown and glory of all *agrahāras*, enjoying the reputation of a holy place in the centre of the excellent Purikara.
- „ 19-21. A bee to the lotus,—the feet of lord Kṛṣṇa, the god of the village, with a host of enemies retreating before him,

1. I am not sure of the correctness of my translation here.

2 Or is it only *Chañdivāḍi*?

and a host of friends approaching him, is General Maulā-rasa an ordinary man (?).

„ 21-24. Born in the family of Brahmā (i.e., a Brahmin by birth), known the world over, followers of the instructions laid down in the Vedas, a source of gift and food to the whole of mankind, bees to the lotus, the feet of the gods, Śun, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, who are praised by Indra, the lord of the serpents and others, were the Forty-two (mahājanas).

„ 25-26. They had no peers in judgment supported by the authority of the Vedas and other sacred sciences, and in the austere courses of restraint, discipline, study etc. They were equal to the sage Gautama and others (?).

„ 27-39. Sending for all these forty two mahājanas, the great vassal, possessor of such titles as—the obtainer of the five great musical instruments, a Rêvanta of the modern age, born in the Maṇalera family, a lion-like man, lord of the famous Purikara, a Rudra in battle, Paramêśvara, a bee to the lotus.—the position (or title) Paramabhaṭṭāraka, a mine of virtues, with his arms decorated (? worshipped) by even mighty Maṇḍalikas, a sun in battle and so on—Lord Indrakēśi washed their feet, and pouring water on the occasion of Vyātīpāta of the summer solstice, the full-moon day of Puṣyā of the year Sārvari Ś.S. 982 gave them, (1) 12 *mattars* measured by the pole of the length of 36 cubits (2) - - *mattars* for (?) the drinking well which lay to the south of the freehold of the head-man (*urodeva*) of the village and in the northwest of his (Indrakēśi's) territory, (3) a house situated to the east of Mānyageri to the west of the lecture hall (*sabhā-maṇḍapa*) built by Aybi Seṭṭi, for the purpose of maintaining an alms-house (*satra*) for twelve Brahmins.

„ 39-42. He also gave on the same auspicious occasion to Bharasūri a freehold for a (?) religious object (*dharma-Vattaḷe*) with all the revenues accruing to it, of the value of 30 (?) Sedhrāya *gadyāṇas*, and a muddy

paddy-field that fetched him for all times a rent of 60 *gaḍyāṇas*, the (?) accessories (*vīmaḍi*) included.

- 42-45. To those who preserve this gift intact given along with the five fluids (*pañcarasa*) will accrue the merit of having given a thousand cows to a thousand Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas in holy places like Bārāṇasī (Benares), Prayāga, and Kurukṣetra, and of having given a pond built with the five gems.
- 46-47. To destroy this is to destroy oneself, one's race, worthy Brahmins, and a herd of cows in holy places like the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, Benares and Gaya.
- 47-51. (Usual ending verses and imprecations.)
May it be well. Kallôja engraved this.

B. C. S. SHARMA

Two new lists of Kalās

A knowledge of what were called the kalās appears to have occupied a very prominent place in the cultural equipment of the citizens of Ancient India. As a matter of fact, an expert knowledge of these was regarded as essential for all cultured and refined people. But curiously there does not seem to have ever been a strictly fixed connotation of the term kalā in its cultural aspect.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to distinguish between music and dancing on the one hand and kalā on the other.¹ But there are some who include music and dancing in the list of kalās. The *Mahābhārata* refers to three kalās,² which, according to Nīlakaṇṭha, refer to *mantra*, *dravya* and *śraddhā*. Bhartṛhari in his *Vākya-padīya*³ makes a distinction between *kalā* and *śilpa* though the latter is given as a synonym for kalā in the lexicons like *Amarakośa*, *Vaijayantī Kośa* and *Medinī Kośa*. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Chap. X) calls the kalās the *upavidyās* or minor branches of learning and distinguishes them from what he calls the *kāryavidyās*, e.g., Rhetoric, Prosody etc. which are, however, found to have been included in the lists of kalās by some. This confusion with regard to the connotation of the term led to the compilation of different lists of kalās at different periods of time.

But in spite of the great importance of the subject in the cultural history of India—in spite of the good deal of confusion surrounding it, the subject of kalās does not seem to have been thoroughly studied by any scholar. The only systematic, but not strictly comprehensive, treatment of the subject is met with in a booklet of 92 pages written by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah in 1911.

1 गीतवादित्रकुशला नृत्येषु कुशलास्तथा ।

उपायज्ञाः कलाज्ञाश्च वैशिके परिनिष्ठिताः ॥ I. 9. 8

2 Aśvamedha Parvan—89, 3.

3 सा सर्वविधा शिल्पानां कलानाम्बोधनी

—*Vākya-padīya*, I, 126.

Mr. Venkatasubbiah has given ten different lists of kalās as found in works belonging to different periods of time. The best known of these lists that occurs in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana as also in some of the commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 45. 35)⁴ has also been dealt with in detail recently by Dr. P. K. Acharya.⁵

Besides the lists given in Mr. Venkatasubbiah's work there are other lists as well. In the present paper we shall deal with two hitherto-unnoticed lists.

One of these belongs to Kṣemendra, the great polymath, and the other is taken from Bhāskararāya's commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāma*.

Kṣemendra has given two lists of kalās in his *Kalāvilāsa* (published in Kāvya-mālā—Prathama Guccha, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay). The list in the fourth canto of 64 arts of courtezans is referred to in the *JRAS* (1914, p. 357).

In the 10th canto of this work is given another list of kalā,⁶

4 It should be noted here that the list as given in the *Daṃśoddhāra*, a commentary by Rājārāma on the *Devīmāhātmya* (XI. 5) agrees with this list.

5 *IHQ.*, V. 188ff. But curiously Dr. Acharya has made no reference either to the book of Mr. Venkatasubbiah or to the article in the *JRAS* (1914, p. 355 ff.) which deals with this book. This article is also referred to by Prof. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1924, p. 51, f. n. 2).

धर्म्यः कलाकलापो विदुषामभीप्सितो भूत्यै ॥
 धर्मस्य कला ज्येष्ठा भूतदयाख्या परोपकारश्च ।
 दानं क्षमानसूया सत्यमलोभः प्रसादश्च ॥
 अर्थस्य सदोत्थानं नियमपरिपालनं क्रियाज्ञानम् ।
 स्थानत्यागः पटुतानुद्वेगः स्त्रीष्वविश्वासः ॥
 कामस्य वेशशोभा पेशलता चारुता गुणोत्कर्षः ।
 नानाविधाश्च लीलाश्चित्तज्ञानञ्च कान्तानाम् ॥
 मोक्षस्य विवेकरतिः प्रशमस्मृष्टाक्षयश्च सन्तोषः ।
 सङ्गत्यागः स्वलयस्थानं परमप्रकाशश्च ॥
 एताश्चतुष्टयकला द्वार्निशत्क्रमशः समस्ता वा ।
 संसारवञ्चकानां विद्या विद्यावतामेव ॥
 मात्सर्यस्य त्यागः प्रियवादिष्व सधैर्यमक्रोधः ।
 वैराग्यं च परार्थे सुखस्य सिद्धिः कलाः पञ्च ॥

which are grouped here under several heads, e.g., *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, *mokṣa*, *sukha*, *śīla*, *prabhāra* (influence) and *māna* (respect). A group of ten kalās, given at the end of the list, is stated to be *bhēṣaja* or salutary. In all he gives the number of kalās as 100 (X. 40) though he incidentally recognises the number sixty four. It will be noticed that almost all moral, spiritual and diplomatic qualities are considered by Kṣemendra as kalās.

The list of Bhāskararāya, the celebrated author of a good many Tantra works, is given, as has already been noted, in his commentary, called *Saubhāgyabhāskara* on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* which is stated to form a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. He gives the list in connection with his explanation of the epithet *catuḥṣaṣṭikālāmayī* (verse 109) as applied to the deity Lalitā. He gives the list in a metrical form, which he says is based on the work of Śārṅgadharma, the *Kathākoś* of Śrīdhara and the *Lakṣmīpīṭhikā* where the kalās are stated to have been enumerated in detail.⁷ None of these works are

सत्सङ्गः कामजयः शौचं गुरुसर्वेन (?) सदाचारः ।
 श्रुतममलं यशसि रतिर्मूलकलाः सप्त शीलस्य ॥
 तेजः सत्त्वं बुद्धिर्व्यवसायो नीतिरिज्जितज्ञानम् ।
 प्रागल्भ्यं सुसहायः कृतज्ञता मन्त्ररक्षणं त्यागः ॥
 अनुरागः प्रतिपत्तिर्मित्रार्जनमानृशंस्यमस्तम्भः ।
 आश्रितजनवात्सल्यं सप्तदश कलाः प्रभावस्य ॥
 मौनमलौल्यमयाञ्जा मानस्य च जीवितं कलान्नितयम् ।
 एताः कला विदग्धैः स्वगताः कार्याश्चतुःषष्टिः ॥
 शक्तविरोधे गमनं तत्प्रणतिर्वा बलोदये वैरम् ।
 आर्त्तस्य धर्मचर्या दुःखे धैर्यं सुखेष्वनुत्सेकः ॥
 विभवेषु संविभागः सत्सु रतिर्मन्त्रसंशये प्रज्ञा ।
 निन्दयेषु पराङ्मुखता भेषजमेतत्कलादशकम् ॥

7

अष्टादशलपिबोधस्तल्लेखनशीघ्रवाचने चित्रम् ।
 बहुविधभाषाज्ञानं तत्कविताश्रुतनिगदिता यत्नम् ॥
 वेदा उपवेदाश्चत्वारः शास्त्राङ्गषट्के द्वे ।
 तन्त्रपुराणस्मृतिकं काव्यालङ्कारनाटकादि द्वे ॥
 शान्तिर्वर्याकर्षणविद्वे षोडशमारणानि च षट् ।

known to have come down. No mention of any of them is made either in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in the section of Mr. Venkatasubbiah's work entitled *The Literature of the Kalās* (p. 69f.).⁸

This list which may be called the Tantric list, agrees closely with the tenth list of Venkatasubbiah which is found in Rāmacandra's commentary on Lakṣmaṇakavi's continuation of the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* as also in the encyclopædic work *Sivatattvaratnākara* of Vāsavarāja (17th century) of Keladi.⁹

A clear and definite Tantric tinge is lent to the list by the inclusion of the six practices of the Tantras (*māraṇa*, *uccāṭana* etc). And as Mr. Venkatasubbiah has hinted, many of the topics like the attainment of supernatural power included in this and other lists are really Tantric in character. Even though all the kalās were not Tantric in character they were referred to in more than one Tantra work. Commentators on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* like Śrīdharasvāmin and Viśvanātha Cakravartī refer the kalās to Śaiva Tantra though they do not name any particular work. The *Lakṣmīpūṭhikā*, one of the sources on which Bhāskaraṛāya depends for his list, may not unlikely have been a Tantra work. It is not known if the kalās, of which we are speaking, were in any way, connected with a category of the same

गतिजलवृष्ट्याग्न्यायुधवाग्रेतःस्तम्भसप्तकं शिल्पम् ।
 गजहयथनरशिक्ताः सामुद्रिकमल्लसूदगाख्डकाः ॥
 तत्तत्सुषिरानद्धधनेन्द्रजालनृत्तानि गीतरसवादौ ।
 रत्नपरीक्षा चौर्य धातुपरीक्षाप्यदृश्यत्वम् ।
 इति भास्करसुधियोक्ता निष्कृत्य कलाश्रुतःषष्टिः ॥

Different Mss. of the work record some minor differences and variants in the list quoted above. Thus the list translated by R. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Sāstrī (*Lalitā-sahasranāma* with Bhaskaraṛāya's Commentary translated into English, second edition, 1925, p. 124) does not include *citra* and reads *drṣṭi* for *vrṣṭi*. In a footnote Mr. Sāstrī even refers to a Ms. which gives a different enumeration of the kalās.

8 It is not known, however, if *Sārṅgadharīya* as mentioned by Bhāskaraṛāya, is the drama of the same name referred to in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. p. 643).

9. Cf. p. 7 of the edition of the work published by B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras.

name, born of Māyā and recognised in Śaiva Philosophy. According to the Śaiva system of Philosophy, kalā is the seat of all enjoyment.¹⁰

The list of Bhāskara-rāya has been translated by R. Ananta Kṛṣṇa Sāstrī in the course of his translation of the entire work. We shall satisfy ourselves only by adding notes on some of the items.

'Knowledge of the eighteen scripts' occurs as the first item in this list. Lists of these eighteen scripts are referred to by Mr. Venkata-subbiah (p. 9). It is not, however, known if *aṣṭādaśalipi* referred to a particular Tantric mantra as seems to be indicated by the occurrence of the word in *Nārada-pañcarātra* (Bib. Ind., 3. VI. 21.).

Sāstrī translates *śrutanigaditā* in *bahuvīdhabhāṣāśrutanigaditā* as 'composing verses'. But a better and literal translation of the whole expression seems to be 'repetition of what was heard from poems of various languages'.

Upavedas.—Different lists of upavedas are met with in different works. *Āyurveda* (Science of medicine), *Dhanurveda* (Science of archery), *Gandharvaveda* (Science of music) and *Sthāpatyaveda* (Science of architecture) are the four *upavedas* according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The list as given in *Caranavyūha* (Khaṇḍa, IV-V) and by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his *Prasthānabheda* (p. 2 of the Vanivilas Press edition) puts *Arthaśāstra* in place of *Sthāpatyaveda*. *Arthaśāstra*, again, in the opinion of Madhusūdana, is of various kinds and includes *Nītiśāstra*, *Aśvaśāstra*, *Śilpaśāstra*, *Sūpakāraśāstra* and *Catuḥṣaṣṭikalāśāstra*.¹¹ This is also the view of Nandarāma Tarkavāgīśa as set forth in his *Samkhyāprakāśa*.¹² Thus according to

10

भोगघात्री कला ज्ञेया तदाधारश्च पुद्गलः ।

भोगानामपि नान्योऽस्ति कलां त्याज्य समाश्रयः ॥

—*Mātaṅgaparameśvarāyama*

(Śivāgamapari-pālana Saṁsthā. Devakotte)—*Kalātuttrapataḷa*.

11 Separate works dealing with each of these 64 Kalās as given in the *Kāmasūtra* are known to have existed as late as the middle of the 17th century in the Library of Sarvavidyānidhāna Kavindrācārya (*Kavindrācārya Sūcīpatram*—G. O. S. Series, No. 17, p. 33).

12 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India office Library*, vol. IV, No. 2457. The *Daśakumāracarita* too distinguishes the kalās from

this view it is not the kalās that count the upavedas under them but, on the other hand, the upavedas comprise the fine arts. It will also be noticed that this view would distinguish, unlike the ordinary lists of kalās, between cookery and śilpa on the one hand and the kalās on the other.

• *Śāstrasatka*.—It cannot be stated what exactly was meant by this term. Śāstrī's translation is not clear on this point. The *Tantrasāstra* is, however, sometimes called to be of six types.¹³ According to the *Āṅkasaṃkhyānighaṇṭu* the word *śāstra* denotes the number six, though no mention is made of the names of the six śāstras.¹⁴

• *Āṅgaśatka*.—This, of course, refers to the six Vedāṅgas.

• *Kāvyaḷaṅkāranāṭaka*.—It is curious that nāṭaka that is generally regarded as a branch of Kāvya is treated here separately.

• *Gatijalavrṣṭyāgnyāyudha* etc.—Śāstrī connects śilpa with the seven stambhas, e.g., gatistambha, śilpa° etc. But śilpa might well be treated as a separate item.

• *Caurya*.—Mr. Venkatasubbiah (p. 69) thinks that there are no books now extant on this subject. But there is a manuscript of a work, the *Ṣaṇmukhakalpa*, in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī was the first to draw attention to this work in his *Report of the notice of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1901-5). Peterson notices one work called the *Cauryacarya* by Viṭṭhaleśvara in his *Fifth Report of operations in search of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Circle* (No. 174). In A. B. Kathavate's *Report for search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency* (No. 504) the work is called *Cauryasvarūpa*. There is also a Bengali work dealing with the skill of this art in the form of a story. This is the *Cauryacakravartī* of Vīra Kāśīśvara, a manuscript of which is in the

Arthasāstra, *Purāṇa*, *Kāvya*, etc. (Cf. Chapters V. p. 147 and VIII. p. 188 of M. R. Kale's edition—Bombay, 1926).

13 'वृद्धप्रकाराणि तन्त्राणि', 'वृद्धप्रकारे च शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्'

—*Ādmatantro*, India office Catalogue, vol. IV, No. 2532.

• 14 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. XXXVI, p. 246.

Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat. The story has been published in popular form in Bengali in the children's magazine called *Sandēśa* (1338 B.S.).¹⁵

Dhātuparīkṣā.—This is translated by Śāstrī as 'knowledge of pulse.' But a better rendering would possibly be 'examination of minerals' as the science of medicine, of which 'knowledge of pulse' is an important topic, comes under upaveda.

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15 It may be noted in passing that Mūladeva whose name is frequently mentioned in connection with the dissemination of *Cauryaśāstra* is probably the same person as the Mūladeva who describes the Kalās in Kṣemendra's *Kalāvilāsa* where (canto I) he is described as one who is fully versed in all the kalās (सकल.

कलानिलयानां धुर्यः) and as one who was taken resort to by the cheats of all quarters (नानादिग्देशागतधूर्तैरपजीव्यमानमसिबिभवः).

Ancient coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā—a Study

Ancient coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā have been studied by many Indologists from the second quarter of the 19th century up to the present day. Among these scholars the names of Prinsep,¹ Rivett Carnac,² Carlleyle,³ Mitra,⁴ Cunningham,⁵ Indrajī,⁶ Rapson,⁷ Smith,⁸ Banerji,⁹ Jayaswal,¹⁰ and Barua¹¹ may be mentioned. In our present study we shall confine ourselves principally to the following particulars, viz., (a) the style and fabric, (b) the palæography of coin-legends, (c) the symbols on coins, (d) such contemporary inscriptions and (e) the Paurāṇika accounts of such ancient Indian dynasties as may have some bearing on the issuers of these coins. An exact knowledge about the coin-making in ancient India is necessary for an approximate idea about the antiquity of these coins. It is a well-known fact that the most ancient coins of India, e.g., the Punch-marked coins were cut from a hammered sheet of metal and sometimes clipped so as to be adjusted to the proper weight. The cast coins without legend and with legend, the die-struck coins with square incuse and with round

1 *Essays* ed. by Thomas, I, p. 418, Pl. XXXIV, 19-21 etc.; Pl. VIII, 12-15; *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1873, pp. 109, 191.

2 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 87, Pl. XVI-XVII.

3 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 21.

4 *JASB.*, 1880, p. 8.

5 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 90, Pl. IX; p. 73, Pl. V. 7-18; p. 79, Pl. VII; p. 86, Pl. VIII, 1; p. 87, Pl. VIII, 9; p. 88, Pl. VIII; Pl. VIII, 13. *Archæological Survey Reports*, I, p. 301; III, pp. 14, 39; VI, pp. 165, 174; X, p. 4, Pl. II; XIV, p. 149. Pl. XXXI, 19-25.

6 *JRAS.*, 1894, p. 553, Pl. 10-14.

7 *Indian Coins*, Sec. 44, 49, 52, 53.

8 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I.

9 *Prācīna Mudrā*, pp. 103-104; pp. 105-106; pp. 105-108.

10 *JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-485.

11 *Old Brāhmī Ins. in Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri Caves*.

incuse—these four types of coins, as classes, came successively, the first being the earliest.

The so-called Ayodhyā coins

The ancient city of Ayodhyā is well-known in Sanskrit, Pāli and Chinese writings, though now it has lost its importance. Coins which are popularly known as the Ayodhyā coins are found not at Ayodhyā proper, but at the modern city of Fyzabad, which has replaced, in some respects, the ancient city of Ayodhyā.

Up to the present day some anonymous coins and coins of the undermentioned kings have been found here. We may classify them, according to the ending of names, thus :

A. Anonymous coin

B. (1) Dhanadeva	(2) Mūladeva
(3) Vāyudeva	(4) Viśākhadeva

C. Śivadatta

D. Kumudasena

E. (1) Ajavarmā	(2) Mādhavavarmā
-----------------	------------------

F. (1) Devamitra	(2) Indramitra
(3) Satyamitra	(4) Saṅghamitra
(5) Sūryamitra	(6) Bahasatimitra

and (7) Vijayamitra

Cunningham is of opinion that the coins of Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva are 'certainly not older than the second century B.C.'¹² Rapson says that 'the oldest coins seem to be the cast pieces, the date of which is, perhaps, before 200 B.C. The square inscribed pieces, most of which are also cast, may belong to the second century B.C. The other coins, which bear names ending in *-mitra*, seem to belong to the same and following centuries.'¹³ Rapson improves his theory later on while describing the coins of Kumudasena. He observes that 'the inscribed coins attributed to Ayodhyā fall into two classes, (1) square cast, and (2) round struck. The present specimen belongs to the latter, and, like the coins of this class generally, it has the side bearing the name of the king struck

¹² *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 91.

¹³ *Indian Coins*, p. 11.

in incuse, but with this peculiarity, that in this case the incuse is square while in all other cases it is round. The square incuse is characteristic of some of the coins of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañcāla, and is probably the result of impressing a square die on a lump of metal in a semi-molten state. As the earliest form of this incuse, like the shape of the earliest Indian coins, is square, it may, perhaps, be assumed generally that coins having a circular incuse are later in date. If so, our coin must be placed first in the series of the struck coins of Ayodhyā as known at present'.¹⁴

We know from an examination of these coins that those, which belong to the classes A, B & C, are cast. The coins of the class A are cast without legend, but the coins of the classes B & C bear the name of the issuers. The legend of the coin of Śivadatta has been read by Cunningham as Śiva-datasa,¹⁵ and by Smith as simply (*Śiva* ?) *datasa*.¹⁶ No numismatist has given, as yet, an approximate idea of the dates of the coins of the classes B & C.

The coins of Śivadatta may be given an earlier date on the following grounds: On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta there is a moving elephant and this is to be found on the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva, Vāyudeva and on some coins of Dhanadeva. The elephant is conspicuous by its absence on the obverse of some coins of Dhanadeva and on the obverse of all coins of Viśākhadeva, Kumudasena, Mādhavavarmā, Ajavarmā, and the Mitra kings, a humped bull occupying the place instead. Thus the coins of Dhanadeva form a landmark in the history of these coins because on the obverse of some of his coins we have the elephant moving and on some other the humped bull. Perhaps for some cause, not known, Dhanadeva changed the obverse device and used the humped bull in place of the elephant. The coins of Kumudasena are the first of the die-struck coins of Ayodhyā because the incuse is square.¹⁷ The coins of two kings whose names end in *-varmā* are also die-struck with square incuse while the coins of the kings whose names end in *-mitra* are die-struck with round incuse. Thus the coins of two Varmā kings might, with all probability, be placed between the classes D and F. By

¹⁴ *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 287-88.

¹⁵ *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 93.

¹⁶ *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 149.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 150, nos. 14, 15.

the palæographic test we arrive at the same result. The legends on the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva are not distinctly legible but those on the coins of Dhanadeva and Viśākhadeva are of the Aśokan Brāhmī type i.e. they belong to the third century B. C. Palæographically the date of the legends on the coins of Kumudasena is later than that of the four kings whose names end in *-deva*. In the same way it can be shown that the coins of the *Mitra* kings are later than those of the *Varmā* kings and of Kumudasena. We can now chronologically arrange the coins thus :

- A. Anonymous coin
- B. Śivadatta
- C. (1) Mūladeva (2) Vāyudeva
(3) Dhanadeva (4) Viśākhadeva
- D. Kumudasena
- E. (1) Ajavarmā (2) Mādhavavarmā
- F. (1) Devamitra (2) Indramitra
(3) Satyamitra (4) Saughamitra
(5) Sūryamitra (6) Bahasatimitra
and (7) Vijayamitra

From a study of these coins we can guess that there might have flourished five dynasties at Ayodhyā i.e. the *Datta*, *Deva*, *Sena*, *Varmā* and *Mitra*.

Smith has described no less than 40 such coins.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that all these coins are made of copper, a few being of brass (cf. no. 4 of Dhanadeva and nos. 10 & 11 of Śivadatta). On the obverse of the anonymous, circular, cast coin (nos. 12 & 13) we find a fish left, Svastika above and on the reverse 'Taurine' with a steel-yard below. On the obverse of the coins of Śivadatta (nos. 8-11), which are cast, an elephant moving left towards a tree or symbol in railing, Brāhmī legend *Śivadattasa* above and on the reverse many symbols including the Ujjain symbol; the central device may be a goddess seated on lotus. On the obverse of the coins of Mūladeva we find an elephant moving left

¹⁸ *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. I, pp. 148-151, nos. 1-4.

towards a Buddhist symbol ; Brāhmī legend *Mūladevasā* and on the reverse wreath in centre, snake below, Buddhist symbol above.¹⁹ On the obverse of the coins of Vāyudeva, we find elephant moving to left ; Brāhmī legend *Vāyudevasa* and on the reverse four *tri-ratna* symbols on four sides of small circle, Bodhi trees on right and left and snake below.²⁰ The coins of Dhanadeva are of the types as noted before. On the obverse of the first type we find the elephant moving and Brāhmī legend *Dhanadeva* and on the reverse the 'Ujjain' symbol. On the obverse of the second type we find the humped bull standing left facing a peculiar column and Brāhmī legend *Dhanadeva* and on the reverse in centre a solar symbol, snake below, a tree in railing on each side ; above a *triśūla* symbol of the *nandīpāda* form (nos. 3-7). On the obverse of the coins of Viśākhadeva we find a bull standing and Brāhmī legend *Viśākha-devasa* and on the reverse the above mentioned symbols (1-2a). It should be noted that all these coins are cast.

The coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarmā are die-struck with legend in square incuse. The legends and devices are of the same type as we find on the coins of Viśākhadeva (nos. 14-16).

The coins of the Mitra rulers found at Ayodhyā are known as of the Cock and Bull type because of the fact that on the obverse of every coin we find a bull standing, Brāhmī legend inscribing the king's name and on the reverse a cock standing (nos. 17-36) in front of a palm tree. Some coins of Vijayamitra are known as of the Solar symbol type (37-40). All these coins are die-struck with obverse round incuse.

Regarding the Mitra kings we will only say here that some rulers, as known from a study of these coins, most probably belonged to the imperial Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty of Magadha, the list of which has been found in the *Purāṇas*. We shall enter into a detailed discussion of the controversies regarding the attribution of these to the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty when we shall discuss the Kauśāmbī- and Pañcāla-Mitra coins. Suffice it to say that at Ayodhyā two classes of these coins are found viz. (1) the coins of the Imperial Śuṅga-Mitra rulers and (2) of the Later Mitra rulers. The following kings, as found from a study of these coins, may be identified with some rulers mentioned in the *Purāṇas* :—

19 *Coins of Ancient India*, 91-92.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

- | | | |
|--|-----|-----------------|
| A. (1)* Bahasatimitra may be identified with Puṣyamitra (1)† | | |
| | | —c. 188 B.C. |
| (2)* Sūryamitra | „ „ | Vasumitra (4)† |
| | | —c. 137 B.C. |
| (3)* Indramitra | „ „ | Vajramitra (8)† |
| | | —c. 114 B.C. |
| (4)* Devamitra | „ „ | Devabhūti (10)† |
| | | —c. 66 B.C. |

B. *The Later Mitras*

- (1) Satyamitra
- (2) Sanghamitra
- (3) Vijayamitra

We will not enter into any discussion now regarding nos. 1,3 and 4 under A (See *infra*).

Regarding the identification of Sūryamitra with Vasumitra Jayaswal writes on the basis of Jain accounts that some of the Śuṅgas had double names like the Mauryas. The two Jaina chronologies give the following double names :

Balamitra = Agnimitra

Bhānumitra = Vasumitra²¹

Now Bhānu means Sun i.e. Sūrya. On this ground we are tempted to identify Sūryamitra with Bhānumitra and similarly with Vasumitra, the fourth imperial Śuṅga monarch. We have found coins of Sūryamitra not only at Ayodhyā but also at Pañcāla and Mathurā. This fact makes our position clearer. Again as these coins are made of copper, this hypothesis can stand because copper coins did not travel much from the place of their origin.

There flourished at least 8 kings at Ayodhyā before the accession of Bahasatimitra. If we accept *c.* 188 B.C. as the probable date of Bahasatimitra's accession, then, by allowing 10 years per generation, Mādhavavarmā, Ajavarmā, Kumudasena, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Vāyudeva, Mūladeva, Śivadatta and the issuer of anonymous

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the king in the succession-list of the Śunga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

coins should be placed in the period extending from c. 280 B.C.—190 B.C., Mūladeva and Vāyudeva flourishing in c. 260 B.C.—240 B.C. Thus the statement of Cunningham that the coins of Mūladeva and Vāyudeva “are certainly not older than the second century B.C.” is open to criticism.

It is quite possible that when the imperial Śuṅgas were driven out from Magadha by the Kāṇvas, the descendants of the Śuṅgas ruled there as petty princes. Such parallel cases are not absent in ancient Indian history.

The so-called Kauśāmbī coins

“This famous old city of Kosambi is now represented by a grand ruined fort on the Jumna with its two villages of Kosam-Inām and Kosam-Khirāj or ‘Rent-free’ and ‘Rent-paying’ Kosam. It is just 31 miles above the fort of Allahabad. It was the capital of the Vatsas, and was, therefore, generally known as the Vatsa-pattana, or the Vatsa city”.²² “The coins found at Kosam range from the very earliest punch-marked bits of silver and copper down to the time of Akbar. But out of the whole number of 394 coins, only 50 are Muhammadan, or about one-eighth; while no less than 100 are the common square cast-coins with the elephant and Buddhist symbols. More than 30 of the Hindu coins are inscribed, and all of them in characters of a period earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Sixteen of them bear the name of Bahasatimitra, two belong to Devamitra, one to Aśvaghoṣa and three to Jeṭhamitra”.²³ The legend, which was read as Aśvaghoṣa by Cunningham, is certainly Ghoṣa, as shown by Smith.²⁴ Smith has described the coin of another king named Pavata.²⁵

The four coins described by Smith²⁶ are of copper. On the obverse of the anonymous coin we find a tree in railing, six-arched caitya, eight-rayed wheel, the Nandīpāda, Ujjain and Svastika symbols and on the reverse a humped bull.²⁷

22 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 73.

23 *Archæological Survey Reports*, Cunningham, X, p. 4.

24 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 155, no. 2.

25 *Ibid.*, no. 3.

26 *Ibid.*, no. 1-4.

• 27 *Ibid.*, no. 4.

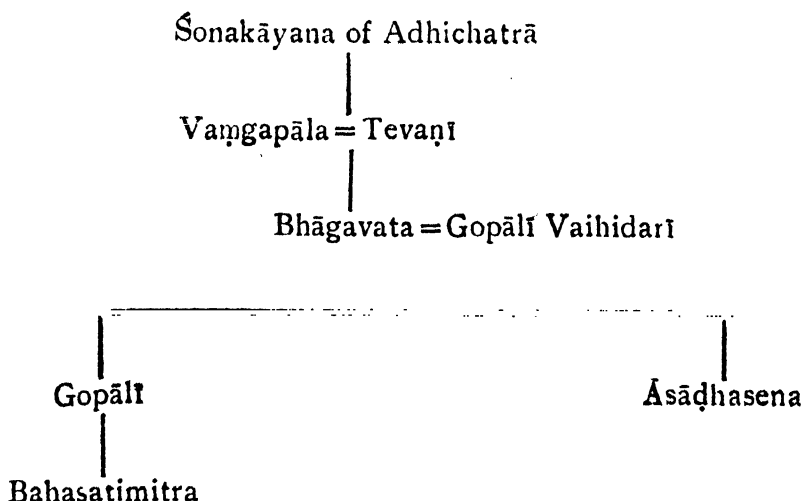
On the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Bahasatimitra, Ghoṣa and Pavata we find the above-mentioned devices, and legends of the kings' name.²⁸

Who were these princes? Were they all local princes as has been suggested by some numismatists or were some of them identical with the imperial Śuṅga monarchs, of whom we find an account in the *Purāṇas*? Who was Bahasatimitra? That Bahasatimitra was a great ruler is known from the two inscriptions found at Pabhosa, 32 miles south-west of Allahabad.

No. I, as read by Dr. Führer, runs thus:—Rājño Gopālīputrasa Vahasatimitrasa mātulena Gopālīyā Vaihidaṛīputrena (Āsā) Āsāḍhasenena lenaṃ kārītaṃ (Udākasa) dasame sabachare Kassapīyānaṃ arahaṇ[tā]naṃ.....

No II runs thus:—Adhichatrāyā rājño Śonakāyanaputrasya Vaṃgapālasya putrasya rājño Tevaṇīputrasya Bhāgavatasya putreṇa Vaihidaṛīputreṇa Āsāḍhasenena kārītaṃ.²⁹

From these two inscriptions we can have the following geneological table :



Āsāḍhasena dates the inscription No. I in the 10th regnal year of a king named Udaka (?). Führer has not been able to read this correctly. According to Jayaswal it is Odraka. This Odraka, according to the rules observed in recording Indian inscriptions, must have been the king or the overlord of the place where the inscription was engraved. The place was apparently outside the

28 *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum*, I, nos. 2-3.

29 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, pp. 240-43.

territory governed by the Rājās of Adhichatrā but under the suzerainty of Odraka.

The Pabhosa inscription palæographically belongs to the Śuṅga period. We may take this Odraka as identical with the 5th imperial Śuṅga ruler who flourished in c. 129 B.C. as shown by Jayaswal. This inscription was caused to be written in the 10th year of the rule of Odraka. Thus the date of this inscription is approximately c. 120 B.C.

Another inscription found at Mora, 7 miles west of Mathurā city, runs thus :—Jivaputāye Rājabharyāye Bṛhāsvātimita (dhi) tu yaśa mataye kāritaṃ. (Made by order of Yaśamatā, the daughter (?) of Bṛhāsvātimita, the king's consort (and) the mother of living sons).³⁰ This inscription which is of the period of the Pabhosa inscription shows that he was a great ruler because Yaśamatā was proud of being his daughter.

In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela the 13th line runs as follows : 'māgadhaṃ ca rājānaṃ Bahasatimitaṃ pāde vaṃdāpayati' [i.e., (Khāravela) compelled Bahasatimita, the king of Magadha, to bow at his feet]. As the inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, scholars differ in their readings. Except one or two scholars, all read it as Bahasatimitam or some such.

<i>Scholars</i>	<i>Their readings</i>
Prinsep	Ibahaga sāsita
Cunningham	Bahasati sita
Indraji	Bahu paṭisāsita
Jayaswal	Bahapatimitraṃ formerly ; Bahasatimitaṃ later.
Majumdar	Bahu pasasitam, but adds that 'I do not of course deny that the reading Bahasatimitam might, after all, be proved to be correct.....'
Barua	Bahasatimitam ³¹

Thus we see that the general tendency is to take this as Bahasatimita. Jayaswal has shown that this Bahasatimitra was nobody but

³⁰ *JRAS.*, 1921. p. 120.

³¹ *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Khaṇḍagiri and Udayagiri Caves*, pp. 22-23.

Puṣyamitra because we know that Brhaspati is the deity of the Puṣyā Nakṣatra (*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, 1. 26. 6). Both are identical. The coins of Bahasatimitra are found not only at Kauśāmbī, but also at Ayodhyā and Pañcāla. All these coins are made of copper. These coins, being of no great value, were not taken from one part of the country to another. These two numismatic evidences make our position much better. 'On a study of coins I find', writes Jayaswal 'the coins of Bahasatimitra are unmistakably earlier than those of Agnimitra. Brhaspatimitra, therefore, cannot but be identical with Puṣyamitra.'³² 'The evidence of coins and inscription, the date and nomenclature, all point to the identification of Brhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra and with no one else'.³³

In the Paurāṇika list of the Śuṅga dynasty we find Ghoṣa (identical with Ghoṣavasū) to be the 7th ruler. At Kauśāmbī there is the coin of a king named Ghoṣa. His coins are also found at Mathurā. These coins, found at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, palæographically belong to the Śuṅga period. On this ground this Ghoṣa of the coins may be identified with the king of the same name found in the Paurāṇika list. It may be that Ghoṣavasū is a mistake for Ghoṣa made by the copyists. Jeṭhamitra and Devamitra of the coin-types have been identified with Vasu Jyeṣṭha (identical with Su-Jyeṣṭha) and Devabhūti respectively of the Śuṅga dynasty.

We have three successive stages regarding the antiquity of these coins viz., (1) anonymous cast coins with no legend, (2) the coins of Bahasatimitra, Ghoṣa, Jeṭhamitra and Devamitra and (3) Pavata's coins, which palæographically belong in all probability to the Gupta period. Thus we have :

A. Anonymous coin

B. (1)* Bahasatimitra identified with Puṣyamitra (1)†

—c. 188 B.C.

(2)* Jeṭhamitra „ „ Vasu-Jyeṣṭha or Su-

Jyeṣṭha (3)†—c. 144 B.C.

C. Pavata.

³² *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 477.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the kings in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

(3)* Ghoṣa identified with „ Ghoṣa (7)†

—c. 117 B.C.

(4)* Devamitra „ „ Devabhūti (10)†

—c. 66 B.C.

The so-called Pañcāla coins

Writing about the coins of Pañcāla, Cunningham remarked, 'as the coins which I am now about to describe are found in Rohilkhand, and chiefly at Ahichatra, Anola and Budaon, it is quite certain that they belong to North Pañcāla. It has been suggested that they belong to the Śuṅga kings, who ruled over North India after the Mauryas for 112 years, or from B.C. 178-66. But the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin names, Agnimitra, is found in the Paurāṇika list of the Śuṅgas.....I rather incline to assign the coins to a local dynasty of princes, as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of the North Pañcāla, which would not be the case did they belong to the paramount dynasty of the Śuṅgas...In the Sanskrit drama of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, translated by Wilson, Agnimitra, son of Puṣpamitra, and father of Vasumitra, is called king of Vidiśā on the Vetravati, that is, of Besnagar on the Betwa river. As these three names head the list of the Śuṅga kings, it would seem that the Śuṅgas were rulers of East Malwa. I conclude, therefore, that the coins found in Rohilkhand are those of some local dynasty and not of the paramount Śuṅga kings.'³⁴

His contention that the kings whose names end in *-mitra* and whose coins are found at Pañcāla are local princes cannot be accepted as true.

As to the first point Rivett-Carnac and Jayaswal have shown that several coin-names besides that of Agnimitra may be identified with those found in the *Purāṇas*.

As to the second point I have shown in my discussion regarding the coins of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī that the Mitra coins are also found at Mathurā.

As to the third point it should be noted that Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra had their capital at Pāṭalīputra and not at Vidiśā as Cunningham has said. Smith rightly observes regarding

*† See footnotes in the previous page.

34 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 79-80.

the capital of Puṣyamitra that 'it presumably continued to be, as of old, Pāṭalīputra'.³⁵

It may now safely be stated that some of these Mitra rulers belonged to the imperial Śuṅga dynasty. Moreover we know for certain that the coins of one king have been found at different places and that all these are made of copper. The coins of Bahasatimitra are found at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī and Pañcāla, those of Ghoṣa at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, those of Indramitra at Ayodhyā and Pañcāla and those of Devamitra at Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā. The style and epigraphy of these coins are of the Śuṅga period.³⁶

Coins of the following Mitra kings have been found here :—

(1) Agnimitra. (2) Bhānumitra. (3) Bhūmimitra. (4) Bṛhaspatimitra. (5) Dhruvamitra. (6) Indramitra. (7) Jayamitra. (8) Phālgunimitra. (9) Sūryamitra. (10) Viṣṇumitra. (11) Aṇumitra.

This Bahasatimitra is identical with the Bahasatimitra whose coins are found at Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī. Bhānumitra has been identified with Vasumitra by Jayaswal.³⁷ Most probably Dhruvamitra is identical with Vasumitra, because Dhruva being one of the 8 Vasus, Dhruvamitra might have Vasumitra as a second name. Coins of a king named Bhadrageṣa have been found at Pañcāla. Jayaswal opines that he is the same as Ghoṣa identical with Ghoṣavasus, the seventh Śuṅga ruler according to the *Purāṇas*. But as we have found coins of a king named Ghoṣa at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā, we can reject this statement. Bhadrageṣa is most probably a different person.

The Śuṅga kings may therefore be chronologically arranged on the evidence of coins found at Pañcāla in the following way :

* (1) Bahasatimitra identical with Puṣyamitra (1)†—c. 183 B.C.

* (2) Agnimitra identical with Agnimitra (2)†—c. 152 B.C.

* (3) Dhruva- or Bhānu- or Sūrya-mitra identical with Vasumitra (4)†—c. 137 B.C.

* (4) Indramitra identical with Vajramitra (8)†—c. 114 B.C.

35 *Early History of India*, p. 209.

36 *Indian Coins*, p. 13.

37 *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 477.

* The numerical figures denote the number of kings whose coins are found.

† The numerical figures indicate the place of the kings in the succession-list of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty as found in the *Purāṇas*.

There remain five more Mitra rulers to be identified. Most probably they ruled as petty princes after the overthrow of the imperial Śuṅga dynasty. As a corroborative evidence it is to be noted that the coins of Phālgunimitra palæographically is not of the Śuṅga period. Viṣṇumitra may be placed as the earliest ruler of this group because his coins are found not only at Pañcāla but also at Mathurā while coins of the other kings are found only at Pañcāla. An inscription found at Mora runs thus :—.....mitrasa-putrasa-raño Viṣṇu-mitrasa dhitu-Idragibhadāye dhatiye Gotamasa Mitrāye danam thambho.³⁸ Most probably this Viṣṇumitra is identical with that of the coin-legend. We know for certainty that he was a prince and that the name of his father ended in -mitra.

There remains four more rulers to be identified viz. Bhadrāghoṣa, Rudragupta, Viśvapāla and Acyuta. We do not know when the first three kings flourished but we can make the conjecture that they most probably ascended the throne after the later Mitras. Acyuta has been identified by Smith with the Acyuta of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta³⁹ and thus his date is c. 330 A.D.

Smith has described 33 Æ Pañcāla coins. On the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Agnimitra we find 3 symbols, Brāhmī legend Agnimitrasa in square incuse and a figure, presumably of Agni, standing on low railing between two posts ; five rays proceeds from his head respectively.⁴⁰ On the obverse of the coins of Bhānumitra we find the Brāhmī legend Bhānumitrasa, with 3 symbols above and the reverse is defaced. We find on the obverse and the reverse of all the Pañcāla coins similar type of symbols. But the coins of Acyuta differ from this class. These coins which are of copper have been divided into two classes viz. (1) 'Name' type cast and (2) 'Roman head' type die-struck. On the obverse of the coins of the first type we find the Brāhmī legend Acyu- in bold characters and on the reverse wheel or sun with eight spokes. On the obverse of the coins of the second type we find head and neck of king right, as on a Roman denarius, behind head *a*, in front *cyu*, and on the reverse wheel or sun with eight spokes. I wish to place the coins of the second type later because these coins are die-struck and

38. *JRAS.*

39. *Cat. Coins, Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. 1, p. 186.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 187. nos. 1-4.

are influenced by Roman culture, while the coins of the former type are cast and no such influence is to be traced.

From a study of the symbols on the coins of Pañcāla we can have an idea about the religion professed by these kings. Cunningham writes, 'from this detailed examination of their coins, I conclude that the Rājās of Pañcāla were certainly Brahminists, as there is an entire absence of Buddhist symbols, coupled with the use of Brāhmanical names, such as Rudra and Viṣṇu, Indra, Agni and Sūrya.'⁴¹

The so-called Mathurā coins

At Mathurā many coins were found up to the present day. The princes whose coins are found are Balabhūti, Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra, Sūryamitra, Ghoṣa, Bhavadatta, Kāmadatta, Puruṣadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeṣadatta, Śīśucandradatta, Śivadatta, Uttamadatta, Bhūmidatta and Virasena. Regarding these coins Smith writes, 'Cunningham knew of only three specimens of Balabhūti; four more are now described, and three bad specimens have been excluded. The coins of Puruṣadatta are also rare. Carlleyle found a specimen at Bhuila Dih in Basti district, U. P., to the east of Oudh (*Reports*, XII. 145, 164). Bhavadatta is new, but see *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 113. Three are now added to the five specimens of Uttamadatta previously known. The coins of Rāmadatta are fairly common. Carlleyle found examples associated with coins of the satraps Rañjubula and Śoḍāsa at Indor Khera in the Bulandshar district, U. P. (*Reports*, XII. 43).'⁴²

He observes again, "The coins of Gomitra, Viṣṇumitra, and Sūrya (Suya) are....., I think, latter than those of the princes previously mentioned."⁴³ (*Ibid*). This later proposal can be criticised. As it will be shown, the Mitra coins are undoubtedly earlier than the coins of the former group. Regarding the coins of Virasena, Smith observes, "the coins of this ruler are most readily procured in the Mathurā bazar, where Cunningham obtained about a hundred. Carlleyle got thirteen at Indor Khera in the Bulandshar District, while Mr. Burn and others have collected them in the Etah District, as well as at Kanauj and other places in the neighbouring Farrukhabad District.

41 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 84.

42 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 190.

43 *Ibid*.

It is clear, therefore, that Virasena ruled in the Central Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna".⁴⁴

A chronological order regarding these coins may be roughly worked out in the following way. The cast coin, which is found in the neighbourhood of Mathurā and bears the inscription Upatikya in Brāhmī at least as early as the third century B. C., may be looked upon as the earliest coin found here.⁴⁵ The coins of Balabhūti have legends in Brāhmī script of, probably, the 2nd century B. C.⁴⁶ The coins of Balabhūti are also connected with those of Bahasamitra by identity of type—a caitya tree—and epigraphy. This tree is also found on the coins of Agnimitra according to Carlleyle.⁴⁷ Sūryamitra and Ghoṣa have been already identified with Vasumitra and Ghoṣa respectively. The Viṣṇumitra of Mathurā may be identical with the Viṣṇumitra of Pañcāla. The coins of Viṣṇumitra are found not only at Mathurā but also at Pañcāla as I have already shown, while the coins of Brahmamitra and Gomitra are found at Mathurā only. This fact most probably shows that Viṣṇumitra was more powerful than Brahmamitra and Gomitra, and thus earlier than the other two. At Ghaneshara, a village situated some three miles west of Mathurā city to the north of the road to Govardhana, some inscribed bricks have been found. On one brick we find the legend 'Gomita', the same on the second, '...mitamacena' on the third and '...cena Kohaḍena' on the fourth. If we join these bricks, we find the following inscription 'Gomitāmachena Kohaḍena (kāritaṃ)'⁴⁸ i. e. (made) by Kohaḍa, the minister of Gomitra. This Gomitra is most probably the Gomitra of the coin-legends. In this connection the Bodh Gayā Corner Pillar inscription of the wife of Brahmamitra, viz. Nāgadevi, should be noted. Coins have been found of 9 kings whose names end in -datta. Most probably these kings belonged to one dynasty. Now to what period are these rulers to be assigned? We know that the Śuṅgas ruled for 112 years i. e., c. 118 B. C.—c. 66 B. C. and the satraps of Mathurā from c. 80 B. C.—c. 50 A. D. So in the latter mentioned period there was most probably no Hindu local chief

44 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 191.

45 *Indian Coins*, p. 13.

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Cat. of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 186.

48 *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 122.

at Mathurā. Indrajī assigned these coins to the period of the decline of the Śaka power at Mathurā. Taking these controversies into consideration, we can say that Rāmadatta might have flourished before the satraps but others most probably flourished after the *satrapal* rule.

That Vīrasena was a king of the Central Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna is noted before. An inscription of a king named Vīrasena has been found at Jankhat in the Tiwa tahsil of the Farukhabad District, U.P. The inscription runs thus :—Svamisa Virasenasa samvatsara 10 3 giṣmanam-pakṣe 4 divase 8...mime... (j) ika (va)...ya...tata . ir...naya . epru (sa)...ni (ma) i.e. in the year 10 & 3 i.e., 13 of Svāmi Vīrasena, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season, on the day 8. The date of this inscription, according to Smith, is c. 335 A.D. On the palæographical ground it appears that this inscription should be assigned to a date later than the 2nd century A.D. This fact agrees with Smith's conjecture. It is probable that this Vīrasena is identical with the Vīrasena of the coin legend.

To sum up, we can say that there flourished most probably two types of monarchy—imperial and local—at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Pañcāla and Mathurā. From c. 280 B.C.—c. 190 B.C. there was local monarchy prevalent at Ayodhyā. In the last quarter of the third century B.C. the monarchical form of government was also at Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. Secondly, during the period c. 188 B.C.—c. 65 B.C. the imperial Śuṅgas established their hegemony over all these parts of India and also Pañcāla. After the overthrow of the Śuṅga power by the Kāṇvas in c. 65 B.C. Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Mathurā were most probably ruled by the descendants of the imperial Śuṅgas as local chiefs for a considerable period of time. At Mathurā after the decadence of the *Satrapal* power the kings, whose names end in *-datta*, became the rulers and also Vīrasena in c. 335 A.D. Kauśāmbī was most probably ruled at this time by a king named Pavata.

CHARU CHANDRA DASGUPTA

The Jaina School of Astronomy*

II

The Theory of the two Suns

The theory of the two suns is thus explained in Mahāvīra's *Sūryaprajñapti* :—"There are two suns: Bhārata and Airāvata. They both move through half a diurnal circle in the course of 30 muhūrtas, i.e., in the course of 60 muhūrtas or two days, each of them complete a full diurnal circle. That sun which moves in the outermost circle in the southern hemisphere is called Bhārata, because he illumines the Bhāratakhaṇḍa. The other which moves through the same outer circle in the northern hemisphere is called Airāvata, because he illumines the Airāvata area. The Bhārata is visible to us."¹

The two suns rise simultaneously and move through half a circle, one in the north and the other in the south of Meru and passing to the west go to the ocean or the nether world, as variously stated by a number of Tīrthas or astronomers. Again the next morning the Airāvata rises in the second circle in the south and the Bhārata in the second circle in the north and they complete the diurnal circle. In this way they are said to complete 183 circles in each half year, *increasing the day in the Uttarāyana*, the first half of the year and decreasing the night at the same time by 6 muhūrtas. Likewise in the Dakṣiṇāyana, they complete 183 diurnal circles together *alternately changing places and making night longer and the day shorter* by 6 muhūrtas gradually. There were six different opinions regarding the intervening distance between the two suns. The first opinion is that the distance is 1133 yojanas; the second is 1134 yojanas; the third is 1135 yojanas. A fourth view is that an island and an ocean separate the two suns from each other, while the fifth is that there are two islands and two oceans between them. The sixth maintains that there are three islands and three oceans between them. According to the *Sūryaprajñapti* all these are false; the real distance between the first two diurnal circles is

* Continued from *IHQ.*, vol. , no. 1, p. 42.

1 *Sūryaprajñapti* with Malayag. commentary, p. 22.

$5\frac{3}{8}$ yojanas and the distance between any two circles increases at this rate per two circles from the innermost.² When the Bhārata and the Airāvata suns move through the innermost diurnal circle, then they are separated from each other by a distance of 99,640 yojanas.³ The reason for this is given as follows:—Now the diameter of the Jambudvīpa is 100000 yojanas, when both the suns move through the innermost diurnal circle. Thus they make the total length of the diameter 360 yojanas. Deducting this from 100,000 we get 99,640 yojanas as the intervening distance between the two suns. When the two suns move through the innermost circle, then the day is of 18 muhūrtas and the night of 12 muhūrtas; when beginning a new year they move through the second innermost circle, then they will be separated from each other by a distance of $99,645\frac{3}{8}$ yojanas. Now the second innermost circle is greater than the first by $2\frac{1}{8}$ yojanas as previously stated. Considering the circle of the two suns, the increase is $2\frac{1}{8} \times 2 = 5\frac{3}{8}$ yojanas.

In a year the two suns move in 366 diurnal circles, each moving through half a circle. These circles are one within the other. Each circle is imagined to be divided into 1830 parts. Since each day = 30 muhūrtas, the two suns together take 60 muhūrtas to complete the circle of 1830 divisions. Hence in one muhūrta $\frac{1830}{60} = 30\frac{1}{2} = \frac{61}{2}$ divisions. Therefore, one division is passed through $\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrta. The length of the day will be greater or less than 18 muhūrtas by this amount. Hence the rate of increase or decrease per day is $\frac{2}{61}$ muhūrta. This is when the suns are moving in the second external or internal diurnal circle. When they are moving in the third external or internal circle, the increase or decrease will be $\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas; therefore, when they are in the third diurnal circle, the day will fall from 18 to $18\frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas; and the night will rise from 12 to $12 + \frac{4}{61}$ muhūrtas and so on; when they move through the outermost circle i.e. the 183rd circle, then the day will fall by $183 \times \frac{2}{61} = 6$ muhūrtas and the night will gain by the same amount. Thus the longest night is the last 183rd night of the first six months and the longest day of 18 muhūrtas is the last 183rd day of the second six months. Likewise the shortest day of the first six months and the shortest night of 12 muhūrtas is the last 183rd night of the second six months.⁴

2 *Sūryaprajñapti*, p. 25.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 24.

When the increase in the distance between the two suns is $5\frac{3}{8}$ yojanas, the day will be $18 - \frac{3}{8}$ muhūrtas and the night $12 + \frac{3}{8}$ muhūrtas. When they move through the third inner circle the distance between them will be $99540 + 2 \times 5\frac{3}{8} = 99551\frac{3}{4}$ yojanas and the day will be $18 - \frac{4}{8}$ muhūrtas and the night $12 + \frac{4}{8}$ muhūrtas. When they move through the outermost circle, on the 183rd day, i.e., the last day of the first Ayana the distance between them will be $99540 + 5\frac{3}{8} \times 183 = 99540 + 1020 = 100560$ yojanas. This will be reversed gradually when they move towards the innermost circle. When they are in the innermost circle the distance will be reduced to 99,540 yojanas and the day will be of 18 muhūrtas and the night of 12 muhūrtas.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Jaina astronomers throughout makes use of the relation $\sqrt{10}:1$ for calculating the circumferences of the diurnal circles. Thus, for instance the diameter of the Jambudvīpa being 1,00,000 yojanas, its circumference is said to be equal to $\sqrt{(100000)^2 \times 10} = 316227$ approximately. It seems that all Jaina books take $1 : \sqrt{10}$ as expressing the relation of the diameter to the circumference.⁵

Thus when the distance increases or decreases by $5\frac{3}{8}$ yojanas, the measure of the increased or decreased amount of circumference is $\sqrt{(5\frac{3}{8})^2 \times 10} = \sqrt{(\frac{101}{16})^2} = 17\frac{3}{8}$ or 18 yojanas.⁶ This will be added once, twice, and so on to $\sqrt{(99540)^2 \times 10} = 315089$ approximately to get the distance between them in circumference.⁷

5 For instance, *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* 82, 109, 112 etc. *Jambudvīpaprajñapti*, 3, *Bhagavati Sūtra*, 91; *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra-bhāṣya*, iii, 11. Vide a paper on the Jaina School of Mathematics by Dr. Bibhuti Bhushan Dutt, *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XXI, no. 2, p. 131.

6 Compare the remark in the ancient Jaina work *Karṇa bhāvanā*: *Satīrasa joyanāim aṭṭatīmsa ca egaṭṭibhāgā eyaṃ nicchatraṇa sabbahāreṇa puna aṭṭārasa joyanāim*, i.e.,

$$5\frac{3}{8} \times \sqrt{10} = \sqrt{10} \times \frac{340 \times 340}{61 \times 61} = 17\frac{3}{8} \dots = 17\frac{3}{8} \text{ approximately.}$$

7 *Sūryaprajñapti*, p. 44.

The Motion of the Sun

Regarding the velocity with which the sun moves in the different circles, the calculation of the Jainas is very simple. Each daily circle being described by two suns, each of which travels through half of it in thirty muhūrtas, the whole circle is described by one sun in sixty muhūrtas, and consequently, in order to find the velocity of the sun the periphery of the daily circle is to be divided by sixty; the quotient is the number of yojanas travelled through by the sun in one muhūrta. The circumference of the innermost circle is 315089 yojanas. Hence in one muhūrta the sun moves through $3,15,089 \div 60 = 5251\frac{29}{60}$ yojanas. Now the illuminated area will be as much as the sun traverses in half a day. Hence, the day being 18 muhūrtas, during 9 muhūrtas the sun goes through $9 \times 5251\frac{29}{60} = 47,263\frac{261}{60}$ yojanas. Similarly, the second circle being of $315089 + 18 = 315107$ yojanas in circumference, the sun moves through $\frac{315107}{60} = 5,251\frac{47}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta. Now half a day in the second diurnal circle is $\frac{18 - \frac{1}{60}}{2}$ muhūrtas $= 8\frac{59}{60}$ muhūrtas. Hence, $5251\frac{47}{60} \times 8\frac{59}{60}$ yojanas will be the distance the sun traverses in half a day in the second diurnal circle and therefore this is then the illuminated area. Likewise the velocity, too, becomes more by $\frac{18}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta per outer circle than in the previous circle, i.e., 18 yojanas more than the previous circle. Likewise, each outer circle gets larger by 18 yojanas. When the sun moves through the third diurnal circle on the second day of the new year of a cycle, his velocity per muhūrta is $5251\frac{47}{60} + 18$ yojanas. Now the day measure on this day is $\frac{18 - \frac{1}{60}}{2} = 9 - \frac{1}{60} = 8\frac{59}{60}$ muhūrtas. Hence the illuminated area $= 5251\frac{47}{60} + 18 \times 8\frac{59}{60}$ yojanas.

Now in the innermost circle the measure of the visible area is 47263 $\frac{261}{60}$ yojanas. This is done in 9 muhūrtas. Hence the area attained in $\frac{1}{60}$ muhūrta is $\frac{47263\frac{261}{60}}{9 \times 60} = 47263\frac{261}{60} \div 540 = 86\frac{5}{60} + \frac{24}{60 \times 60}$ yojanas. Now the excess of velocity gained by the sun per outer circle is $\frac{18}{60}$ th of a yojana per yojana; and also the circumference gets larger by 18 yojanas in each outer circle than the previous circle. Now on the third day in the second diurnal circle the measure of half the day is $9 - \frac{1}{60}$ muhūrtas $= 8\frac{59}{60}$ muhūrtas. Then the excess of area $\frac{18}{60}$ multiplied by $8\frac{59}{60}$ gives 2 yojanas $+ \frac{1}{60} + \frac{43}{60 \times 60}$ yojanas.

This being deducted from $85\frac{5}{6} + \frac{24}{60 \times 61}$ gives $83\frac{23}{60} + \frac{42}{60 \times 61}$ yojanas which is taken as 84 approximately. Hence the constants used in ascertaining the rate of velocity and the illuminated or visible area in each diurnal circle are (i) $\frac{1}{80}$ and (ii) 84 or $83\frac{23}{60}$.

Now when the circle is on the outermost circle the sun moves $5305\frac{1}{80}$ yojanas per muhūrta; for the circumference of this circle is 318315 yojanas. This divided by 60 muhūrtas gives $5305\frac{1}{80}$ yojanas per muhūrta. *The visible or heated area, i.e., the distance at which the sun becomes visible to men, is $3183\frac{3}{80}$ yojanas;* for the day when the sun is on the outermost circle is of 12 muhūrtas. Hence on multiplying by half of day time the rate of yojana per muhūrta the area at which the sun becomes visible is obtained to be equal to $6 \times 5305\frac{1}{80} = 31831\frac{3}{80}$ yojanas. When the sun moves on the last outermost circle but one, the velocity is $5304\frac{5}{80}$ per muhūrta for the circumference of this circle is 318297 yojanas and this divided by 60 gives $5304\frac{5}{80} = 5304\frac{5}{80}$ yojanas. Likewise, the visible area = half the day \times circumference of the circle which is velocity per muhūrta. Hence the day being $12 + \frac{2}{3}$ muhūrtas, visible area = $(6 + \frac{1}{3}) \times 31829\frac{5}{80} = 31816\frac{3}{80} + \frac{1}{80}$ yojanas. In the same way the visible area and the sun's velocity may be ascertained in other diurnal circles. When the sun goes from outer circle to inner circle, the velocity will be less by $\frac{18 \times 2}{60}$ yojanas per muhūrta per circle and the heated area gets less by 84 or 85 yojanas than in the previous outer circle.⁸

In this connection are given particulars about the *tāpakṣetra*, i.e., that part of the Jambudvīpa which on each day is illuminated. The shape of this *tāpakṣetra* is compared to that of a *Kalambuka* flower turned upwards. Each of the two sun illuminates a sector of the large circle formed by the Jambudvīpa. These sectors are, however, not complete, but a piece is cut off from each by Mount Meru which standing in the middle of the circle repels by its superior radiancy the rays proceeding from the two suns and therefore is not included in the *tāpakṣetra*. The interior border of the sectors is thus formed by a part of the circumference of the Jambudvīpa. Between these two sectors of light there lie two sectors of shade (andhakāra); whatever part of the Jambudvīpa is covered by the two former

8 *Sūryaprajñapti*, pp. 48-64.

enjoys day at the time while it is night in the regions covered by the dark sectors. As the two suns revolve, these four sectors revolve with them, sweeping over the whole extent of the Jambudvīpa and producing alternate day and night in all its parts.⁹ On the longest day the two suns together illuminate $\frac{3}{10}$ of the Jambudvīpa, each of them $\frac{3}{20}$ ths. Suppose the Jambu circle is divided into 3660 parts, of these parts, one sun illuminates $\frac{3}{10}$ of 3660 or 1098 parts and the other a similar number of parts. They together illuminate 2196 parts. Hence $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambu circle or 1464 divisions will be in the dark. On the shortest day the two suns illuminate $\frac{1}{10}$ each, together $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambu circle. When the suns have entered the second circle and are moving at a greater distance from the centre, the extent of the *tāpakṣetra* decreases accordingly, so that it then equals to $\frac{3}{10} - \frac{1}{10 \times 183}$ for each sun or $\frac{3}{5} - \frac{1}{5 \times 183} = \frac{3}{5} - \frac{1}{1815}$ of the whole Jambu only. Similarly on the third day one sun illuminates $(\frac{3}{10} - \frac{2}{10 \times 183})$ parts of the Jambu and the other as much. Thus the illuminated part falls short by $\frac{2}{1815}$ each day with reference to each sun. Hence on the 183rd day the decrease amounts to $\frac{2}{1815} \times 183 = \frac{1}{10}$ of the Jambudvīpa for one sun and therefore $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa for two suns. The extent of the *tāpakṣetra* for the two suns is then $\frac{2}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa, or on all day the constant quantity illuminated is $\frac{1}{5}$ of the Jambudvīpa for each sun. From this the absolute dimensions of the *tāpakṣetra* are easily derived.¹⁰

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9 This fact is explained at a considerable length by G. Thibaut in his paper on *Sūryaprajñapti* in *JASB.*, 1880, no. 3.

10 Vide also the translation of the summary of Mahāvīra's *Sūryaprajñapti* by Dr. R. Shamsastry in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vols. xv, xvi.

Mir Qasim at Monghyr

After settling the affairs of the border districts of Bihar, Mir Qasim proceeded to Monghyr which he had in the meantime decided to make the permanent headquarters of his government. On his way back to Patna, he removed Rājā Rājballabh from his office of the Naib of Bihar, placed him under arrest¹ in his own camp, and appointed Rājā Naubat Rai in his place. A really satisfactory explanation of this is not available. The principal charge against Rājballabh was that he was defaulting² in forty lakhs of rupees. This is why the Nawab ostensibly punished him in such a signal manner. The latter had been in office since the dismissal of Rāmnārāyaṇ, and had to all appearances worked so far quite satisfactorily. In fact, the governor in his letter to the Nawab dated July 29, 1762, fully testified³ to the good character of the late Naib, and particularly requested him not to dishonour the latter. The Nawab, however, absolutely disregarded the mild remonstrance of Mr. Vansittart, and meted out to the Naib an exemplary punishment which appeared to be certainly of a vindictive character. The author of the *Muzaffar Namah* gives an account of the horrible tortures to which Rājballabh was subjected.⁴ For instance, thorns were forcibly thrust into his nails so that he might make a confession of the amount of his total wealth. As a matter of fact, Rājballabh was deprived of everything he had and as such he shared the fate of his predecessor whom he had supplanted. Reliable persons were deputed to Dacca to confiscate all his property there,⁵ and a trusted officer, Aqa Raza, was appointed specially for the purpose of superintending the forfeiture of the entire property of the late Naib.⁶ It is

1 *Muzaffar Namah*, Allahabad University Ms., (henceforth abbreviated as *MN.*), p. 329; also *Siyar*, (Lucknow Text), p. 711.

2 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 14.

3 *Trans. P.L.I.*, 1762, No. 118, p. 62.

4 *M.N.*, p. 333. It is noteworthy, however, that no other chronicle gives these details.

5 *Siyar*, p. 711.

6 *MN.*, p. 332.

sufficiently clear that the Nawab would not have avenged himself on the latter in the above manner for minor reasons only. Rājballabh's past connection with Miran, the late 'Choṭa Nawab', was a standing cause for suspicion. He had been appointed in the place of Rām-nārāyan, simply because he was expected to check the accounts of his rival with special zeal and promptness. The Nawab had aimed at utilising his undoubted abilities and great experience in order to restore order in the disordered finances of Bihar, and now that a satisfactory settlement was made there remained no special necessity for continuing his appointment. Besides, the ex-Naib had certainly given offence to the Nawab for having been alleged to have written on behalf of Ellis to the *Qalahdar* of Monghyr in regard to the European deserters who were reported to have been in hiding at Monghyr fort.⁷ May it not be the explanation of the Nawab's unusual persecution of Rājballabh? In addition, the latter was reputed to be extremely wealthy, and he was one among many others who fell victims to the Nawab's rapacity and oppression on account of their hoarded wealth.

While encamping at Patna the Nawab gave an unmistakable proof of his hatred for Ellis by indignantly refusing to see the latter. His attitude was manifestly so offensive to Ellis that he took it as a personal insult. He had sent on 22nd June, 1762, a *chobdar* to the Nawab asking for the permission⁸ of an interview, but not only was the permission refused, even the *chobdar* was not admitted to the Nawab's presence. The Nawab's pceevish attitude can in no way be held justifiable, and it only inflamed their mutual distrust and animosity. Ellis had certainly done the right thing by proposing a visit to the Nawab, and by doing so had shown a conciliatory attitude, but the Nawab unwisely treated the advance with open contempt, and thus lost a chance of winning the good will of the Chief. Mr. Hastings in his letter to the Governor, dated the 24th of June, communicated

⁷ *Trans. P.L.I.*, 1762, No. 45. p. 29; *Vansittart's Narrative*, I, p. 308; II, p. 9, and Letter from the Nawab to the Governor, dated March 26, 1762.

⁸ *Bengal Public Consultations* (henceforth abbreviated as *BPC.*), 5th July, 1762 (vide Letter from Ellis, dated the 23rd June 1762).

the Nawab's reasons for refusing the interview sought by Ellis.⁹ The Nawab had represented to Mr. Hastings that "he could not put on so much dissimulation as to receive him (Ellis) with kindness, and besides he feared their conversation might turn upon their grievances, and end in a quarrel, and to avoid the indignity which such an event would occasion to him he judged it the most prudent method not to see him at all". In short, the Nawab explained his attitude on the ground that an interview with Ellis would have resulted in a quarrel! The latter had intended just to pay the respect due from his station to the Nawab, and it is hardly conceivable that there could have been a quarrel during a ceremonial interview. Ellis was perfectly right when he wrote¹⁰ to the Governor and Council, ".....I did not think he would have refused an interview which, instead of occasioning a quarrel, as he absurdly observes, might perhaps have laid the foundation of a future good understanding". The Council rightly came to the conclusion that the Nawab should not have made public his private disagreement with Ellis in the interests of his own reputation, and that of Company.¹¹

Not satisfied with personally refusing the visit of Ellis, the Nawab went to the length of forbidding the new Naib, Naubat Rai, to pay the usual complimentary visit after his appointment to Ellis.¹² Unaware of its reason, the latter considered the failure of Naubat Rai to visit him as one more deliberate insult. As a matter of fact, the Nawab wanted to establish a precedent in the matter. He would not allow his Naib to pay the first visit to the Chief, as the former represented him and as such, he thought, his Naib held a higher status than that of a Chief of the Company's Factory. The Nawab represented to the Governor that Ellis should first pay a visit to his Naib but on being pressed by Mr. Vansittart, he allowed Naubat Rai to pay the first visit to Ellis as a special case, making it clear that this should not

9 BPC., 5th July. (vide Letter from Mr. Hastings, dated the 24th June, 1762).

10 Letter from Ellis, dated the 23rd July, 1762. *Vansittart's Narrative*. II, p. 77.

11 BPC., 8th July, 1762.

12 *Ibid.*, (vide Letter from Ellis, dated the 25th June, 1762).

be taken as a precedent for the future.¹³ The Council, however, readily yielded on this point, and resolved,¹⁴ "that at Patna, Cossimbazar, and Dacca the Chief of our factory shall pay the first visit to the Naib Subah who, as representative of the Nawab in his particular district, is entitled to this preference, but we expect that the Naib shall receive the Chief in the *Killah* with all due respect and formality, and that he shall return the visit". The Governor duly informed the Nawab of this decision,¹⁵ but made this clear to him that if a *faujdar*, a *tahsildar*, or a *zemindar* had any business with the Chief, they should certainly go to the latter. Ellis resented this decision of the Council, and objected that it would be derogatory to the dignity and honour of the Chiefs, if they were to pay the first visit to the *Naib Subah*, and that this innovation upon former practice would give ample opportunity to the *Subah* to look down upon them as mere *gumashtahs*.¹⁶ His objections were, however, disregarded by the Governor who wrote a long minute strongly criticising the Chief for having presumed to have claimed an equal status with the *Naib Subah*.¹⁷

Towards the end of June, 1762, the Nawab reached Monghyr,¹⁸ and made his entry into the fort with great pomp and eclat.¹⁹ Mr. Vansittart had thought that the Nawab would stay there during the rains only,²⁰ but the latter soon showed his intention to prolong his stay, and make the place his permanent capital. As this has been generally commented upon as a significant move on the part of the Nawab to remain purposely at a considerable distance from Calcutta, it deserves a close examination. The Nawab's own avowed objects were as follows:—

- (i) As the affairs of Bhojpur, and other border districts of Bihar had not yet been fully settled, and as the activities

13 *BPC.*, 19th July, 1762.

14 *BPC.*, 19th July, 1762.

15 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 122. p. 64.

16 Letter from Ellis, dated 3rd August, 1762.

17 *BPC.*, 16th August, 1762.

18 *Vansittart's Narrative*, II, p. 97.

19 This took place on the 15th of Zilhadj, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, *Alld. Univ. Is.*, p. 778. *Siyar* (p. 711) corroborates it.

20 *Vansittart's Narrative*, II, p. 97.

of the exiled zemindars had to be watched, the Nawab considered his presence near those parts absolutely essential. The Governor also approved of his remaining at Monghyr for this special reason.²¹

- (ii) The province of Bihar had been distracted so far owing to the continued military operations, and its administration needed a thorough rehabilitation. The Nawab complained²² that his hold over the province had so far been only nominal, and he, therefore, wanted to introduce peace and order, and satisfactory government in order to establish his authority over this troublous country.
- (iii) The Nawab further appeared to think²³ that Shujaudaulah, the Wazir of Oudh, coveted the province of Bihar, and might create disturbances, hence he believed it to be prudent to remain in Bihar in order to guard against any possible interference.
- (iv) Mr. Vansittart also apparently encouraged the Nawab to settle the affairs of Bihar, and asked him not to be²⁴ under any apprehensions in regard to Bengal. Thus, relieved of his anxiety for the safety of Bengal, the Nawab could easily transfer his residence to Bihar.

There is no doubt that the above reasons are quite plausible, and are sufficient to explain away the sudden change of the capital, but they are certainly neither very convincing, nor adequate. The Nawab had personally supervised for a few months the regulation of the border districts, and the subjugation of the rebellious zemindars, had appointed his own men in different *parganahs* to collect the revenue, and guard the entrances into Bengal, and had stationed sufficient troops all over the frontier, besides coming to a private understanding with the Wazir in regard to the run-away zemindars. Thus there existed no more any urgent necessity for staying at Monghyr. If this had been

21 *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 99. p. 54.

22 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, pp. 9-10.

23 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 15.

24 *Abs. PLI.*, 1759-65, p. 24.

his principal object, he could very well have continued his stay at Sasseram, or Rohtasgarh. So far as the province itself was concerned, sufficient order had been introduced by now, and most of the old officials had been substituted by his own men who could surely be trusted to maintain the Nawab's authority in the country. It is certainly not a fact that a general supervision or control over them could not have been exercised from Murshidabad, although it must be admitted that Monghyr would be a more centrally situated capital for the *Subah* of Bengal and Bihar than Murshidabad. The Nawab's apprehension of a sudden invasion of Bihar by the Wazir was more imaginary than real, especially when it is known that there existed some secret agreement with the latter. If the need of frontier defence had been the determining factor, the Nawab should really have stayed at Murshidabad, in order to ward off the threatened attack of the Marathas under Sheo Bhat.²⁵ In fact, it was more than once apprehended that the Marathas would invade Bengal by the way of Vishnupur, or Birbhum,²⁶ and the Governor repeatedly requested the Nawab to sanction²⁷ an armed expedition to Cuttack, but in vain. The Nawab was "simply" indifferent to this matter, and appeared to be inclined to placate the Marathas by paying them the arrears of the *Chauth*, but the Council advised²⁸ him not to pay the *Chauth*, and pressed him to undertake an expedition against Cuttack, and thus strengthen the South-Western frontier of Bengal, which was open to the inroads of the Marathas. The Nawab gave evasive replies, and did not realise the necessity and utility of annexing Cuttack, hence the Council had to abandon the scheme.²⁹ The Nawab was, however, aware of the fact³⁰ that the entrance into Bengal from the South-Western side was not properly safe-guarded, still it is strange that he paid no attention to it. It is, therefore, clear that the Nawab was not primarily actuated by

25 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, 45. Sheo Bhat threatened to invade Bengal, if the *Chauth* was withheld any longer.

26 *BPC.*, 8th May, 1761; *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, No. 404.

27 *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, Nos. 425-6. *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, Nos. 3, 6, and 34.

28 *BPC.*, 16th Jan. 1762; *Trans. PLI.*, 1762, No. 42. p. 27.

29 *BPC.*, 15th Feb. 1762.

30 *BPC.*, 16th Jan. 1762 (vide Letter from the Nawab, 25th Dec. 1761).

the desire to guard against an attack of Bihar, when he chose to settle at Monghyr, because the danger from the Wazir was obviously less serious than the menace of the Marathas to Bengal. In shelving the proposed Cuttack expedition, the Nawab showed an utter lack of a grasp of the problems of frontier defence. Lastly, that Mr. Vansittart did not object to the Nawab's stay at Monghyr does not mean much. The Governor had made this his settled policy not to meddle with the personal predilections of the Nawab, and so he could not have dissuaded the latter from removing his residence in consonance with his policy of non-intervention.

The transference of the head-quarters from Murshidabad to Monghyr appears to have been due to deeper reasons.³¹ In the first place, the Nawab required a strongly fortified place for his permanent residence, and Murshidabad would obviously not satisfy him. At Monghyr, he could have at his disposal a satisfactory fort which by means of the necessary improvements he could make stronger and more serviceable. He must certainly have felt the want of proper fortifications at Murshidabad, and extraordinarily cautious and suspicious as he was, he could never have regarded himself safe in the old capital. A place like Rohtasgarh would have been too near the frontier line. Monghyr or Rajmahal alone appeared to be centrally situated, and of the two, Monghyr was decidedly better both in point of its fortifications, and strategic position commanding the communication between Bihar and Bengal. It should not be forgotten that the Nawab was consistently aiming at securing his position, and this fact does amply explain the sudden preference for Monghyr.

In the second place, the Nawab would be able to start with a clean slate at a new place where he would be absolutely free from the atmosphere of the old capital, its intrigues and corruption. Murshidabad had been the centre of the late Nawabs, and was still associated with their names. Mir Qasim's vanity would require some other place where he could more effectively, and with a greater sense of security

³¹ (According to *MN.*, p. 328) the Nawab was unwilling to go to Murshidabad on account of his "rebellious character."

inaugurate his new regime. He apparently sought to be original in all matters, and altered every aspect of the late administration—its personnel, policy, and general tone. Is it not, therefore, intelligible that the Nawab should publicly signalise this change by shifting the capital itself? In fact, this transference of the capital indicated in a manner that could not be mistaken, the Nawab's complete emancipation from the English control, and the establishment of his undisputed sway over the *Subah*. That it had a spectacular side cannot be denied, hence the psychological factor should not be ignored in this connection.

In the third place, the Nawab had been led to suspect that Mir Jafar would be restored by the Company sooner or later, and the attitude of Ellis and the members of the opposition in the Council only deepened his suspicions. In the circumstances, he may have deemed it a prudent step to leave the old capital, and settle at a place remote from Calcutta, so that in case his appointment to the Subahship were to be annulled by the Company, he would have sufficient facility, either for offering resistance, or for quickly escaping to Oudh.

In the fourth place, the Nawab had been considering since his sojourn in the frontier districts of Bihar the feasibility of annexing Nepal to his dominions—a project which soon afterwards ended in a disastrous failure. He may have, therefore, decided to be as near the northern borders as possible, so that he might direct, and superintend the military operations against Nepal, and control it after its annexation which he considered to be very easy.

In the fifth place, the Nawab would not feel secure so long as Ellis who was alleged to be a centre of attraction to all those who were inimically disposed towards him, continued to remain in Bihar. The Nawab wanted to prevent the Naib at Patna from gaining a position of virtual independence as in former days with the support of the Company's servants, and he was determined to obviate the repetition of the days of Rāmnārāyaṇ when Bihar was only nominally subject to the authority of Murshidabad. This necessitated the Nawab's presence as near Patna as possible. At Patna itself, he could not have expected peace of mind owing to his open estrangement from Ellis; hence Monghyr would be a suitable place whence he could be able not only

to control his officers in Bihar, but also keep a vigilant watch over the activities of the Chief whom he looked upon as his worst enemy.

Finally, there is the usual explanation that the Nawab deliberately removed his head-quarters simply to remain at a safe distance from Calcutta, so that he might be less liable to supervision and interference, and might develop an army without hindrance with a view to establish his complete independence by ultimately overthrowing the power of the English.

At Monghyr, the Nawab immediately set himself to the work of repairing the fortifications, and the existing buildings, and commenced the construction of new edifices to beautify the town.³² No ugly buildings were to remain, and under the orders of the Nawab a large number of such buildings were demolished to be rebuilt in a style liked by the latter. It is difficult to state how far this expensive programme of building works was justifiable, but there is no doubt that it was inspired at least partly by vanity and ambition.³³ The Nawab wanted to make a pompous display of his wealth and power. The old walls of the town were improved, and new walls were erected towards the north and the south of the city for more strength and security.³⁴ The fort too was soon repaired and the necessary additions and alterations were made to it. Most of the artillery remaining at Murshidabad had to be brought gradually to Monghyr,³⁵ and new pieces of cannon were also purchased.³⁶ In short, the Nawab took great pains to adorn, and strengthen his present capital.³⁷

The new regime at Monghyr was marked by the Nawab's usual ruthlessness and terrorism. A large number of persons were ordered to be imprisoned, although they had not been charged with any definite crime. The Nawab obviously acted in accordance with his policy of removing all those officials who had been in any way connected with the previous Nawabs. In pursuance of this object, he had already either executed, or imprisoned most of the old officials on some pretext,

³² *Siyar*, p. 711.

³³ *MN.*, p. 335.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³⁶ *Abs. PLR.*, 759-65, p. 14. The Nawab offered in July, 1762 to purchase 100 pieces of cannon.

³⁷ *Riyazu-s-Salat* (A.S.B. Text), p. 381.

and now he put into prison without any trial whatsoever the principal *mutasaddis* of the old regime, who were still at large, and confiscated their property.³⁸ It is needless to add that these unhappy prisoners had to endure³⁹ untold sufferings during their captivity, and most of them were subsequently massacred. Among those who happened to be thus committed to prison⁴⁰ were the Ray Rayan, Umuid Ray, his son Nitta Nand, Kālī Parshad, Rām Kishor, Rājballabh and his sons, Dulāl Ray, Rāmnārāyan, Munshi Jagat Ray, Muhammad Masum, Shahamat Jang, Muzaffar Ali, Nazr Ali Khan, and Shah Abdullah. Not content with the confinement of the important functionaries of the old government, the Nawab seized even some of the powerful zemindars of Bengal, and had them imprisoned, lest they should defy his authority, intrigue against him with his enemies, or tyrannise over defenceless people.⁴¹ In fact, the Nawab made it a principle of his administration to humble the big landlords of the country, whom he regarded as his potential enemies. Among the zemindars who had been condemned to imprisonment⁴² were those of Dinajpur, Nuddea,⁴³ Kharakpur, Birbhum, Rajshahi, and Buncary.

In his new capital, the Nawab took great pains to rule after the fashion of the Great Mughals, and sedulously imitated their practice, as if to revive the glories of the Mughal Court. Two days in the week, he used to sit in the hall of audience, and decide cases after hearing the parties who were freely allowed to lay their grievances before him.⁴⁴ The Nawab usually consulted men conversant with law before giving his decisions, and showed his anxiety to dispense even-handed justice.⁴⁵ Ghulam Husain has paid an eloquent tribute to the Nawab's personal interest in the administration of justice,⁴⁶ and has given a picturesque description of the court at Monghyr. It is needless

38 *MN.*, p. 333.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

40 *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, p. 383; *Siyar*, pp. 713-15; *MN.*, p. 330.

41 *Siyar*, p. 712.

42 *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (A.S.B. Text), p. 383; *MN.*, p. 330.

43 *Abs. PLR.*, 1759-65, p. 15.

44 *Siyar*, p. 712; *Khulasat* (*JBORS.*, V, p. 606).

45 *Khulasat* (*JBORS.*, V, p. 606).

46 *Siyar*, p. 712. Kalyan Singh (*Khulasat*) confirms the account of Ghulam Husain.

to add in this connection that the Nawab was anxious to be impartial only when his own interests were not affected. He could be atrociously unfair and tyrannical, when he had to deal with persons whom, for some reason or other, he considered dangerous to himself, and always gave vent to his innate cruelty when he awarded punishment to such people.⁴⁷ That he used to inflict inhuman punishment is illustrated by a few cases cited⁴⁸ by Ghulam Husain himself. A certain young officer in the army had chanced to offer his hospitality to the servant of one whom the Nawab kept in confinement on suspicion, and the latter got very much annoyed at this, and ordered his nose to be cut off. Another official suspected to have been in correspondence with the runaway zemindars of Bhojur was ordered to be bound to an elephant's foot, and dragged till death. Some time after his arrival at Monghyr, the Nawab lost his eldest son⁴⁹ whom he had lately kept at Murshidabad under the care of his maternal uncle, Turab Ali Khan.⁵⁰ The Nawab's wrath curiously fell upon the unfortunate physician, Asadullah Khan, who had happened to treat the prince during his illness. The physician narrowly escaped death by managing to leave the capital in the disguise of a *faqir*.⁵¹ This is a striking illustration of the Nawab's arbitrary tyranny.

The Nawab was not satisfied with making Monghyr merely his administrative head-quarters; he wanted that the new capital should also be a centre of culture. He attracted a number of poets, authors, and pious men of note to his court by munificent liberality. Among the latter, the most honoured was, of course, the famous poet, Shah Muhammad Ali Hazin whose works were purchased by the Nawab at a high price, and who was besides awarded a liberal pension.⁵² Several lakhs of rupees were given in charity to the Sayyids, and other poor people.⁵³ All this was done to impress the people with his magnanimity and piety.

47 *MN.*, p. 330.

48 *Siyar*, p. 715.

49 *MN.*, p. 331.

50 *Trans. PLI.*, 1761, No. 423, p. 214.

51 *MN.*, p. 331. There is no mention of this incident in *Siyar*, or in any other chronicle.

52 *Siyar*, p. 712.

53 *Siyar*, p. 712.

In short, the Nawab did all that lay in his power to glorify his new regime at Monghyr. He also applied for, and secured from the Emperor, several titles of honour, although he was not given the honour of the Wazirship of the Empire, and the appellation of Asaf Jah, which he eagerly coveted.⁵⁴ Mir Qasim was henceforth known as Nawab Ali Jah.⁵⁵

NANDALAL CHATTERJI .

⁵⁴ *Siyar*, pp. 713-14.

⁵⁵ *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarī* (Alld. Univ. Ms.), p. 778.

Fire-Arms in Ancient India*

III

(7) Guns and gun-powder

In *Vāsiṣṭha Dharmurveda* (a work of the 12th century) there are three verses briefly describing *nārāca*, *nālikū* and *śataghna*. I translate them thus : ‘Those *bāṇas* which are entirely metallic are called *nārāca*. Five large feathers are tied to each. Few succeed in using this arrow. *Nālikū* is a light *bāṇa*, and is ejected by means of a tube. They are useful for hitting objects placed very high or forts situated at a long distance. The wise should place *śataghna* in forts for the security of the throne, and a large quantity of *rañjaka* (gun-powder) and *vaṭi* (bullets).’ As stated before, *nārāca* and *nālikū* were metallic arrows, one solid and the other hollow. They were propelled by a bow. But the *nālikū* of the passage mentioned above was propelled by means of long distance-tubes. The implement could not be a blow-gun.¹

There is thus scarcely any doubt that the hand-gun was first used for shooting short metallic arrows. The idea may have been originally the same as the blow-gun, and possibly *iṣikā-astra* mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* was a blow-gun. In course of time, the name *nālikū* was applied to guns,

Śataghna of the above passage is a cannon. It was placed on the walls of forts in the place of *śataghnis* of spiked columns. The words *rañjaka* for gun-powder is still in use. It is a Sanskrit word, meaning an exciter, from root *rañj* (to glow). The word *vaṭi* for bullets is also Sanskrit, as also *vaṭikū*. The words *rañjaka*

* Continued from vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 271.

1 The blow-gun also called blow-pipe is a weapon in common use among savages in S. America, Borneo and Philippine Islands. It is a tube, three to fourteen feet long, formed of a reed, bamboo or wood bored through. The arrows measure about a foot. The Bhils of Central India are said to use similar blow-pipes. These are also in use among the Nāgās, one of the Hill tribes of Assam.

and *vatikā* occur in connection with military drill described in the *Dhanurveda*.

A full description of guns and cannon together with the method of preparation of gun-powder is given in the *Śukra-Nītisūtra*. The probable date of the work is the eleventh century A.D., and the place of its composition appears to have been somewhere in the south-west of Rajputana. There has been a great deal of interpolation in the extant edition, but if we examine the classification of arms we notice that the account of guns appears in its suitable place in the scheme. It is evident that there is no break in the old tradition and that *nālikā* was not a foreign invention.

Let us translate the passage in which guns and gun-powder are described: "The *nālikā* is of two kinds, large and small. The small are 45 inches long, have a stock of tough wood, and a barrel of bamboo with a bore of three-fourths of an inch." (The rest of the description agrees with musket with touch-hole placed at the side and filled with priming-powder). "The small *nālikās* are carried by infantry and cavalry. The larger *nālikā* has no wooden stock, is made of steel or other metals and carried on wheels. The small shot for the smaller arms is made of lead or other metals, and the balls (*golā*) for the larger are made of iron with or without shot inside them. The gun powder, *agni-cūrṇa*, is composed of 4 or 5 or 6 parts of *suvarci lavaṇa* (salt-petre), 1 part of sulphur and 1 part of charcoal of *Arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), *Snuhi* (*Euphorbia nivulia*) and other trees burnt in a pit so as to exclude air. The ingredients are to be purified separately, ground to fine powder and then mixed. The mixture is next soaked in the sap of *Arka* (*Calotropis*) and *Rasuna* (garlic) dried in the sun and reduced to coarse powder like granulated sugar. There are many kinds of *agni-cūrṇa* known to experts, and they are composed of varied proportions of charcoal, sulphur, salt-petre, realgar, orpiment, calx of lead, cinnabar, iron filings, zinc dust, shell-lac, blue vitriol, resin of pines, etc. Some give out white light, like that of the moon."

The juice of garlic is adhesive. The milky sap of *Calotropis* contains gutta, and the object of treating the dry mixture with the juice is to promote incorporation of the ingredients as well as to facilitate granulation.

A perusal of the description of *nālikā* and its powder takes us far in advance of the age of agnibāṇa of which there is no mention in *Śukra*. The bow had lost its importance, but was still in use.

There were still beliefs in the efficacy of *mantras* and secret weapons of old, but they were no longer forthcoming. Instead, can non "if properly used" was found "to lead to victory." The detailed description of the method of preparing powder and the use of bamboo for an iron barrel, and the instruction as to the manner of using a gun leave no doubt on one's mind that ancient mode of warfare was passing through a transitional stage, specially in the evolution of the weapons of offence. What is more striking is the introduction of recipes for pyrotechnics, which fact reminds us of the use of rockets in the warfare of former times.

What may be the date of the passage? The work, *Śukranītisāra*, as a whole, underwent revision, at least thrice. The last revision took place in the eleventh century, and the passage appears to belong to the same date. The use of the words *karpāra* for *karpārī* (zinc), *suvarci* for *suvarcala* (salt-petre), *nīlī* to denote blue vitriol does not indicate an earlier date.

It seems, there were at least two centres of construction of guns, one represented by Vasiṣṭha, probably of Northern India, and the other by Śukra of Western Rajputana. For, they use names which, though Sanskrit, are not the same excepting one. The former has *nālikā* for hand-guns, *śataghna* for cannon, *rañjaka*, for powder, and *vaṭī* for balls; while the latter has *laghu-nālikā* for light-guns, *bṛhat nālikā* for heavy cannon, *agni-cūrṇa* for powder, and *golā* for balls. They agree only in the use of the word *nālikā* for guns. The *dhūpa* of the *Agni-Purāṇa* and *Kha-dhūpa* of *Bhaṭṭi*, meaning rockets is called *rañjaka-nālikā* in Vasiṣṭha, reminding us of *nala-dīpikā* of Kauṭilya. The reason of these differences seems to be the absence of literature on the subject, which for obvious reasons was kept secret. In eastern India, where was written *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, a gun was called *lauha-nāla* and even *nārāca*.

(8) *The powder and gun are of Indian invention*

The history told in the preceding pages will leave no room for doubt that the evolution of powder and gun has taken place in a natural way in India. The poets of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahā-bhārata* might exaggerate the action of the *divya astras* but could not invent them without the help of a model in actual use. There were fire-balls, fiery arrows, and fiery shot and there were some such as *Brahma-astra*, *Nārāyaṇa-astra*, *Pāśupata-astra* and other

rare *astras* against which armour then in use was no protection. The *nala dīpikā* of Kauṭilya was replaced by *dhūpa* about the fourth century after Christ and the rockets preceded guns in warfare. The word, *bāṇa*, replaced the word, *dhūpa*, and denoted rockets and bombs. The word is still in use in the same sense in most vernaculars in India. In the Appendix to vol. VI of his *History of India*, Sir H. M. Elliot tells us that in A. D. 1232 the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets and that in modern Europe they were in use as early as A. D. 1380. It seems rockets preceded cannon also in Europe. This historian further tells us that in the eleventh century an ancient Sanskrit treatise on fire-arms was translated into Arabic, and a Persian translation of the latter was made in 1126. This information, he says, is recorded in a Persian history named *Mujmalu*. Dr. Oppert thoroughly examined the Arabic literature and wrote that the Arabs were said to have learnt the manufacture of gun-powder from India and improved upon it.

At any rate the Arabs did not know gun-powder before their connexion with India. They knew the use of *Manjanīk*, the powerful propelling engine. According to Elliot it was first used about A. D. 200. Muhammad Qasim fixed *Manjanīk* which required 500 men to work it in the capture of Daibal (A. D. 711-712). Fiery projectiles (*ātish bāzi*) were used in the capture of Alor which fell shortly after Daibal. The historian rejects the story and considers them to be arrows of *naphtha*. A little before A. D. 1200 we come to the dynasty of the Ghorians, but no mention is made by the Muhammadan writers of any incendiary preparations. In A. D. 1368 Muhammed Shah Bahmani I got 300 gun carriages as spoils from the Raja of Bijanagar. The historian finds no reason to disbelieve the statement. Guns were in common use in India before the first arrival of the Portuguese in A. D. 1498. In A. D. 1526, Babar wrote that the Bengali soldiers were skilful gunners. In Bijapur there is still seen a large cannon as a relic of the conquest by Aurangzeb in A. D. 1687. It was cast in one piece, a feat considered impossible in Europe a few decades ago. It is known as *malik myadān*, king of the field. A man can comfortably lie down in its chamber. But the field guns were usually made of iron plates about two inches wide placed longitudinally, welded together and encircled with similar plates. A second layer of longitudinal and upon it a layer of circular plates were welded with the first. Some of them measured

thirty to 'thirty-five feet in length. Smaller guns found in enormous numbers with their raised bands are known as *gāṇṭhiā*, knotted, and remind us of the original model of bamboo. On the side of Indian literary testimony there is *Prithviraj Raso* composed by the Raja's court-poet, Cānd Bardāi, in A. D. 1193² But unfortunately there have been interpolations in the bardic song and the accounts of fights described have to be admitted with caution. The dates of the events narrated in the work have been proved to be correct, and the use of guns cannot be wholly fictitious. We learn that cannon was used, to be carried on the back of elephants instead of on carriages as told by Śukra. These were called 'hāth-nāl' or 'hāth-nār' and also 'karannāl' (kari-nāla). (Hāth is hāthi, and kari means an elephant). It is said that balls thrown from the cannon, kilikā, fell at a distance of twenty miles. The word *bāṇ* has been employed to denote rockets, and the word 'kuhak-bāṇ' perhaps meant shells. There are words like *tupak* for the hand-gun and *kāmmān* for cannon, and *kāmmān-bāṇ* for balls. Kāmmān is a Persian word, and the poets could have avoided it if they chose, so also, 'havāi', for *bāṇ*.

Of all the Asiatic countries, Persia, possessing salt-petre abundantly as India, could claim the credit of discovering gun-powder. But history is against it and the Persian words used in connection with it are also against it. Let us examine a few.

At the outset it may be noted that the words, *tōp* (canon), *banduq* (musket), and *bārud* (gun-powder) find no place in the celebrated Persian Dictionary by Paul Horn, who evidently thought them to be foreign. Many conjectures have been made as to their origin, but they appear to be fanciful. It seems Sanskrit can throw light on the origin.

The word *tōp* appears to be a Turkish corruption of Skt. *dhūpa*. Persian *tupang* or *tufung* originally meant a rocket, exactly as Skt. *dhūpa* did. Cānd Bardāi has *tupak* for hand-gun. Possibly Skt. *dhūpa* used to be called *dhūpam* in the vernacular of southern India, giving the Persian form *tupang*. In *Shāhnāmā*, *tufung* means a rocket.

The word *banduq* has been supposed to be derived from *bunduq*, a bullet. But the origin of the latter is unknown. The old form of

·2· I am indebted to Mr. Amritlal Sil for much valuable information regarding guns of Bijapur and Cānd Bardāi.

banduq is *pendak*, and it has been suggested that *pendak* is akin to Skt. *piṇḍaka* a ball. We have seen that Skt. *bāṇa* at first meant a missile, and became later the name of the implement for throwing it. Are we to suppose that the same change took place in Persian also?

Thus we see that India did not borrow her knowledge of fire-arms from Persia. She possesses a connected history of the evolution of fire-arms.

JOGESH CHANDRA RAY

MISCELLANY

A Note on a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

The *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini (IV, 3, 104)¹ informs us that Caraka was the name of Vaiśampāyana and that owing to the connection with him, his pupils are called the Carakas,² so that according to the *Kāśikā* his full name was Caraka Vaiśampāyana. It is known from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (I, 7) and all the *Purāṇas* that Vaiśampāyana was an Adhvaryu or Yajurvedic priest and professor. He is also mentioned as the professor of the *Mahābhārata* in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III, 4).

It is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 60, 21-23) that Vyāsa Pārāśarya instructed his pupil Vaiśampāyana to narrate the old history of the *Mahābhārata* to Janamejaya Pārikṣita. In the light of these informations it will now be easy to understand the true meaning of that passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which establishes the contemporaneity between Caraka Adhvaryu and Yājñavalkya Adhvaryu. The passage, as punctuated by us, is:

हुत्वा वपामेवाग्नेऽभिघारयति, अथ पृषदाज्यं, तदु ह चरकाध्वर्यवः पृषदाज्यमेवाग्नेऽ-
भिघारयन्ति प्राणः पृषदाज्यमिति वदन्तः, तदु ह याज्ञवल्क्यं चरकाध्वर्युरनुव्याजहारैवं
कुर्वन्तं, प्राणं वा अयमन्तरगादध्वर्युः, प्राणः एनं हास्यतीति ॥

Mādhyandin. Sat. Brā., III, 8, 2, 24.

This passage has been a bit mistranslated by Eggeling. His translation is:

“Having offered, he bastes first the omentum, then the clotted ghee. Now the Carakādhvāryus, forsooth, baste first the clotted ghee, arguing that the clotted ghee is the breath; and a Caraka Adhvaryu, forsooth, cursed Yājñavalkya for so doing, saying ‘That Adhvaryu has shut out the breath, the breath shall depart from him!’”

1. कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । Pān. IV, 3, 104.

2. चरक इति वैशम्पायनस्याख्या तत्सम्बन्धेन सर्वे तदन्तेवासिनश्चरका इत्युच्यन्ते ।

It is evident that the insertion of the indefinite article 'a' just before 'Caraka Adhvaryu' in the above translation is wrong, for had a certain pupil of Caraka Adhvaryu been intended, there would have been a word like कश्चिन् or एकतमः in the original Brāhmaṇa passage quoted above. As there is no such adjunct equivalent to the English indefinite article 'a' before or after चरकाध्वर्युः in the original passage, it is evident that the Adhvaryu priest (or Yajurvedic priest) Caraka (=Vaiśampāyana) himself is pointed out in the above passage. Why 'a Carakādhvaryu' in spite of the explicit mention of Carakādhvaryu himself? This passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* absolutely establishes the contemporaneity between the Adhvaryu priest Caraka Vaiśampāyana, the court-historian of Janamejaya Pāriksīta, and the Adhvaryu priest Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 318, 17) strengthens this contemporaneity with the information that Yājñavalkya was the nephew i.e. sister's son or Bhāgineya of Vaiśampāyana. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 318, 19-20) also says that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of his maternal uncle Vaiśampāyana with whom he quarrelled and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda. All the *Purāṇas* unanimously support the *Mahābhārata* in this respect, while the Viṣṇu and the *Bhāgavata* add that Yājñavalkya taught the Vedas to Śatānika, the son of Janamejaya whose court-historian Vaiśampāyana was. The *Vāyu* (99, 250-255) says that Janamejaya performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices according to the rules and formulas given by (Vājasaneya) Yajñavalkya while the *Matsya* (50, 57-64) says that Vājasaneya (=Yājñavalkya) officiated as the Brahman priest in these two Aśvamedha sacrifices performed by Janamejaya. These are the two Aśvamedha sacrifices to which Yājñavalkya referred during the debate held in Janaka's court by saying "Thither where Aśvamedha sacrificers go" to the sarcastic question "Whither have the Pāriksītas gone?" put to him by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 3, 1) who was a pupil of Caraka.

Notes on Asoka Rescripts

Dusaṃpaṭipādaye (P.E.I.)—Hitherto the form and the meaning of this term have not been clearly understood. The passage that contains the word runs as follows:—

hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye amnata agāya dhaṃma-kāmatāya agāya palīkhāya etc. etc.—[Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 146,—Nandargarh P.E.I., section C].

Hultzsch has interpreted the expression *hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye* as “(Happiness) in this (world) and in the other (world) is difficult to secure” (p. 119). The term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* was long understood to be equivalent to a Sk. °-*pādyah*, a future participle form, by Aśokan scholars, and Professor D. R. Bhandarkar also explained it in the same way in the first edition of his *Aśoka*. The latter has, however, changed his view as he now thinks that “this is philologically impossible, as remarked by Michelson” (see his *Aśoka*, second edition, p. 336, n. 1). He prefers ‘to take *saṃpaṭipādaye* = *saṃpratipādayet*’; that is to say, he wants to make *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* equivalent to a finite verb (Optative) prefixed by *du-*, as is shown also by his rendering ‘One *may* with difficulty promote’. But such a procedure would make the construction extremely unidiomatic. He has not adduced any instance of such a use of a finite verb with the prefix *du-*, meaning ‘difficult’. At any rate, it is not warranted by the dialect of the Aśoka rescripts. For instance, see R.E.V. section C, where occurs the expression *so dukaraṃ karoti*, instead of *so dukaroti* as the Professor’s interpretation would require.

I think that *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* is neither a regular future participle nor an optative verbal form. I should like to point out that the term admits of a striking equivalence with such derivative adjectival forms in Pāli as are made up of the prefix *du-* or *su-* and the stem or formative part of a verb. Compare the italicized words in the following instances, where the final *-aya* represents neither an optative termination nor the future participle suffix *-ya*, but is only a part of the verbal stem:—

- (i) “Pañc’ ime bhikkhave uppannā *duppaṭivīnodayā*:.....
uppanno rāgo *duppaṭivīnodayo*, uppanno moho *duppaṭi-*

- vinodayo, uppannaṃ paṭibhānaṃ duppaṭivinodayaṃ, uppannaṃ gamikacittaṃ duppaṭivinodayaṃ.*—(*Āṅuttara*, III. pp. 184-85).
- (ii) “Phandanaṃ capalaṃ cittaṃ durakkhaṃ dunnivārayaṃ”.—(*Dhammapada*, verse 33).
- (iii) “Yo duddamayo damena danto”.—(*Theragāthā*, verses 5, 8).
- (iv) “Vutti *susamudānaya*” = ‘a living easy to procure’.—(*Jātaka*, III. p. 313, l. 24).
- (v) “*Dussaṇṭhāpayo* gharāvāso” = ‘domestic life is difficult to settle down to’.—(Fausböll, *Dhammapada with commentary*, p. 199, ll. 10-11 = Norman, *Commentary on the Dhammapada* vol. 2, pt. I, p. 302, n. 4).

Instances of such adjectival forms can be multiplied from the Pāli literature. Again, the Aśoka rescripts themselves contain analogous forms, which, though apparently somewhat different, are really cases of derivative adjective formed from *du*+some formative part of a verb. For instance, cf. R.E. VI (section N of Hultzsch, p. 196):—

- Gir. *Dukaraṃ* tu idaṃ añatra agena parākramena.
 Kāl. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ anātā agenā palakamenā.
 Shāh. *Dukara* tu kho imaṃ añatra agrena parakramena.
 Mān. *Dukare* cha kho añatra agrena parakramena.
 Dhau. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ amnata agena palakamena.
 Jau. *Dukale* chu iyaṃ amnata agena palakamena.

It is evident from the table that *dukale* and *dukare* are not finite verbs in the optative, but adjective forms, as their variants *dukaraṃ* and *dukara* show. It is also noteworthy that the passages quoted are, in respect of construction, exactly on a par with the passage of P.E.I which contains the term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye*. For another parallel construction with *dukale*, *dukare* and *dukaraṃ*, see R.E. X, section E. Compare also the analogous forms *dupaṭivekhe* (P.E. III, section D) and *duāhale* (Sep. R.E.I., and my notes in *IHQ.*, June, 1932, pp. 377-9). All these instances show that *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* cannot be regarded as a finite verb in the optative, as Prof. Bhandarkar would have it.

As regards the meaning of the term, different suggestions have been made by different scholars, e.g. Senart='difficult to provide', Bühler='difficult to gain', Smith='difficult to secure' (See Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, second edition, pp. 336-7, n. 1). Hultsch agrees with Smith, and the latest explanation, offered by Prof. Bhandarkar, is 'One may with difficulty promote' (*loc. cit.*). The latter also suggests that in order to ensure uniformity of meaning, *saṃpaṭipad*, as it refers to Aśoka's officers and not to his people, "must be taken to mean 'cause (people) to attain to'".

But such a causal sense of *saṃpaṭipad* is not uniform in the rescripts, even though it may refer to Aśoka's officers. For instance, we have in Sep. R.E.I. the non-causal form *saṃpaṭipajamīne* (Dhau. l. 16) side by side with the causal *vipaṭipādayamīne* (Dhau. l. 15) and in the same context, and both in the non-causal sense, the only difference being that while the former is affirmative, the latter is negative. It seems, therefore, better to take *saṃpaṭipādaya* in a general sense, and, if causal at all, then as causal by "svārtha". If so, it very aptly suggests the meaning 'to duly give effect to', 'to bring to perfection', 'to fulfil', 'to execute properly', that is to say, 'to consummate'. Thus, in the same pillar edict the expression "anuvidhiyamti *saṃpaṭipādayamti* cha, alaṃ cha palaṃ samādayitave (l. 8.)" would mean "(my officers) are conforming to (my anusāthi) and consummating it (lit. bringing it to perfection), and (they are) capable of initiating others". The same idea of 'consistent and successful management or execution' i.e. 'consummation' also runs through the term *saṃpaṭipādayitave* at Sep. R.E. II, last line: "Hevaṃ kalaṃtaṃ tuphe chaghatha *saṃpaṭipādayitave*"—"acting thus (i.e. according to Aśoka's instruction or anusāthi), you (i.e. his officers) will be able to consummate it (i.e. justify the anusāthi)".

Accordingly, the expression *hidata-pālate dusamṭipādaye* signifies 'the here-and-the-hereafter is difficult to consummate (i.e. to work out perfectly)'—whether the consummation be through the agency of the officers or through that of the people, or Aśoka's own offspring. The fact is that Aśoka was anxious to ensure the bliss of *hidata-pālata* not only to his people (as in R.E. VI, IX, XI; P.E. III, IV; M.R.E. I), but also to his offspring (as in R.E. XIII; P.E. VII), his

officers (as in Sep. R.E. I and II) and his Borderers (as in Sep. R.E. II), and all of them were expected by him, as these edicts show, to work out their salvation by conforming to his moral instructions (anusāṭhi) in theory and practice, whereby alone the course of *hidata-pālata* could be perfected. Compare also: *Hevaṃ hi anupaṭipajāṇitaṃ hidata-pālata āladhe hoti* (P.E. VII. 1. 31) where the worker and winner of the bliss is Aśoka's offspring and not his officers.

Thus, the term *dusaṃpaṭipādaye* does not refer only to the officials' difficulty in causing people to attain to 'hidata-pālata', but it is used in a general way at the beginning of the rescript to signify the general difficulty with which any toiler is faced in having to work for 'hidata-pālata'; and it is only when Aśoka particularly refers to the activity of his officers in that behalf in any particular context that the term may assume a bearing that will connect the officers alone with the act. But no such specification is present in the expression *Hidata-pālata dusaṃpaṭipādaye*.

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Kapardaka Purāṇa

In the inscriptions of the Sena Dynasty of Bengal, we have the reference to a coin called *Kapardaka-purāṇa*.¹ The village Vāllahit̥thā mentioned in the Naihātī grant of Ballāla Sena had an annual income of 500 *Kapardaka-purāṇas* and the Tarpaṇ-dīghī plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena refer to a piece of land which yielded an annual income of 150 *Kapardaka-purāṇas*; there are similar other references in the grants of the Sena kings.² We know that the *purāṇa* or the *dharāṇa* is nothing but a silver coin of 32 *ratis* or 58 grains,³ but there is great uncertainty about the significance of the term *Kapardaka-purāṇa*.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is justified in stating that the *Kapardaka-purāṇa* cannot “denote a *Purāṇa* which is equal to one *Karpardaka* or *cowrie* in value”.⁴ Surely a coin weighing 32 *ratis* of silver cannot be equated to a *cowrie* in value. Prof. Bhandarkar was, therefore, constrained to impose a different significance on this term. He thinks that a *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is a coin, “a *purāṇa*, which is shaped like a *Kapardaka* or *cowrie*”.⁵ He also points out that the word *hiranya* refers to the metallic representations of cowries as *Kapardaka*. In the Sanskrit lexicon *Medinī*, the word is given two meanings viz. (a) *Śātakumbha* or gold, and (b) *Varāta* or *cowrie*.⁶ From these Prof. Bhandarkar draws the conclusion “that when *Kapardaka* is given as another word for *hiranya*, the former must be taken to signify a ‘gold cowrie’ i.e. a gold coin shaped like a shell cowrie. *Hiranya* thus, according to the *Medinī*, signifies *śātakumbha* i.e. (gold) bullion and *Kapardaka*, i.e. (gold) cowries”.⁷ In support of this hypothesis, he refers to the Egyptian and Chinese metallic representations of cowries and appeals to the analogy of the *rūpya* coins of Olbia. The Greek city of Olbia was situated in the north shore of the Black Sea and the tunny fish “formed the staple commodity of the communities that lived in

1 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* (The Carmichael Lectures), pp. 139, 176.

2 Banerjee, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, pp. 14, 15.

3 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics* pp. 92-3, 180.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 176

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

7 *Ibid.*

those regions''.⁸ The tunny fish, therefore, came to be used as a medium of exchange; and when coins came into use, "the bronze coins of this city were shaped like fishes" and had two letters inscribed on them which are taken to be the abbreviation of the Greek word 'tunny,' the fish.

But this analogy is not a full explanation of the *Kapardaka-purāṇa*. As pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar himself the bronze coins of Olbia, shaped like fish, mark one of the stages of the transitional period from barter to metallic currency. The disadvantages of barter are well-known; it necessitates a double coincidence and consequently stands in the way of commercial expansion.⁹ So various articles like cow, grain, ornaments etc. came in to serve as mediums of exchange.¹⁰ At last, the metals are found to be best suited for the purpose and a certain amount of metal—gold, silver, copper etc.—came to be weighed out for purposes of exchange.¹¹ The final stage is marked by the advent of coins which are nothing but different weights of metals with devices impressed on the pieces either by the State¹² or by the bankers,¹³ testifying as to the weight and purity of each piece. So it is evident that the system of fashioning a coin after an article which served as a medium of exchange must be anterior to the origin of coinage in the correct sense of the word. Consequently, what is true of the transition period previous to the advent of coins cannot be applicable to Bengal under the Senas in the 12th century A.D., hundreds of years after coinage had been evolved in this country.

Prof. Bhandarkar is conscious of the weakness of his arguments, but he wants to explain it off. Concluding his arguments he says: "It is true that the instances I have adduced are from the mediæval history of ancient India, but as I have already said, forms of money originating in the early stages of civilisation are preserved down to the historical periods. There can, therefore, be nothing unreasonable in

8 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 136.

9 Jevons, *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*, ch. I.

10 S. K. Chakravorty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 7.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

12 Head, Barclay V., *Historia Numorum*, p. xxxiv.

13 Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie* etc.

supposing* that gold and silver cowries came originally to be employed only when metallic currency was introduced but survived down to much later times in some parts of India at least".¹⁴ But the strongest argument against his theory is that not a single such coin, a *purāṇa* shaped like a *kapardaka* or cowrie had been discovered in this country. The current coins of the Pāla Dynasty that ruled in Bengal before the Senas were the *purāṇas* or *dharāṇas*, the silver coins of approximately 58 ratis as mentioned in the literature and found in various parts of the land¹⁵; and in some of the inscriptions of the Sena Dynasty the coin referred to is the *purāṇa* which is evidently the standard coin of the realm.¹⁶ In the Sena period *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is not the only currency in use, but side by side, there are references to the *purāṇas*. There is no reason for thinking that while coins, in the proper sense of the word, were in circulation in Bengal before the Senas and after them, they went out of their way to have their coins shaped like *kapardakas*; this was not only very difficult as regards fabrication but decidedly marks a retrogression in the evolution of coinage. So the interpretation of Prof. Bhandarkar is not very sound.

Kapardaka or *cowrie* is locally known as *kauri* or *kavadi* and is "the small white shell of *Cypaea* or *Moneta*".¹⁷ It had been used as currency from time immemorial in Southern Asia and specially in China. Masudi (943 A.D.), Marco Polo and other writers refer to its use in Southern India, the Maldives and Bengal.¹⁸ The cowries are even now employed in the Dacca town and the demand for these shells is due to various purposes. These are not only used for currency but are also needed for adornment of cattle, horses etc. and are used by females in their indoor games. In 1905-6, 21,405 cwt. of cowries valued at Rs. 81, 710 and in 1906-7, 18, 638 cwt. valued at Rs. 68,845 were imported to this country. The major portion comes from East

14 Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 177-78.

15 Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 239-40 (Eastern or Magadha type, about tenth century A.D.).

16 Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, 14-15: (2) Sundarbana Copper Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and (6) Madanpāda Copper Plate of Viśvarūpa Sena.

17 Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 989.

18 *Ibid.*

Africa and "a considerable local supply is obtained from the Laccadive and Maldiv Islands".¹⁹ Cowries are referred to in the *Jātakas* as *sippikāni*;²⁰ and the word *vaṭa* meaning a cowrie came to signify 'a coin'. It was used as a medium of exchange and became a generic expression for a coin, just as *kārṣāpaṇa* of copper came to be a general expression²¹ and signified coins whether of gold, silver or copper. The use of cowrie for purposes of exchange was a long standing one, and Bengal had a special predilection for it. Specially during the period under discussion, silver became scarce. In the mediæval period before the discovery of America, the world supply of silver was "drawn chiefly from Central Asia. The rise of the Arab power and the consequent disturbances in Central Asia interrupted trade between India and the west by land and sea and must have curtailed, if they did not cut off completely, the import of silver from abroad".²² The silver coins of the Pāla Dynasty are very few in number and rude in shape.²³ It is thus possible that under the Senas, the silver currency had been supplanted to a great extent by other mediums of exchange, perhaps of copper and preferably of cowries. The metallic coins were merely a theoretical currency and must have been very scarce and practically fallen out of use in Bengal. This is to be inferred from the statement of Minhās-us-Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, who visited Lakhnauti, the chief town of Bengal, in 641 A.H. and writes that "there was no money current in Bengal till the Muhammadans carried it down with them on the conquest of the country in A.D. 1203".²⁴ The only way by which we can reconcile this statement with the condition of things prevailing in this country is to accept the *cowrie* as the principal, and perhaps for all practical purposes, as the only medium of exchange.

This conclusion is also borne out by the fact that *Kāhan* (the ver-

19 Sir George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, p. 989.

20 *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, p. 218.

21 Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., p. clxxx; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Lecture III.

22 C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 53.

23 V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 239.

24 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights* (Numis. Orient); p. 37, fn. 5.

nacular word for Skt. *Kārṣāpaṇa* and Pāli *Kahāpaṇa*, the generic expression for coin in classical literature) is always equated to a number of cowries.²⁵ The minute sub-divisions of a cowrie also point to their importance and general use as currency.²⁶ So the only reasonable conclusion is that *Kapardaka* or 'cowrie' had become by the time of the Senas of Bengal the principal, if not the only medium of exchange and *purāṇa* the age-old general expression for coin was perhaps a theoretical standard of value. Payments were made in cowries and a certain number of them came to be equated to the silver coin, the *purāṇa*, thus linking up all exchange transactions ultimately to silver, just as at present the rupee, the silver coin, is linked up to gold at a certain ratio. The correct interpretation of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* is that it refers to a silver coin which, however, was paid in cowries i.e. *purāṇa* was merely a theoretical currency and was linked up with the real currency of the country, the cowries which changed hands in exchange transactions. The reference to *purāṇa* converts the cowrie to a token currency and how many cowries had to be equated to a *purāṇa* depended upon the market fluctuations. "In 1740 a rupee in Bengal exchanged for 2,40 cowries : in 1840 for 6,500',"²⁷ So the real significance of *Kapardaka-purāṇa* in Bengal, after a careful consideration of the monetary condition under the Senas, seems to be that the silver coin *purāṇa* was the standard coin of the realm but not in general use, and was equated to, and paid for, in cowries; it is this latter fact that is pointedly referred to in the word *kapardaka*. But when the word *purāṇa* is mentioned alone in the inscriptions, the silver coin was undoubtedly equated to the prevailing cowrie currency; and the addition of the word *kapardaka*, therefore, left no doubt about its correct significance.

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25 A *Kāhan* is equal in value to 16 *Paṇas* of 20 *gaṇḍās* i.e. 80 cowries each. See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 46-47.

26 E. Thomas, *Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 19, fn. 3; "Thus 3 krant or 4 kak or 5 Bat or 9 Dant or 27 Jau or 32 Dar or 80 Til or 800 Sano are each equivalent to one *Kauṣṭh*."

27 Sir W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 59, fn. 2.

Some Problems of Pre-Buddhist History and Chronology

It was the endeavour of the writer of the *Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikṣit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*, part I (1919), to expose epic and Purāṇic tradition to the search-light of Vedic and early Buddhist evidence, and reconstruct a chronological frame-work for the pre-Bimbisārian period which, though opposed to certain traditional ideas, is in accordance with the testimony of the earliest literary treasures of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas. The author sought to prove that Janamejaya, son of Parikṣit, and his priests, Tura Kāvaṣeya and Indrota, flourished five or six generations before Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* and his contemporaries Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya. He pointed out that it was difficult to identify this Janaka with any of the kings of that name mentioned in the epic and Purāṇic lists. He noted no doubt the arguments that might be advanced in support of the view that he was the original of the legendary Sīra-dhvaja whom the *Purāṇas* represent as the father of Sītā. These, however, were not regarded as conclusive, and it was further pointed out that, in the absence of external corroboration, it was impossible to accept the entire Purāṇic list of Vaideha kings from Sīra-dhvaja downwards as reliable. The author went on to suggest that Śāṅkhāyana, who was two generations removed from Janaka of the *Upaniṣads*, was possibly a contemporary of Āśvalāyana and that Āśvalāyana was in all probability identical with Assalāyana of Sāvatti mentioned in the early Pāli texts as a contemporary of Buddha and of Kakudha Kātyāyana, one of the leading sophists of the age.

These results have recently been challenged by Paṇḍit V. Vedāntatīrtha (henceforth abbreviated as V.) in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, April-July, 1932. He urges that "although Tura Kāvaṣeya stands at the 6th step in the series of teachers above Yājñavalkya and Janaka" Janamejaya himself should be placed "only a step above Janaka in conformity with several epic, Purāṇic and Vedic synchronisms". It is not necessary for us to discuss the Purāṇic synchronisms because V. himself speaks of the *Purāṇas* thus: "Collateral successions have sometimes been described in the

Pūrāṇas as lineal; sometimes orders of succession (have been) reversed, (and) synchronisms misplaced." As to the epics it is well to remember that they refer to Paraśurāma as a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarāthi as well as of Bhīṣma and Karṇa, and represent Hanumat and Vibhīṣana as having met Bhīmasena (*Mbh.*, iii. ch. 147-151) and Sahadeva (*Mbh.*, ii. 31) respectively. A critical study of these and similar statements in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* would convince any impartial student that it is extremely unsafe to depend for historical synchronisms on the uncorroborated evidence of such texts. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to an examination of the Vedic evidence which, in the opinion of V., supports the view that "Janamejaya Pāriṣita was . . . an older contemporary of Janaka Vaideha and Yājñavalkya Vājasaneyā."

V. observes that the use of *lañ* in the verb *bhu* in the interrogation "*Kva Pāriṣita abhavan*" attributed to a contemporary of Yājñavalkya and Janaka, shows that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers happened during the lifetime of Yājñavalkya. But the question was not actually framed for the first time by a sage of Janaka's Court. He had heard about it and its solution from people in the Madra country. The passage, therefore, is what is termed by grammarians and others as a *mūrdhābhiṣikta udāharaṇa*, and it cannot be regarded as establishing the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka. Moreover, persons with a real acquaintance with our ancient literature know that *lañ* was often used in reference to events that happened in olden times.¹

Another argument brought forward to prove the synchronism of

1 Cp.

चम्पस्य तु पुरी चम्पा ।

या मालिन्य भवत् पुरा ॥

हरिवंश, ३१, ४६

तथांगस्य तु राजर्षे राजासीद्-दधिवाहनः ।

सापराध सदेष्णाया अनपानोऽभवन्तृपः ॥

अथ चित्ररथस्यापि राजा दशरथोऽभवत् ।

लोमपाद इति ख्यातो यस्य शान्ता सुताभवत् ॥

वायुपुराण, ६६. १८०-१०३.

Janamejaya and Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* is that “a Vedic teacher named Dantabāla Dhaumra was . . . received by king Janamejaya Pārīkṣita”. ‘Dantabāla Dhaumra’ is represented as the corrupt form of the name ‘Dantāla Dhaumya’ which occurs in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* as the designation of a contemporary of Somaśuśma Sātyayaṅṇi and, therefore, of Janaka. Now, the emendation of the name ‘Dantabāla Dhaumra’ into ‘Dantāla Dhaumya’ is as unjustifiable as the equation of Mādhavācārya, the author of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, with Madhvācārya, the *Dvaita* exponent of the Vedānta. Moreover, as the reference to Dantabāla occurs in the mythical legend of Janamejaya and the two ganders, its value for chronological purposes may very well be discounted.

Writers who bring down Janamejaya, the contemporary of Indrota, to the time of Somaśuśma, fifth in the descending line from that teacher, forget that in the time of Dṛti Aindrota, the son and pupil of Indrota, Janamejaya was obviously dead and the Kuru throne was occupied by Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni (*Vedic Index*, I, 373).

It will be seen that in his anxiety to support his theory V. has found it necessary to emend Vedic texts and blink over details that do not exactly fit in with his notions. But what is more regrettable is the attribution to the author of the *Political History* of views which he did not really entertain. Thus V. coolly suggests that the author has placed *all* the Videhas mentioned in the *Purāṇas* from Śīradhvaja to Kṛti, six generations after Janamejaya Pārīkṣita. As a matter of fact, the author, while not oblivious of the possibility of the Janaka of the *Upaniṣads* being the original of the Purāṇic Śīradhvaja, does not consider the identification as certain and regards the Purāṇic lists of later Vaidehas as of doubtful historical and chronological value. He says distinctly even in the first edition of his work (p. 38) that “with the exception of Ariṣṭa and Nemi or Nami none of the kings in the Purāṇic lists can be satisfactorily identified with the Videhan monarchs mentioned in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina literature. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the Purāṇic lists are historical”. The point has been made clearer in the later editions of the *Political History*, where it is stated that “as the identification of Śīradhvaja with the Vedic Janaka is by no means certain, it is not easy to deter-

mine which of the kings mentioned in the Purāṇic lists actually came after the contemporary of Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya”.

The view, however, that has evoked the most bitter criticism is the identification of Āśvalāyana with Assalāyana, the contemporary of Buddha, with which is connected the problem of the identity of Kabandhī Kātyāyana. The identification of Āśvalāyana with Assalāyana was suggested on the following grounds:—

- (1). Identity of names: Āśvalāyana = Assalāyana.
- (2) Identity of the place of residence: Āśvalāyana was a man of Kosala (Kausalya). Assalāyana, too, was a man of Kosala, being an inhabitant of Sāvattī in Kosala.
- (3) Connection with the *Kalpa* literature: Āśvalāyana is a great master of the *Kalpa Sūtras* and his name is associated with the famous works on ritual known as the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*. Assalāyana, too, is described as “*Tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragū sanighaṇḍu ketubhānaṃ*” *Ketubha* is explained as “*kappa vikappo kavīnaṃ upakārāya satthaṃ*”, Kappa = Kalpa, ‘the rules concerning rites, one of the Vedāṅgas.’
- (4) Synchronism with the Philosopher Kātyāyana who is called *Kabandhī* in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* and *Pakudha* or *Kakudha* in the Pāli texts. *Pakudha* (*Kakudha*) Kātyāyana was not a ‘degenerate mediocrity’ but “the head of an order, of a following, the teacher of a school, well known and of repute as a sophist, revered by the people, a man of experience, who has long been a recluse, old and well-stricken in years” (*Sāmaññaphala sutta*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 66).

Prof. Barua, who accepts the identity of Kabandhī Kātyāyana with Kakudha Kātyāyana, and traces a community of ideas in their philosophy, puts forward the suggestion that Kabandhī and Kakudha refer to the same physical deformity, viz. a hump on the shoulders (*Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, 281). But he does not develop the point. In the *Atharva Veda*, however, Kabandha, when used in reference to a *Puruṣa* (X. 2. 3), means the part

of the body that is "four-fold" (*catuṣṭayam*), with ends connected (*saṃhitāntam*), above the knees (*jānubhyāmūrdham*) and soft or pliant (*śīthiram*). It is sharply distinguished from the *Kusindha* or trunk which supports the *aṃsau* (shoulders), and is *sudṛḍha* (firm). The *Kabandha* above the knees, which is *four-fold*, *śīthira* and *saṃhitānta* ' (with ends connected), and is sharply distinguished from the *Kusindha* (trunk, not body) which supports the shoulders, must be identified, not with the belly or trunk, but with the *śronī* and the *urū* mentioned in the same verse (the two hips and the two thighs, four in all). And it is well known that *Kakudmatī*, lit. possessed of *Kakud*, refers, according to Amara, to the same part of the body (*kaṭo na śronī-phalakaṃ kaṭiḥ śronī kakud-matī*). It may also be noted here that in the Vedas (*Rg.*, V, 54, 8), *Kabandhin* is a special epithet of the Maruts who, by the way, are often styled *gomātāraḥ* 'having a cow for their mother' (*Vedic Mythology*, 78) and to whom the *Kakud* of the *ṛṣabha* ("bearing a *Kabandha*") is especially appropriated (*Atharva*, IX, 4, 38). In post-Vedic literature *kakud* frequently means a mountain peak (cf. *Raghu*, XIII, 47). The same idea may be conveyed by the word *Kabandhin*, 'cloud-capped' for according to Yāska (X, 4, 1) *Kabandha iti megha ucyate*, and *Parvatāśaya*, 'resting on mountains' means clouds and clouds alone according to the *Śabda-candrikā*. *Megha-sakha*, *Meghmāla* and *Meghavat* are well known mountain names (Cp. also the list of *Meghanāmāni* in the *Nighaṇṭu* (i. 10).

In this connection it is interesting to note that *Kakudha Kātyāyana* was a believer in 'seven things' that are 'steadfast as a mountain peak, as a pillar firmly fixed'.

Further, the word *kakudha* is frequently used in Pāli literature to mean a *kakudha-bhaṇḍa*, which literally means a vessel, decoration or equipage (*bhājanādi parikkhāra*) with a projection or bulge (*kakud*) and is specially applied to the *uṇhīsa* and four other *insignia regis*. Now the word *kabandha* has also the sense of a barrel, cask or large bellied vessel and, if the etymology of *Kṣīrasvāmin* (*kasya śīraso bandhotra*

kābandhaḥ) is correct, it meant literally an *uṣṇīs*, rather than an *āpa-mūrdha kalevara*.

Lastly, in the *Mahāvamśa*, XV, *kakudha* is the name of a little *vāpi* (reservoir of water). According to Yāska and Amara, *kabandha* has the sense of water. So that *Kabandhin* may also mean a reservoir of water.

The chief reason why V. finds it impossible to accept the identity of Āśvalāyana and Kabandhî Kātyāyana with elder contemporaries of Buddha, is the apprehension that as a consequence of such identifications Hiraṇya-nābha will have to be placed in the sixth century B.C., and Yājñavalkya and his contemporaries will be brought down 'to only a step above Gautama Buddha'. It should be remembered by V. that Āpastamba (*Dh. S.*, 1. 2. 5. 4-6) clearly refers to Śvetaketu as an *avara* and that Pāṇini, a writer who knew the *Yavana* alphabet and made his mark, according to the *Kāvya Mīmāṃsā* (p. 55), in the city of Pāṭalīputra founded after the death of Buddha, does not include Yājñavalkya's works among *Purāṇa-prokta Brāhmaṇas*. (IV. 3. 105 read with Kātyāyana's *Vārttika*). Cp. also the commentator's statement *Yājñavalkyādayo hi na cirakālā ityākhyāneṣu vārtā* (Goldstücker, *Pāṇini*, p. 106). The *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* are not works of single authors or the products of a single age, and though the bulk of these works may be very old (*purāṇa-prokta*), particular portions may be late as is suggested by the evidence of Pāṇini and others.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

Uvvaṭa on Syllabication of Consonants

Consonants are considered to be the dependants of vowels. Generally the letters are to be seen in words in three different modes: separate vowels, vowels combined with consonants, and vowels combined with two or more combined consonants. Regarding the last two, there arises a doubt about the dependence of a particular consonant to a particular vowel (the preceding or the following). The settlement of this is important for accentuation. So Kātyāyana, in his *Prātiśākhya* treats of this subject in six sūtras I. 102 to 107. This subject is termed *pūrvāṅga-parāṅga-cintā*.

(1) The first letter of a *saṃyoga* (combination) becomes part of the preceding vowel.

E.g., *Aśśvaḥ*.

Here is a combination of two 'ś' and one 'v'. So the first 'ś' becomes part of the previous 'a', and the latter 'ś' and 'v' becomes part of the following 'a'. The production of the sound of the word is thus indicated by *aś/śvaḥ*.

(2) The yamas, with the preceding letter, become part of the previous vowel.

E.g., *Rukkmam*.

Here is a combination of 'k', 'yama', and 'm'. The letters 'k' and 'yama' are part of the first vowel, and 'm' of the second.

(3) The *kramaja*-letter is also considered to be part of the previous vowel. *Kramaja* (kramāj jāta), means a duplicated letter which follows the first letter of a combination.

E.g., *Pārśśvyam*.

Here the letter 'r', two 'ś's, 'v', and 'y' are combined. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination, the first 'ś' is *kramaja*; so these two form part of the preceding vowel, the second 'ś', 'v' and 'y' being part of the latter. The sound-product of this word is *pārś/śvyam*.

Another example—*Varṣṣyāya*.

Here the letters 'r', two 'ś's, and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the

first of the combination, the first 'ṣ' is *kramaja*; these two are part of the previous vowel, and the remaining 'ṣ' and 'y' are of the latter.

(4) The next letter of the *kramaja* is also considered to be part of the preceding vowel, if it is followed by a mute.

E.g., *Pārṣṇyā*.

Here *repha*, 'ṣ', two 'ṇ's, and 'y' are combined. *Repha* is the first letter of a combination, 'ṣ' is *kramaja*, the next to the *karmaja* is 'ṇ', and it is followed by a mute (another 'ṇ'), so the first three become part of the preceding vowel, and the remaining 'ṇ', and 'y' of the last vowel.

This statement of Uvvaṭa (*vide* sūtra, I. 105.), does not seem to be correct, because he states that 'ṣ' is *kramaja*. In the previous sūtra he has described *kramaja* as a term of the letter which undergoes duplication. Here 'ṣ' is not doubled. So leaving the letter 'ṣ', the first 'ṇ' is to be considered as *kramaja* and its following letter, the second 'ṇ', according to present rule, fails to become as part of previous vowel, because it is not followed by a mute, but it is followed by 'y'. Therefore '*pārṣṇyā*' is not a suitable illustration for this rule. If the syllabification alone of the above illustration is changed as '*pārṣṇyā*', there is no difficulty. The 'r' is the first letter of a combination; the first 'ṣ' is *kramaja*; these two with the following letter, the second 'ṣ' (which is followed by a mute 'ṇ') these three become part of the preceding vowel, and the 'ṇ' and 'y' of the latter. The author of the *Prātiśākhya-pradīpa-śikṣā* also supports this (*Śikṣāsaṃgraha*, Benares ed., p. 225). It runs as follows:

“क्रमजाद् उत्तरं व्यञ्जनं स्पर्शं परे पूर्वाङ्गं भवति । पाष्ण्या वा । रेफो द्वौ षकारौ पूर्वस्य, गकारयकारौ परस्य ।”

Therefore it is suggested that the commentary of Uvvaṭa on I. 105 might be read with slight modification :

“यथा—पाष्ण्या । रेफो द्वौ षकारौ गकारो यकारश्च संयोगः । तत्र रेफः संयोगादिरिति कृत्वा, पूर्वषकारः क्रमज इति कृत्वा, 'तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शं' इति कृत्वा अपरः षकारश्च, इति पूर्वाङ्गम्, गकारः यकारश्च उत्तरस्वरस्याङ्गम् ।”

(5) The letters at the end of a word are also to be part of the preceding vowels.

E.g., *Vāk*.

Here 'k' is the ending letter.

Ūrk.,

Here *repha* and 'k' are combined, the *repha* being the first letter of a combination, and 'k' being the ending letter, both of them form part of the preceding vowel.

In sūtra I. 107 Kātyāyana describes the object of these rules. It is evident that the accents *ucca* (acute), *nīca* (grave), and *svarita* (circumflex) are the qualities of vowels. There is no special rule anywhere narrating the accentuation of consonants. On the other hand, the consonants also undergo the changes of accentuation when they are pronounced. So there must be some decided understanding in the accentuation of consonants. The idea is, that the consonant, which depends on a particular vowel, should be pronounced in the same accent, as the vowels.

“स्वर उच्चः स्वरो नीचः स्वरः स्वरित एव च ।

स्वरप्रधानं त्रैस्वर्यं व्यञ्जनं तेन सस्वरम् ॥”

APPENDIX

KĀTYĀYANA-PRĀTISĀKHIYA (chap. I. 100-107)

(with Uvvaṭa's Commentary)

सहाद्य व्यञ्जनैः ॥ १ ॥

आद्यैः व्यञ्जनैः सहितः स्वरोऽक्षरं प्रत्येतव्यम् । यथा—मो । ओकारसहितोऽक्षरं प्रत्येतव्यम् । यथा—द्रु+अन्नः < द्रवन्नः । उकारो दकाररेफसहितोऽक्षरम् ।

उत्तरश्चावसितैः ॥ २ ॥

आद्यैर्व्यञ्जनैः उत्तरैश्चावसानगतैः सहितः स्वरोऽक्षरम् । यथा—वाक् । वकार-ककारसहित आकारोऽक्षरम् । प्राङ्—पकाररेफङकारसहित आकारोऽक्षरम् । एवं तावद्यद्येकः स्वरो भवति तदधस्तनान्युपरितनानि च व्यञ्जनानि तदङ्गानि भवन्तीत्येतत् प्रतिपादितम् ।

अधुना स्वरयोर्मध्ये द्विप्रभृतीनां व्यञ्जनानामङ्गत्वनिरूपणाय—

संय्योगादिः पूर्वस्य ॥ ३ ॥

संय्योगादिभूतो वर्णः पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्गं भवति । यथा—अश्वः । द्वौ शकारौ वकारश्च संय्योगः ; तत्र संय्योगादिः पूर्वस्येति कृत्वा पूर्वशकारः पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम् ; उत्तरशकारवकारावुत्तरस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम् । यथा—हव्यम् । द्वौ वकारौ यकारश्च संय्योगः ; तत्रैको वकारः संय्योगादिः पूर्वस्येति कृत्वा पूर्वस्याङ्गम् ; वकारयकारावुत्तरस्य ।

यमश्च ॥ ४ ॥

यमः पूर्वस्याङ्गं भवति, चशब्दात् पूर्ववर्णसहितः । यथा—रुकृष्णम् । ककारद्वय-यममकाराः संय्योगः ; तत्र ककारयमौ पूर्वस्य ; मकार उत्तरस्य ।

क्रमजं च ॥ ५ ॥

क्रमाज्जातं क्रमजम् ; यत्संय्योगादेः परस्य वर्णस्य द्विरुत्तया जायते तत् क्रमजमित्युच्यते यथा—पाशर्व्यम् । रेफो द्वौ शकारौ वकारो यकारश्च संय्योगः । तत्र रेफः संय्योगादिः, क्रमजश्च प्रथमः शकारः, पूर्वाङ्गम् ; द्वितीयः शकारो वकारो यकारश्चोत्तराङ्गम् । वष्यार्यम् । रेफो द्वौ षकारौ यकारश्च संय्योगः ; तत्र रेफः संय्योगादिः पूर्वषकारः क्रमजः एतौ पूर्वाङ्गम् ; अपरः षकारो यकारश्चोत्तराङ्गम् ।

तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शं ॥ ६ ॥

तस्मात् क्रमजाद्यदुत्तरं व्यञ्जनं तत् पूर्वाङ्गं भवति स्पर्शं परभूते । यथा—पाष्ण्यां, रेफषकारौ द्वौ णकारौ यकारश्च संय्योगः । तत्र रेफः संय्योगादिरिति कृत्वा, षकारः क्रमजमिति कृत्वा, तस्माच्चोत्तरं स्पर्शं इति कृत्वा पूर्वणकारश्च, एते पूर्वाङ्गम् ; द्वितीयणकारो यकारश्चोत्तरस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम् ।

अवसितं च ॥ ७ ॥

अवसानगतं पूर्वाङ्गं भवति । यथा—वाक्, ककारोऽवसितः । ऊर्क्, अत्र रेफ-ककारयोः संय्योगः ; रेफः संय्योगादिः, ककारोऽवसितः, एतौ पूर्वस्य स्वरस्याङ्गम् ।

पूर्वाङ्गपराङ्गचिन्तायाः प्रयोजनमाह—

व्यञ्जनं स्वरेण सस्वरम् ॥ ८ ॥

व्यञ्जनं यद्यस्य स्वरस्याङ्गं तत्तेनैव स्वरेण समानस्वरं भवति । अधस्तनान्येवोदाहरणानि ।

V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA

The Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri in his very interesting paper, *The Mahābhārata and the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros* which originally appeared in *JASB*, 1922, Vol. XVIII, p. 269, ff. and is now incorporated in his *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, Calcutta University 1932, has very satisfactorily shown the relation of the *Mahābhārata* with the inscription of Heliodros in which occurs the following couplet :

*trini amuta padāni (su) anutthitāni
nayaṃti svaga dama cāga apramāda*

Dr. Raychoudhuri has quoted a verse from the *Strīparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* showing the relation between them. From the same work two more verses may be quoted in this connection, which have closer relation to the stanza of the Inscription. They are found in the *Sanatsujātā Parvan* included in the *Udyogaparvan*, in which *dama*, *tyāga*, and *apramāda* are much praised. They are as follows :—

दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।
तानि सत्यमुखान्याहुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥

Udyogaparvan, 43. 22.

दमस्त्यागोऽथाप्रमाद इत्येतेष्वमृतं स्थितम् ।
एतानि ब्रह्ममुख्यानां ब्राह्मणानां मनीषिणाम् ॥

Udyogaparvan, 45. 7.

In passing it may be noted that as regards *apramāda* the following lines of the *Dhammapada* and the *Mahābhārata* are striking :

अप्पमादो अमत्तपदं पमादो मच्चुनो पदं ।

Dhammapada, I. 1.

प्रमादं वै मृत्युमहं ब्रवीमि तथाप्रमादममृतत्वं ब्रवीमि ।

Udyogaparvana, 41. 4.

Identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya

The following few lines are intended to furnish a reply to the material points raised by Mr. Rama Rao in his article "Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya" published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1930 wherein an attempt is made to disprove the identity of Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavācārya. As regards external evidence the author bases his theory on the fact that "if Mādhavācārya is identical with Vidyāraṇya, the fact would have leaked out in one or the other of the good number of inscriptions", and "that the few inscriptions which refer to Mādhavācārya (brother of Sāyaṇa) never indicate any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya".

The whole basis of the statement is unsound as absence of mention of any fact does not necessarily disprove the fact itself. The identity in question can only be disproved if there is any positive identification of Vidyāraṇya with anybody else or if the inscriptions definitely speak of the non-identity of the two persons. It must be noted moreover that it was not customary for a Sannyāsin to be referred to by his name in the "Pūrvāśrama" i.e. pre-Sannyāsa stage. It is not understood how the writer expects any reference to or mention of the name 'Vidyāraṇya', which was adopted by him in his subsequent Sannyāsa stage, in the inscriptions that might have come into existence in the pre-Sannyāsa period of his life.

As regards the internal evidence, it is stated "that the details about the life of Mādhavācārya found in his own works failed to show any connection between him and Vidyāraṇya". There is no reference to Mādhavācārya in Vidyāraṇya's works, because, a Sannyāsin is not expected to make references to his past life and there cannot be any reference to Vidyāraṇya in Mādhavācārya's works, because the name Vidyāraṇya was adopted by him in a subsequent stage of his life, perhaps years later.

There is no difference of opinion regarding the authorship of the first three works of Mādhavācārya, viz., *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*, *Vyavahāra-Mādhava* and *Kāla-Mādhavīya*. Regarding *Jīvanmukti-vivēka*, the very reference in the introductory works to his Guru Vidyātirtha, only proves that the author of that work was identical with

that of *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*. Though there is no mention of the author in the colophon in the Mysore Oriental Library Ms., no. 145, other Mss. of the work noticed in R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. 4, p. 82, no. 1486; and Stein's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir*, nos. 1989-1992 mention Vidyāranya as the author. Mr. Rama Rao has proved that the author of the work is Mādhavācārya. But we have just pointed out that Vidyāranya is definitely mentioned as the author elsewhere. So it automatically follows that they are identical.

The attribution of the *Jīvan-mukti-viveka* to Vidyāranya by the editor of the Ānandāśrama edition is not simply a groundless presumption, but is supported by such authorities as Acyutarāya, a commentator on the same work. It is curious that the writer tries to disprove the identity of the two names by referring to Mādhavācārya as a householder and Vidyāranya as a *Sannyāsin* as if a *Gṛhastha* cannot turn to become a *Sannyāsin* at a later stage. The entire argument falls to the ground when it is made clear that Vidyāranya is the name adopted by Mādhavācārya when he assumed the yellow robe. The author of the *Jīvanmukti-viveka* has announced himself in the following verse to be the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* also:—

eteṣāṃ tu samācārāḥ proktāḥ pāraśara-smṛtau/
vyākhyāne 'smābhīr atrāyaṃ parahaṃso vivicyate//

There is no difference of opinion that the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* is Mādhavācārya. It automatically follows therefore that "Vidyāranya" and "Mādhavācārya" are identical.

The next course adopted by the author is an attempt to disprove Mādhavācārya's authorship of the Vedic commentaries and foist it on his brother Sāyaṇa. The statement of the *Śivatattva-ratnākara* and other evidences cannot be accepted as more reliable proofs are forthcoming in favour of the identity.

In a subsequent issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (March 1931) the writer states that Vidyāranya is considered to be the author of the *Veda-Bhāṣya*, and that he should be identified with Sāyaṇacārya, who, he asserts, is alone the author of the *Bhāṣya*. Though the names of both Mādhava and Sāyaṇa appear in the commentaries the writer

gives prominence only to Sāyaṇa for the simple reason that only his name occurs in the colophon.

The arguments advanced to prove that Mādhavīya does not mean the production of Mādhava are not very convincing. It is not made clear why, if Sāyaṇa had written them, the term Mādhavīya should have crept in, instead of 'Sāyaṇīya' or 'Bukkabhūpaliya', after the patron-king.

The same argument could be easily turned against the writer, as Mādhavācārya who had already gained a wide reputation, might have admitted his brother Sāyaṇa also to a share of the credit. However no significance need be attached to these presumptions for neither of these brothers was lacking in scholarship or skill. It is quite clear from internal references, that the Bhāṣya was undoubtedly a production of the combined intelligence and genius of the two brothers. References such as "*kṛpālur Sāyaṇācārya vedārthaṃ vaktum udyataḥ*" and "*kṛpālur Mādhavācārya vedārthaṃ vaktum udyataḥ*", in the commentaries lead to the conclusion that each of them devoted his attention to a particular part and produced between them the great *Bhāṣya*.

The writer disposes of Ahobalapāṇḍita's authority, as the Pāṇḍita was a recent man of 1700 A.D. and that 'the information given by him might have had its origin in a legend'. The Pāṇḍita's statement should not be so easily disregarded, as he lived in an age not very distant from Vidyāraṇya's. The 'Legends' too were not only prevailing among eminent scholars of his time, but were found to have been current even about Vidyāraṇya's age.

Kauṇḍapācārya, the author of the *Prayogaratnamālā* (or the *Āpastamb-ādhrara-tantra-ryākhyā*) was a contemporary of Vidyāraṇya whom he alludes to as the author of the Vedic commentaries:

vedārthaviśadikartā vedavedāṅgapāragah/

Vidyāraṇyayatir jñātaḥ śrautasamārtakriyāparaiḥ//

It has been admitted that the Bhāṣyas are the works of either Mādhavācārya or Sāyaṇācārya or both. It therefore necessarily follows that Vidyāraṇya must be identical with either Mādhavācārya or Sāyaṇācārya or with both. Since Sāyaṇa and Mādhava are two different

persons Vidyāranya could be identical with only one of them. Which one, evidences cited will prove.

Mitra Miśra, the author of the *Vīramitrodaya* (a digest of Dharma-sāstras of the sixteenth century) refers in the *Vyavaharārādhya*, pp. 583, 672 to Vidyāranya as the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā*.

Another author Narasiṃha by name (who lived from 1360 to 1435 A.D.) in his work *Prayogapārijāta* makes mention of Vidyāranya as the author of the *Kāla-nirṇaya* otherwise known as *Kāla-Mādhavīya* :—

Śrīmad Vidyāranyamunīndraiḥ *Kālanirṇaye* pratipāditāḥ prakāraḥ pradarśyate :—tatra Pañcīnasīḥ :—śrautasamārtakriyāḥ (*Prayogapārijāta*, p. 411, Nirṇayasagar Press, Bombay). Since it is now admitted that the author of the *Parāśara-smṛti-vyākhyā* and the *Kāla-Mādhavīya* is Mādhavācārya he must be identical with Vidyāranya.

The writing of Narasiṃha (between 1360 and 1435 A.D.) and Kaṇḍapācārya (of the latter part of the 14th century) referred to above cannot but be taken as evidences from contemporary authors, and similarly the writings of Ahobalapāṇḍita and Mitramiśra shown above are evidences from authors who flourished a few centuries immediately after. These clearly prove the identity of Vidyāranya and Mādhavācārya.

It is only on such solid grounds that the identity of Vidyāranya with Mādhavācārya was established by a number of ancient scholars of repute and the Mādhava-Vidyāranya theory was erected thereon by the modern scholars. By a reference to Kaṇḍapa's works it has been shown in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* that the character and description of Vidyāranya agree point by point with that of Mādhavācārya, the brother of Sāyana.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that Vidyāranya cannot but be identical with Mādhavācārya, the author of the commentaries. Other points noted by the writer are not touched as they are either based on indirect evidences or loose presumptions.

*** Nālanda Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva**
(A Rejoinder)

I have carefully read Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's criticism of my note on Dr. Hirananda Sastri's article on the above-named document in the June-issue of this Journal but find in it nothing which has not already been refuted. All this is stated by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey Department* for 1925-26 (p. 131). *

If I can understand matters, Dr. Sastri based his original view on the script of the inscription. Dr. Mazumdar also does the same. Dr. S. found that the script of the inscription cannot be called late for it is used in documents which are decidedly early. The name Yaśodharman does not appear to be a cogent one for *yaśas* can hardly be called a 'dharma' or 'quality.' Fleet also did not consider it to be a very reasonable appellation. The quotation which Dr. M. has given does not improve matters. Dr. S. has noticed it. Had Dr. Mazumdar shown that the name Yaśodharman exists elsewhere, or that so-and-so was called Yaśodharman, there would have been some force in his argument. The names given by Fleet in the footnote which Dr. M. has quoted in extenso do end in *dharman* and look all right with this termination. But *yaśas* does not. Consequently I agree with Dr. S. that the name of the king was Yaśovarman and not Yaśodharman. If Fleet was against the idea where was the need for him to dilate on the matter? Nobody denies that names ending in *dharman* existed in ancient India. What has been doubted is the existence of the name Yaśodharman in earlier times. Let Dr. M. cite an instance showing that so-and-so was so called.

I think there is another point the importance of which Dr. M. has not fully appreciated. It is the use of the word *Śāstā* in the epigraph. Dr. S. has given both the views. It is not understood how Dr. M. calls his translation of the verse containing this word as 'apt to mislead the unwary'. Dr. Vogel's suggestion regarding the interpretation of *Śāstā* is there and every reader of the article, be he wary or unwary, will read and consider it. This interpretation does not appeal to me and it appears that Dr. S. was also of the same opinion. The idea of

calling an image of Buddha as of so-and so is 'un-Buddhist', and those who have seen the Buddhists making donations or benefactions of any kind must have noticed how particular the Buddhists are in making everybody present touch the gift to make it common. The same idea was prevalent among the ancient Hindus who in their *āhatis* laid special stress on repeating *idaṃ=agnaye idaṃ na mama*—'it is for Agni and is *not* mine'. It is doubtful if Bālāditya could call the image as his own=(i.e. the Buddha of Bālāditya). It might be contended that he did not do so, but the other people. Besides, is it the Buddha of Bālāditya or of anybody else who resides within, or the Buddha, the Enlightened, the Emancipated Lord, the exclusive property of nobody that pervades us all according to the Mahāyānists? Which interpretation looks more plausible? The composer of the *praśasti*, especially when he came in long after Bālāditya, could hardly have paid special regard to the image because of its being set up by Bālāditya. Why should he think of Bālāditya who was dead and gone? For a Buddhist of later period it will be immaterial whether an image was made by a chief or an ordinary fellow so long as it represents the Lord. On the contrary, if the maker is alive, or died recently, it might be of some significance. That much could be conceded, if the royal maker was so egoistical as to call the image after his own name. But could he not issue a command regarding its safety? Why should it be said that the *śāstā* of Bālāditya is present in us? Will not Lord Buddha or mere *śāstā* do? And can he not punish the offender? It is true that the image is mentioned by later writers as a piece of history but not as the *śāstā* or Buddha of Bālāditya. Whether this image was made by Bālāditya or by anybody else, Buddha remains the same. It is the order of the king which is to be respected in such cases. The image is protected because of the order or the sword behind it. It is this point which goes to decide the matter to a large extent.

The question of the alphabet has been fully answered by me and I need not recapitulate what has been stated already. Every letter can be a test letter. Earlier forms continue to be retained in later documents. Could we call them antique on that account? That an alphabet is used in books or *granthas* does not imply

that it is not employed in inscriptions. The fact that the whole *varṇa-mālā* is given in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscript is very significant and its value should not be under-estimated.

I have already explained the use of *śaśāsa* in the record. In fine, nothing which has so far been found controverts Dr. Sastri's view. On the contrary his opinion that Bālāditya was probably a vassal of Yaśovarmadeva would explain the whole question of the part taken by Bālāditya in fighting the Hūṇas. Perhaps Mihirakula was attacked by Yaśovairman while engaged in an expedition against Bālāditya.*

A. K. MRITHYUNJAYAM

* The controversy is closed.—Ed.

Cauhān Mahārājās of Pāṭnā State (Mahākōśala)

In a previous paper¹ I dealt with the “Dates of the Cauhān Mahārājās of Sambalpur Aṭhārāgarh”. In this I propose to deal with the main house of Pāṭnā, the first and oldest seat of Cauhān Mahārājās of Mahā-Kōśala.

In the absence of any inscriptional document, we have to depend entirely on official records and on the writings of later day authors, both Vernacular and Sanskrit, but these too are comparatively meagre.

These Sanskrit and Vernacular works are:—(1) *Prabodh Candrikā*² by Mahārāja Baijal Deva of Pāṭnā (ii) *Kōśalānanda Mahākāvya* by Paṇḍit Gaṅgā Dhar Miśra of Sambalpur (iii) *Cikitsāmañjarī*³ by Paṇḍit Gopīnāth Sadaṅgī of Sambalpur (iv) *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* in 9 lettered Oriya verses by Gopāl Telaṅga of Sambalpur (v) *Jaya Candrikā*⁴ (a poem in Hindi) by Paṇḍit Prahlād Dube of Sarangarh.

The first official statement pertaining to the history of the Pāṭnā Rāj family is found in the *C. P. Gazetteer*, compiled by C. Bernard.

It gives a complete list of the Pāṭnā Cauhān kings, who are designated as ‘Mahārājās’. “The following is a list of the Mahārājās of Pāṭnā from the time of Rumail Deo to the present Mahārāja, showing approximately the period that each reigned:

1	Rumail Deo	...	...	...	32 years
2	Mahaling	...	...	...	6 „
3	Baijal Deo I	...	...	...	65 „
4	Baikraj Deo	...	...	...	13 „
5	Bhojinj Deo	...	...	...	34 „
6	Pratap Roodra Deo	...	...	...	39 „
7	Bhopal Deo	...	...	...	11 „

1 *IIIQ.*, September, 1930 p. 568.

2 Found by me at Ratanpur, the ancient capital of the Haihaya Princes of Mahākōśala. The manuscript was written by Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa about 100 years ago.

3 A Palm-leaf manuscript is in possession of one Ghansyām Kumbhakār a local physician of Padigaon in the Raigarh state.

4 The original manuscript of this poem is in the possession of the Ruling Chief of the Sarangarh state C. P.

8	Nagsingh Deo	...	...	...	30	„
9	Bikramadit Deo	...	...	...	34	„
10	Baijal Deo II	...	...	...	39	„
11	Bhunjun Hīrādhar Deo	...	...	...	30	„
12	Narsing Deo	...	...	...	7	„
13	Chutterpal Deo	...	...	...	3	„
14	Baijal Deo III	...	...	...	63	„
15	Hirdai Narayan Deo	...	...	...	15	„
16	Paṭṭap Deo	...	...	...	22	„
17	Vikramaditya Deo	...	...	...	15	„
18	Mukund Deo	...	...	...	30	„
19	Balram Deo	...	...	...	8	„
20	Hridaysai Deo	...	...	...	7	„
21	Rai Sing Deo	...	...	...	80	„
22	Pr̥thviraj Singh Deo	...	...	...	3	„
23	Ram Candra Deo	...	...	...	55	„
24	Bhopal Deo	...	...	...	28	„
25	Hirabhaujjur Deo	...	...	...	18	„
26	Sur Pratap Deo	...	...	...	1 year	

present in 1868 A.D.

The total length of years from Rumail Deo to Hīrādhar Deo, 11th Mahārājā is 333 and from the 12th Mahārājā to the last 354, in all 687 years. If we deduct 687 years from 1866, we get 1179 A.D. as the approximate date when the Cauhān family first assumed sovereignty over the Pāṭnā State. It was administered by a council of eight *malliks* or representatives, otherwise known as the *Āṭh-mallik* form of government.

From the *Jayacandrikā* we learn that after the fall of Pr̥thvirāj Cauhān, the last Hindu Emperor of Delhi, one of his daughters-in-law, who was then in a state of pregnancy, was sent to a safe place. This lady in due course came to the Pāṭnā State and gave birth to a son named Rumail Deo. This must have occurred soon after the battle of Thāṇeśvar about 1193-94 A.D. Assuming that Rumail Deo proclaimed himself as a ruler of Pāṭnā State when he was about 20 years, we find a difference of $14 + 20 = 34$ years only. If we omit the period of reign

of Nagsing Deo, whose name does not appear in the list of kings given by Prahlād Dube in the *Jayacandrikā* the difference vanishes. The name of Nagsing Deo (no. 8 of *C.P. Gazetteer List*) is not also mentioned in the Sanskrit work, *Kośalānanda Kāvyaṃ* which furnishes us with the following list :

1	Rāma Deva reigned for ...	...	...	52 years*
2	Mahāliṅga ⁵	...	...	6 ,,
3	Baijal Deva ...	...	...	65 ,,
4	Vatsarāja Deva	...	...	29' ,,
5	Bhojarāja Deva	...	...	0 ,,
6	Vīramalla Deva	...	...	30 ,,
7	Pratāpamalla Deva	...	...	44 ,,
8	Bhūpāla Deva	...	...	0 ,,
9	Vikramāditya Deva	...	...	34 ,,
10	Baijala Deva II	...	...	13 ,,
11	Hīrādhar Deva	...	...	30 ,,
12	Narsingh Deva	...	...	...

Instead of Nagsing Deva, this list gives a new name (no. 6) Vīramalla Deva.

The Ratanpur list as given in a manuscript called *Ratanpurke harāl* omits two names and reverses the order as shown below :

1	Ramai Deo	6	Bhojrāj Deo
2	Mahāliṅg Deo	7	Vikram Deo
3	Vatsarāja Deo	8	Baijal Deo II
4	Vīramalla Deo	9	Hīrādhar Deo
5	Baijal Deo I	10	Narsingh Deo

* This might be the years of his age. 26 years of his region which he would have begun at his 26th years. But this is mere supposition.

5 वर्त्तमाने गजपतौ राजराजेश्वरक्षितौ । रविरामयुगे ख्याते विद्यमानेव्दके कलौ ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महालिङ्गः समावृत्त बुभुजे महीम् । पितुः प्रतापतपनार्दितभूपतिसेवितः ॥

रवि=12 ; राम=3 ; युग=4=4312 Kali era.

in 1931, the Kali era is 5032. The śloka refers to 4312 Kali era i.e. back, whether this is the date for the coronation of Rāma Deva or of his son Mahaling, is not clear.

This list is not very reliable. In it Baijal Deva I has been shown as the 5th king while all other documents mention him as the 3rd Mahārājā of Pāṭnā, who conquered about 72 forts and reduced Bāmrā, Gaṅgāpur, Bonai, Baud, Surguza, Dhenkanal, and Sonapur to subjection.

. Prahlād Dube's *Jayacandrikā* has :

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 1 Ramai | 6 Pratāpamalla Deva |
| 2 Mahāliṅga | 7 Bhūpāl Deva |
| 3 Baijala Deva I | 8 Vikramajit Deva |
| 4 Bhojrāj Deva | 9 Baijala Deva II |
| 5 Vikram Deva | 10 Hīrādhar Deva |
| 11 Rāma Deva (Narsingh Deva of other Lists) | |

In the absence of any inscriptional record giving the genealogy of the Cauhān Mahārājās of Pāṭnā, it is very difficult at this distance of time to say which of the lists is more correct. It may be that Vatsarāja might have assumed the title of *Vīramalla*, and both these might mean one prince or 'Bhūpāl Nagsing Deva' representing one name, might have been taken to be two names.

The *Prabodhacandrikā*⁶ gives three names Vikramārka (Vikramāditya), Baijala Deva II and Hīrādhar Deva (father of Balaram Deva I ruler of Sambalpur).

The only inscription hitherto brought to light which mentions Baijal Deva is incised on a stone slab affixed to the temple at Narsingh-

6 The authorship of this treatise on Sanskrit Grammar, is attributed to Maharaja Baijal Deva (II) himself. He composed it for the use of his son Hīrādhar Deva.

संसाराम्भोधितरणं रामनामानुकीर्तनम् ।

रामनामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रियते मया ॥

बालकानां प्रबोधाय तोषाय विदुषामपि ।

साफल्यमपि संसारे कीर्त्यवस्थापनाय च ॥

चिन्तयन्निति निर्यातः क्रीडन्तं श्रीहिराधरम् ।

श्रीमान् बैजलभूपालो विलोक्य सुतमब्रवीत् ॥

This बैजलचन्द्रिका is known in Bengal and Orissa as बैजलकाव्यम् or वैजल-
कारिका ।

माधुरी (Lucknow), p. 750 vol. IV. No. 48.

nāthi, now in the Bora Sambhar Zamindari, Dist. Sambalpur, Orissa. This inscription is in transitional Oriya characters and has not yet been published anywhere. It was dated but now the date cannot be deciphered as it has been worn out.

According to Mr. Beglar, "the date is either 672 or 728 which is utterly inconsistent with the forms of the characters, if referred to either the Śaka or the Vikrama era. I am therefore inclined to consider it as a Hijra date."

In 1904-5, Dr. Bhandarkar visited Narsinghnāth but by that time the date was worn out. But taking other points (Vikārināma Samvatsar, Caitra Pūrṇimā and Friday) into consideration, he came to the conclusion that the inscription was dated in A.D. 1359-60. I, with the help of Prof. Mahavir Prasad Sribastavya have tried to work out the details and find that the cyclic year Vikāri fell on a Friday with हस्ता नक्षत्र and चैत्र पूर्णिमा in the Vikram year 1470=1413 A.D. March 17th, and not in A.D. 1359 as shown by Dr. Bhandarkar. This inscription mentions that Baijal Deva, son of Bairaj Deva king of Pāṭnā built the temple of Narsingh on the Gandhamādan hill, and to quote Mr. Beglar "made a gift of one hundred (cows?) coins with village Loisinghā. It was consecrated by Loma Harsan (लोमहर्षण ?) Panigrahi, sent by Baijal Singh." In the list of kings we find three Baijal Devas. The father of the first is named Mahaling and that of the third, Chutterpal Deva. Now remains the second Baijal Deva the author of *Prabodh-candrikā*. His father was Vikramārka or Vikramāditya Deva. If Bairājdevarāja (as Dr. Bhandarkar deciphered it and which Mr. Belgar reads as Bachha Raja) stands for Vikramāditya, then it is certain that Baijal Deva of the inscription is no other than Baijal Deva II of the list, and he must have been reigning about Vikram Samvat 1470 or 1413 A.D.

Mr. Beglar writes:—"On the southern side of the hill, there is a temple called '*Dewul Durla*' after the name of the Rāṇī who constructed it. Close to the temple is a thatched hut in which the image of Bhairava is enshrined. On this image, too, there is an inscription in old characters, from which only the words '*Pāṭnā* and Baijal Deva' can be deciphered, the rest of the inscription is not readable".

The above name is also engraved in the hall attached to Narsinghnāth's temple. (*Arch. Sur. Report*, 1881-82, vol. XVII).

While describing the Narsinghnāth temple⁷ Dr. Bhandarkar says :—

The door-frame on the north * * * * * Near this door-frame on its proper left is the standing image of a warrior with hands folded and with a sword held against the breast between it and the left hand. Judging from the analogous instances, this seems to have been the figure of the personage who was principally connected with either the construction or the restoration of the temple.

L. P. PANDEYA

7 Text of the Narsinghanath Temple inscription :—

ॐ नमः श्रीनृसिंहाय । अस्ति स्वस्ति श्रीविकारीनाम सवत्सरे चैत्रपूर्णिमा शुक्रवासे
हस्तानक्षत्रे पाटणानगरस्थित वच्छराज (बहराज या बैकराज) देवराजाके स्वपुत्र श्रीबैजलदेव
राजा हरिपापतीर्थे गन्धमादनपर्वते विडाल नरसिंहनाथस्वामीङ्कर देउल तोल इला ॐ ॐ ॐ
गाइ शक्ति लोरमसिंगाग्रामदिलो ॐ ॐ

(In transitional Oriya characters).

REVIEWS

PRAMĀNASAMUCCAYA of Diñnāga edited and restored into Sanskrit with Vṛtti, Tīkā, and Notes by H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, M.A., Government Oriental Library, Mysore (Mysore University Publication).

As observes Dr. Brajendranath Seal in his Foreword, Diñnāga is rightly regarded as the father of the mediæval school of Indian Logic. His views are referred to or quoted in order to support or refute them in the most important works on the subject, whether Brāhmanic, Buddhist, or Jaina. Indeed, no student of Indian Logic can follow its growth and development without being thoroughly acquainted with the views of Diñnāga.

Unfortunately his works of which the most important is the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* are now not extant in original Sanskrit excepting some fragments or passages referred to or quoted in different books, such as the *Nyāyavārttika* of Uddyotakara, *Tātparyatīkā* of Vācaspati-miśra, *Mīmāṃsāsūlokavārttika-tīkā* of Pārthasārathimiśra, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* of Kamalaśīla, and so on. A number of these passages has been collected in a book form by Professor Randle. However, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* in its entirety, as the other works of Diñnāga, is still available in Tibetan. Its detailed account has been given by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. S. C. Vidyabhushana in his *History of Indian Logic*. It has been announced that Prof. Stcherbatsky is preparing an edition of the Tibetan text and a translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛtti* for the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series. Our sincere thanks are now due to Mr. H. R. Rangaswamy, (and not Ramaswamy as writes Jarl Charpentier in reviewing the present volume in the *BOSS.*, vol. VI, p. 1031) for publishing the first chapter of the work in its Sanskrit form. It is complete in six chapters, and we hope, the remaining chapters will follow in due course. The Sanskrit text in the volume under review is mostly restored or reconstructed from its Tibetan version, while some of the kārikās have been collected from different Sanskrit works in which they are found as 'quota-

tions. Generally the *kārikās* of such logical or philosophical books are written in utmost brevity and as such are not in all cases easy to understand. Hence the authors themselves used to write *vṛttis*, and Dīñnāga, too, wrote a *vṛtti* on his *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In order to elucidate the meaning of the *kārikās*, reconstructed or original, Mr. Iyengar has added extracts from this *vṛtti* in Tibetan along with its restoration in Sanskrit. In the same way he has given copious extracts from another commentary called *Viśālāmalaratī* of Jinendrabuddhi. Besides, there are valuable notes by Mr. Iyengar based on different works closely bearing on the points. That the task before the author is in no way an easy one can be realized only by those who have some idea of, or acquaintance with, the work of this nature. Yet a perusal of the volume would evince that Mr. Iyengar is quite fit for the work he has undertaken, and the students of Indian Logic will ever remain thankful to him.

There are, however, some cases for correction or modification, or improvement with regard to the reconstruction or other matters, and it is hoped it will be effected in the next edition.

Let us quote a *kārikā* (I. 11) in its Tibetan version :

śes pa gžan gyis ṅams myoñ na/
thug med de la'ñ dran pa ste//
de bžin yul gžan la'pho ba/
med gyur de yañ mthoñ ba ñid//

Its Sanskrit as given by Mr. Iyengar is as follows :

ज्ञानान्तरेणानुभवेऽनवस्था तत्र च स्मृतिः ।

विषयान्तरसञ्चारस्तथा न स्यात् स चेष्ट्यते ॥

Excepting the word *iṣyate* at the end which, according to Tib. (*mthoñ ba ñid*) must be nothing but *īkṣyate*, it is all right. But this *kārikā* is partly or entirely quoted twice by *Pārthasārathimīśra* in his commentary, *Nyāyaratnākara*, on the *Manāmsāsloka-vārttika* of Kumā-rila (Benares ed., pp. 277 and 321) with different readings, first there being *anubhave hīṣṭā tatrāpi ca*, and the *anubhavo'niṣṭas tatrāpi hi* for *anubhave'navasthā tatra ca* of Mr. Iyengar in the first half. That his restored reading is quite right according to the Tib. text (*ṅams myoñ na thug med de la'ñ*) is beyond doubt. But the question is with

regard to the two readings referred to in the *Nyāyaratnākara*. That one of these two is wrong goes without saying. But which is the correct one? I think, it is the second with the single exception of *hi* which must be *ca* as in its first reading, and it is supported by Tib. ('an), though the first reading itself requires modification, as we shall see presently. However, the difficulty lies in accounting for the difference between the Tib. and this second reading, in accordance with which one should read *dod med* for *thug med* in the Tib. text, but it would be taking too much liberty. That the word *anavasthā* (Tib. *thug med*) is here required is quite clear also from Kumārila's words (*tasya tasyāpi cānyena saṃvittāu asthitir bhavet*, and *anyena cānubhāve'sāv anavasthā prasaṃjyate*, pp. 277 and 321), in connection of which Pārthasārathimīśra quotes the line. Besides, as the Tibetan version reads it very clearly we can in no way discard the reading given by Mr. Iyengar in favour of *anubhavo'niṣṭa*° in the printed text of the *Nyāyaratnākara*. Undoubtedly, somehow or other the mistake crept in. The reading *jñānāntareṇānubhāve* once given by Pārthasārathimīśra, and literally supported by Tib. finds further support from the following words of Kumārila: *anyena cānubhāve*. The reading (p. 321) *ikṣyate* suggested by Tib. *nthon ba nid*, as referred to above shows that the Skt. Mss. before the Tib. translator had it for *iṣyāt*, or he himself wrongly read it as *ikṣyate*. We wish Mr. Iyengar had discussed such readings also in other cases.

We should like to quote one *kārikā* more (I. 4):

thun moñ min pa'i rgyu yi phyir/
de yi tha sñad dbaṅ pos byas/
der don du mas bskyed pa'i phyir/
rañ don spyi yi spyod yul can//

Mr. Iyengar reconstructs it thus:

असाधारणहेतुत्वाद् व्यपदेश्यं तदिन्द्रियैः ।

तत्र नैकार्थतोत्पादात् स्वार्थसामान्यगोचरः ॥

As regards the second half one may propose to read *tatropādād anekārthaiḥ*, or preferably *utpādanād anekārthaiḥ* even omitting *tatra* (der) for *tatra naikārthatotpādāt*, the suffix *-tā* in *arthatā* being not required, as it gives a meaning which is not appropriate here. Now with regard to the first half, strictly speaking, Tib. *tha sñad byas*

suggests *vyapadiṣṭam* or *vyapadiśyate* and not *vyapadeśyam* for which Tib. would read *tha sñad bya*. However, the actual reading of the line, as Mr. Iyengar himself has discovered as a quotation in the *Tattvārtharājarārttika* of Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅkadeva, Benares, p. 38, is *asūdhāraṇahetutvād akṣais tad vyāpadiśyate*. Yet he has rejected it in his restoration without any ground. This line is quoted also by Haribhadrāsūri in his *vṛtti* on the *Nyāyapraveśa*, Sanskrit Text, *GOS.*, p. 35, l. 23, and it is to be noted that it has been pointed out, though with some doubt, by Prof. Mironov in his edition of the same work reconstructed from Haribhadra's *vṛtti*, which is published in the *T'oung Pao*, 1931, l. 8. With the line under discussion the Benares edition of the *Tattvārtharājarārttika* referred to above reads the following as the first half of the couplet:

pratyakṣam kalpanāpodhṛam nāmajātyādiyojanā.

Evidently the reading *-yojanā* in *nāmajātyādiyojanā* is a wrong one.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1 KESAVPAṆDIT'S RAJARAMA-CARITAM OR SRI CHATRAPATI RAJARAM'S JOURNEY TO JINJI edited by V. S. Bendrey, published by the Bhārat Itihās Saṁsodhak Maṇḍal. Poona 1931. Pp. 23+80.

2 RISE OF THE PESHWAS by Prof. H. N. Sinha, M.A., The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1931, pp. 255.

For the last twenty-five years Mahārāṣṭra scholars have been engaged in searching, sifting, editing and publishing original sources of Marāṭhā History and their devoted zeal and indefatigable industry have been amply rewarded by important discoveries and valuable finds. The work of Sane, Rajwade, Parasnis and Khare is widely known to all students of Indian History. The contributions of the late Mr. S. M. Divekar, however, still remain inadequately appreciated. It was he who brought to our notice such contemporary Sanskrit works as *Śiva Bhārat* and *Parnal Parvat Grahāṇākhyaṇ*. These historical poems were discovered in the famous library at Tanjore. Mr. V. S. Bendrey

belongs to the same confraternity of scholars as the late Mr. Divekar, and he has practically made the period of Sambhaji his own. It is to him that we are indebted for another addition to the Sanskrit sources of Marāṭhā History. Keśav Paṇḍit's *Rājārāma caritam* is written in the customary Paurāṇic style and consists of five brief cantos. He describes Rājārām's flight to Karnāṭak and then brings his narrative to an abrupt end. The editor suggests that the poet probably died early in 1690 and did not live to add further to his account of the life and exploits of his hero. In the learned introduction we read that Keśav Paṇḍit was a Karhāḍā brāhmin of Saṅgameśvar and had served under Sivāji, Sambhāji and Rājārām. It was under Sambhāji that he attained some prominence and obtained from that prince a generous gift. The manuscript was known to Dr. Burnell but he wrongly described it as an account of the coronation of Rāma, the epic hero. The error was corrected in the new catalogue and Mr. Bendrey obtained a transcript of the text. He has published it with a Marāṭhī translation and notes and added a map to illustrate the campaign of Rām Candra Pant during the closing months of 1689. The introduction is really useful and interesting.

Prof. H. N. Sinha is to be congratulated on the handy little volume he has produced. He ably surveys one of the most important periods of Marāṭhā history and gives an accurate and reliable account of Bālāji Viśvanāth and his two immediate successors. With the notable exception of Mr. G. S. Sardesai few Mahārāṣṭra scholars have turned their attention to the important work of synthesis demanded by the fast accumulating original materials, and as they usually write in Marāṭhī, the average student in other parts of India hardly derives any benefit from their publications. His needs should no longer be overlooked as Marāṭhā history has of late come to its own and forms a recognised subject of study in most of the Northern Indian Universities. Prof. Sinha has not unearthed any new evidence and his examination is confined mainly to the published sources, Marāṭhī and English. But his work will be of very great use to those non-Marāṭhā students to whom Sardesai's *Marāṭhī Rīyāsāt* remains a sealed book. Moreover, the period surveyed by Prof. Sinha is full of intricacies which often bewilder the beginner, and a lucid and clear narrative had been a long-

felt need. University students all over India will be grateful to Prof. Sinha for providing them with an excellent text book.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

ROCK-CUT TEMPLES AROUND BOMBAY by Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B., pp. XX+160, Plates 59. Published by D.B. Taraporevata Sons & Co., Bombay.

The celebrated cave temples of Elephanta and the less-famed rock-cut shrines of Jogeshwari, Kanheri and Mandapeshwar are made the subject-matter of study in this neat little volume by Mr. Vakil, well-known as an art-critic. His book is divided into several parts, the first giving general information about these monuments, such as their age, their relative importance etc., while the second, third, fourth and fifth present in some detail the sculptural and architectural features of the respective rock-hewn structures. In the appendix, the learned author describes at some length the very interesting stone reliefs discovered at Parel (Bombay), and while discussing their iconography and age emphasises the importance of these new discoveries to the students and exponents of Indian Art.

The cave shrines at Elephanta, as these are situated in and near the city, very appropriately called the 'Gate of India', are among the most frequently visited and described monuments of India. From mere travellers' guidebooks to the learned archaeological publications, dealing with objects of general and antiquarian interest in this part of the country,—in none of these, have the massive grandeur and sublime beauty of their architectural and sculptural designs failed to evoke more than their proper share of admiration and appreciation. Though such has not been the fate of the three other less known shrines, still they have also been, in a manner, studied and admired. But Mr. Vakil's style of presentation of the essential features of these noble memorials of India's past and of showing how to study and appreciate their beauties in their proper perspective has struck a new line. To put his viewpoint in his own words:—"The current emphasis on 'what' is being represented is shifted to 'how' it is being

represented"; thus while taking stock of all the notable contents of these ancient structures, he does not set much store by the enumeration of what according to him seems to be unnecessary architectural and iconographic details, but lays special stress on the manner of representation of the sculptural and architectural motifs. To refer to a typical example:—The well-known and much admired relief in Elephanta depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī does not appeal to him merely on account of the "proportion", "the careful execution" and "minuteness" noticeable in individual figures of this relief; 'these are not the sole or the best claim of the panel'. 'The unerring concentration of the sculptor towards the interpretation of the poetic solemnity of the main incident of his theme is its unmistakable and indisputable triumph'. Again, the above relief, when considered in relation to the one on the opposite side of the panel showing Śiva as Kāla-Bhairava, cannot but suggest the idea to an observant mind that the sculptor in a masterly way has depicted the contrast between the normal appearance of the great god and his appearance as the lover and the bridegroom. This contrast has been beautifully described in the immortal lines of the great Kālidāsa, and the learned author's extremely apt quotation of these from *Kumārasambhava* emphasises his point. This has throughout this book been the writer's attitude in appraising the real value of the architectural and sculptural themes of these shrines,—each of which has been discussed in its own proper setting and environment.

Thus, this well-written little volume will be of extreme benefit not only to the general visitors to these noble monuments, for they are here fully informed by the writer *about what to see and how to see*; but also to the earnest and serious students of Indian art for it will supply them with much food for reflection about the general tendencies of the modern methods of art criticism in relation to the artistic heritage of India. One may not, however, see eye to eye with the author in all matters of opinion expressed by him and exception may be taken to the severe strictures so frequently passed by him on the archaeologist's method of studying these monuments; still it must be observed that the author has made the study of these specimens of the Indian achievements in the domain of art a really fascinating one, and has been able to do so, because he could approach his subject with

genuine love and admiration, and with broad, but at the same time, circumspect vision.

The publishers should be congratulated on the nice get-up of this brochure. It has a large number of illustrations some of which are very helpful.

J. N. BANERJEA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. XIII, pts. iii-iv

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Gleanings from the Udayasundarī-kathā*. Sodḍhala writing his *Udayasundarīkathā* in the 11th century A. C. has given an account of his family in the first chapter of the work. The historical facts contained therein have been culled together in this paper, specially the interesting information about the Kāyasthas. According to the story given here, the Kāyastha caste originated in the eighth century of the Christian era. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Kathā* calls himself a Kāyastha, and at the same time, claims to be a Kṣatriya.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.—*Kulārṇavatantra—Its Extent and Contents*. This is mainly an account of a Ms. of the *Kulārṇavatantra* which differs materially from the published editions of the work.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.—*Some Notes on the Chronology of the Sena Kings of Bengal*. From a study of the inscriptions connected with the Sena rule, as also of the two works, *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*, the writer has come to the conclusion that Vijayasena ruled from c. 1095 A.C. to 1157 A.C. followed by Ballālasena's reign extending up to 1169 A.C.

ADRISH CHANDRA BANERJI.—*The Mālavas*.

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA.—*On the Date of Śrīkaṇṭha and the Brhatsaṃhitā*.—Evidences have been put forward in the first part of the article to show that Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the *Brahma-mīmāṃsā* flourished in the 12th cent. A.C. It has been argued in the second part that the *Brhatsaṃhitā* quoted by Madhva was a Purāṇic work no longer extant. Mr. T. R. Chintamani's view that Śrīkaṇṭha belonged to the 13th century and quoted from Akhaṇḍānanda's *Tattvadīpana* as also his assertion that the *Brhatsaṃhitā* cited by Madhva was nothing more than an anonymous contemporary work, have been vehemently opposed here.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Pāli Chronicles*.

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*The Date of Harṣa-Pulakeśin War*. The date of

the war between Harṣavardhana and Pulakeśin II in which the former could not get the upper hand has been put within the limit of the years 630 to 634 A.C.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA—*The Age of Janaka and Others*. In comparing some of the results obtained by Dr. S. N. Pradhan in his *Chronology of Ancient India* with those obtained by Dr. H. C. Ray Chowdhury in his *Political History of Ancient India*, the writer of this paper supports the former author. It is contended that the evidences advanced by Dr. Ray Chowdhury to prove that the Vedic Janaka was separated by six generations from Janamejaya's time are not convincing.

The evidence of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, where Bhuju Lāhyāyani tests Yājñavalkya by putting to him the question *Kva Pārīkṣitā abhavan*—"Whither have the Pārīkṣitas gone" rather tends to make Yājñavalkya a contemporary of Janamejaya as maintained by Dr. Pradhan on account of the use of *Lañ* form of the root *bhū*. The writer also argues that the untenable identifications of Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana with the author of the *Śāṅkhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra* as also of Āśvalāyana Kauśalya and Kabandhin Kātyāyana of the *Praśna Up.* with Āśvalāyana (of Sāvatti) and Pakudha Kaccāyana of the *Majjhima Nikāya* as made in the *Political History of Ancient India* are at the root of the error in that work about the chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The Arthaśāstra re-examined or the Culture and Date of the Arthaśāstra*. Against the theories that the *Arthaśāstra* was written between 480 and 510 A.C. within the Malwa territory which was then under the domination of Greeks, Śakas and Hūṇas, and that the ideals and culture reflected in the work are non-Indian, the author of this paper remarks: The similarities between the passages in the Aśoka inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* point to the antiquity of the latter and its connection with the Mauryas. The political ideals finding favour in the *Arthaśāstra* are also found in the Tamil *Kural* of the 2nd century B.C. Further, the Śabarasa, Caṇḍālas and Āṭavikas mentioned in the *Kauṭīliya* cannot be the monopoly of the Malwa kingdom. The political theories and institutions noticed in the *Arthaśāstra* have nothing in them alien to the Hindu ideals on polity.

BETTY HEIMAN.—*The Philosophical Aspect of Ahimsā*.

Indian Antiquary, July 1932

PURAN CHAND NAHAR.—*Antiquity of the Jaina Sects*. The writer deals with some problems connected with the comparative antiquity of the two Jaina Sects, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, and regards the latter sect to represent the genuine Jaina spirit.

Ibid., Aug., 1932

B. BANNERJEA.—*An Inquiry into the Position of Women in Hindu Society*. The conclusion of the author is that the status of Hindu women though in theory not much elevated is not at all inferior to the position given them in non-Hindu societies.

Journal of the American Oriental Society,

vol. 52, No. 1 (March 1932)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Viṣṇudharmottara, Chapter XLI*. The chapter of the work dealing with painting has been translated from Sanskrit with comments in English.

Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay

vol. XIV, No. 8

S. C. MITRA.—*A Note on Human Sacrifice among the Birhors of Chota Nagpur*.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,

vol. 8, nos. 1 and 2

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya of Virahāṅka*. In continuation of ch. 4 in vol. V of the Journal, the 5th and the 6th chapters of the *Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya*, a treatise on Prakrit metres, have been edited here with introduction and notes.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Some Parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian with especial reference to Marathi, Gujarati and Kñharese*.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XI, pt. 1 (April, 1932)

- W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)*. In continuation of the previous instalment, portions of the unpublished diary of Pieter van den Broeke who was an important figure in the early history of the Dutch East India Company have been translated here with annotations.
- SURENDRANATH SEN.—*Half a Century of the Maratha Navy*. This portion of the continued article describes the activities of Kanhoji Angria and Sekhaji Angria in connection with the Maratha Navy during the years 1798-1633.
- V. SRINIVASAN.—*The Dutch in India*.
- R. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*Early Pandyan Chronology*.
- ABDUL AZIZ.—*History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān*. The imperial treasury at the time of Shāh Jahān is the subject-matter of this instalment.

Ibid., August, 1932.

- K. G. SETHA IYER.—*A Chōra Royal Poet of the Śaṅgam Period*.
- M. GOVINDA PAI.—*The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras*.
- SRI RAMA SHARMA.—*Humayun and Maldev*.
- W. H. MORELAND.—*Pieter van den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)*. The translation of the diary concluded.
- NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*The Beginning of Mir Qasim's disputes with the English*.

Journal of Oriental Research, April-June, 1932

- K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India*.
- AMARNATH RAY.—*The Dakṣiṇāmūrti Hymn and the Mānasollāsa*. This is an attempt to connect the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra* and the *Vārtika* thereon called *Mānasollāsa* with the *Pratyabhijñā* literature of Kashmir. The *Stotra* and the *Vārtika* ascribed to Śaṅkara and his disciple Sureśvara respectively may in fact be the productions of Abhinavagupta and his disciple Kṣemarāja.
- P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*.
- V. RAGHAVAN.—*Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī*. This paper draws attention to the names of several writers on Dramaturgy.

noticed by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*.

N. AYYASWAMI.—*Extracts from Jayānanda's Commentary on the Madhyamakāvātāra, Chap. VI retranslated into Sanskrit from the Tibetan Version.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1932

B. G. BHATNAGAR.—*Local Self-Government in the Vedic Literature.*

RAGHU VIRA.—*The Chāndonukramaṇī of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.*
The first section of the work forming a part of the *Varāhapariśiṣṭas* has been edited.

**Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute,
vol. II, 1932**

A. E. MAHON.—*Recent Archaeological Discoveries in India.*

GEORGES DE ROERICH.—*Studies in the Kālacakra.* The Kālacakra system, the mystic religious order of Tibet so important for the study of Central Asian Buddhism, has been described in this paper. The writer proposes to translate certain Tibetan texts on the Kālacakra doctrine and the Realm of Śambhala, whence the system is said to have been brought to India in the 10th century A. C.

Nāgarīpracārīnī Patrikā (Hindi), vol. XIII, 1 & 2

KASHI PRASAD JAYSWAL.—(भारशिव राजवंश) *The Bhāraśiva Kings.* after the reduction of Brāhmaṇism to a very precarious position by the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa rulers in the early Christian era, there arose in India in c. 250 A.C. two dynasties of kings, the Vākāṭakas and the Bhāraśivas, who helped in the revival of Brāhmaṇism. It is stated in a Vākāṭaka copper-plate that the Bhāraśivas established their kingdom on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī and celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice for ten times. The well-known holy place of Daśāśvamedha in Benares is said to be associated with these kings. It is conjectured that the Bhāraśiva kingdom was situated near Benares and Allahabad.

GAURISHANKAR HIRACHAND OJHA.—(पद्मावत का सिंहाल द्वीप) *The Siṃhaladvīpa in the Padmāvata.* The Siṃhaladvīpa mentioned in the *Padmāvata* as the birth-place of Padminī of Chītor cannot be

taken to be the Island of Ceylon. The place is to be identified with a village called Singoli situated 40 miles east of Chitor.

VASUDEV SHARAN AGRAWAL.—(मथुरा की बौद्ध कला) *The Buddhist Art at Mathurā.*

GURUPRASAD.—(संयन्त्रों का अपूर्ण उच्चारण) *Incomplete Pronunciation of 'Diphthongs.*

GOREIAL TEWARI.—(बुंदेलखंड का संक्षिप्त इतिहास) *A short History of Bundelkhand.* The paper is concluded in the 2nd issue of vol. XIII of the journal,

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,

vol. XXIII, No. 1 (March, 1932)

V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO.—*South Indian Temples.* The writer traces the evolution of temple architecture from the Vedic times and describes its different styles found in Southern India.

K. NARAYANASWAMI IYER.—*Śrīvidyā.* This is an exposition of Śrīvidyā or the knowledge of the highest form of Śakti worship leading to salvation.

N. SUBBA RAO.—*Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar of Mysore and his Successors (1673-1761).*

K. G. SANKAR.—*The date of the Eleventh Paripadal.*

S. SRIKANLAYA.—*Heavenly Mansions of the Hindus.*

Philosophical Quarterly, July, 1932

E. AHMED SHAH.—*Appearance and Reality.* The writer argues that inspite of Śaṅkara's efforts to establish the illusory character of the world, it has not been conclusively established as commonly supposed.

ASHUTOSH SASTRI.—*Is Vedāntism Mysticism ?*

P. MODI.—*Akṣara : A forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy.* The position of *akṣara* (the impersonal Immutable) described in early philosophical literature as a metaphysical principle has been dealt with in this paper.

SAILESWAR SEN.—*The Nature of Śābālapramāṇa in Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya.*

J. N. SINHA.—*The Nature of Pramā.* The views of the Naiyāyikas, Jāinas, Mīmāṃsakas, Śaṅkara-Vedāntists, Sāṅkhyas and Buḍdhists

about the real nature of valid knowledge have been examined here.

Sāhitya-parisat-Patrikā (Bengali), vol. XXXIX, no. 2

- NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI.—(লক্ষ্মণসেনের নবাবিস্কৃত শক্তিপুর-শাসন ও প্রাচীন
বঙ্গের ভৌগোলিক বিভাগ) *The newly discovered Śaktipur-Copper plate of
Lakṣmaṇasena and the Geographical Divisions of old Bengal.* The
extent of the Pauṇḍravardhana Bhukti and Vardhamāna Bhukti
has been ascertained and an identification of the Kaṅkagrāma
Bhukti mentioned in the copper-plate has been suggested.
- BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI.—*An Account of the Newspapers of
Bengal (1835-57)*

Tirumalai Śrī Venkatesvara, vol. I, no. 1 (August, 1932)

- P. V. JAGADISA IYER.—*Places of Antiquarian Interest in South India.*
- M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Two Cryptic Words in the Arthaśāstra.*
The word *Kharapata* which has been printed in the Mysore edition
of the *Kautiliya* as *Kharapatta* and taken by the translator to be 'a
procession of an ass' has been corrected into *Kharapata*. By a
reference to the Malayalam commentary and various other texts
containing the word, *Kharapata* has been settled to be the name
of a work.
- The name of a kind of coral is *Ālakandaka* in the Mysore
edition. Bhaṭṭasvāmin calls it *Ālasāndraka* explaining it to be a
product of the sea coast of the country named Alasandra in
Barbara. But Bhikṣu Prabhumati, author of the *Cūṇakyaṭīkū*
reads the word as *Ālaksāndraka* and explains it as the product
of the region of Alaksāndra in *Yavana* country.
- M. DORASWAMAYYA.—*Siṅgabhūpāla—His Date.*
- T. A. VENKATESWARA DIKSHITAR.—*A Reply to Some of the Criticisms
of Dr. Thibaut on Śaṅkara's Interpretation of the Sūtras of
Bādarāyaṇa.*
- V. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA.—*The Śilpasūtra of Nārada.* Edited.

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